

Ceylon Literary Register

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. III.

MARCH, 1933.

No. 3.

The British Monopoly of Cinnamon.

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(Contd. from page 61)

The Madras Administration.

Under the Madras Administration the Cinnamon Department was continued on its old footing. Thus, Greenhill writes to Champagné: ¹ "I have issued the presents of coarse cloths to the peelers, money to the headmen in lieu of the finer goods, velvet dresses, caps and other articles, which at present are not procurable in the Island, as per accompanying statement, the amount of which is estimated and calculated on the prime cost of the cinnamon to which they were entitled agreeable to the custom heretofore observed by the Dutch and since followed by myself and sanctioned by the Government of Fort St. George—also the sum of 500 pagodas in lieu of a gold chain and medal to the Maha Vidane for his services rendered to the Company. The peelers have already received a proportion of the necessary advances of cash, rice, etc."

The Commercial Resident, Joseph Greenhill, became Chief of the Mahabadda. In conformity with general policy, the Chief Mudaliyars seem to have been dismissed, and two European assistants attached to the Department in their stead. ²

1. B32. 3rd July, 1799.

2. B33. North's "Consideration on Cinnamon," 20th December, 1799—speaks of Commercial Resident having as head of the Cinnamon Department a deputy and an assistant, both Europeans.

The annual expense of the Department under the Madras Administration was calculated by North to be 37,335 Star Pagodas¹ or £14,934. Of this sum, 15,440 Star Pagodas consisted of the cost of 28,950 parras of rice issued to the workmen. To this expenditure, however, must be added the loss to Government in land tax from the Accommodessans, and certain of the Chalia privileges, and also the expenses of packing, etc. But there is not the material from which to calculate, or even estimate this sum.

The collections of the years 1796, 1797 and 1798, seem to have been confined entirely to the plantations, for North, on his arrival, found them almost² denuded of trees fit for peeling.

North's Policy.

North early formulated his policy with regard to cinnamon. "My great object," he wrote, "will be to secure your monopoly of this article without danger of contraband, but by no means to increase the production of it beyond the annual amount of 5,000 bales; for being in its nature a luxury, and not tending in any manner to increase its consumption by its quantity, like grain or common provision, the only consequence of the too great abundance of it would be that it would get into the hands of those who would venture, for the immense profit it would afford, to brave the vigilance of the severest laws, and perhaps succeed in underselling you in all the markets of the world.... The cinnamon laws enacted by the Dutch (though perhaps of a severer nature than your temperate and philanthropic ideas of legislature would allow you to enact) ought, in my opinion, to be kept up, at least for some time, as they are admirably calculated to make the possession of a cinnamon tree a real curse to the persons on whose property it grows, and of course, to make individuals desirous of leaving the entire possession of that valuable commodity to the state....."³

De Meuron's Report.

De Meuron, in his report, had outlined the general sources of cinnamon.⁴ There were, he said, three distinct classes of cinnamon plantations—public lands cultivated at the expense of Government, public lands entrusted to (but *not* the property of) individuals who

1. Ibid.
2. He was forced to let them lie fallow in 1800—1801.
3. C.O. 54. I. North to Court of Directors. 26th October, 1798.
4. De Meuron's Report.

undertook to plant them with cinnamon; and lands the property of individuals planted with cinnamon *partly* at their own expense, but assisted in a great degree by Government. The first class of plantations were divided among the Chaliyas who were charged with their cultivation and upkeep at their own expense. In the case of the other two classes, the owners and trustees were expected to keep them in good condition, as they were paid for the produce. A further source was the cinnamon growing wild in jungles, waste lands and private property.

De Meuron recommended the establishment of a committee to survey and register all cinnamon plantations; also that permission should be granted to those on whose lands cinnamon plants were scattered, to employ at their own expense Chaliyas to transplant them. This would relieve them from the burden of preserving the trees, and leave them free to plant or till their grounds in the manner they considered most advantageous. Further, in the existing circumstances, the plantations were much neglected, as those in charge had little personal incentive to attend to them. If Government took them over, they would receive more efficient and sustained attention.¹

North, we shall see, took this advice to heart; especially as it substantially agreed with his own opinions. The difficulty of efficiently administering a number of plantations of varying extent scattered over the districts between Chilaw and Matara, was obvious. He therefore decided to restrict himself to the intensive cultivation of a few compact plantations; to abandon the rest; and to establish a reorganised department for the better management of the business.² This was the more practicable, as it was supposed that the available supplies of cinnamon were beyond necessity, and that the required annual quantity could, without undue difficulty, be obtained from the gardens of Marendahn and Kadirana alone.³

The Marendhan Plantation.

Jonville, who was appointed to report on the Marendahn plantation, exposed a strange state of affairs. Marendahn presented a miniature of the state of the cinnamon plantations all over the country. The neglect of Van Angelbeek, and the short-sighted policy of the Madras

1. Ibid.

2. B33. "Considerations on Cinnamon." 20th December, 1799.

3. B33. Jonville's Report; which is also enclosure No. 25. cf. North to Court of Directors, 30th January, 1800, in C.O. 54. 3.

Government, had left the plantation in a deplorable condition.¹ De Meuron, too, had pointed out that "the plantations have now furnished three successive harvests without any expenses having been incurred in their repair and cultivation."²

The Marendahn plantation was surrounded by a dyke, or mud wall, more or less in repair. "The above dyke," said Jonville, "encompassesan extent of 1,913 morgen (equal to 3,826 acres) of which 359 (718 acres) consist in paddy fields, 361 (722 acres) form 209 gardens, belonging to 800 different persons, and, after all, 1,193 (2,386 acres) consist in grounds either cultivated or proper to be cultivated with cinnamon. Some of the gardens are parvenies, or real properties, or ratmaheras, being encroachments upon Government grounds. Some are planted on a license of Government on certain conditions, as those of taking care of and nourishing the cinnamon trees thereon; and others ceded to the holders on different restrictions of servitude in the habit of lascoryns. The report of the surveyor points, moreover, out private properties cultivated by the Dutch Company and planted with cinnamon trees, without indemnifying the proprietors."³

As for the lands granted on condition of planting cinnamon and preserving, Jonville says: "I have not seen in the Marendahn a single spot of ground so ceded on which cinnamon trees have been planted and preserved; but, on the contrary, I have perceived many places where the cinnamon trees have been destroyed in order to plant coconut trees, or for the purpose of sowing grains thereon. Two grand motives must have produced this pernicious effect. The first is the excessive indolence, inattention and negligence of the Dutch managers and the uncertain footing of the English Government in Ceylon, and the second is the very low price paid by Government for cinnamon collected in the plantations of individuals."⁴

"If" concludes Jonville, "the Marendahn be properly cultivated, planted and taken care of, it may be expected that it will, at a future day, produce the whole quantity of cinnamon required; but, in the present existing condition, I dare assert that after the elapse of three years, it will hardly be possible to collect three hundred bales therefrom."⁵

1. Ibid. Cordiner I. 416.
2. De Meuron's Report.
3. Jonville's Report.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

Remedial Measures.

North had two courses open to him in remedying this chaos. He might confirm all existing holders in their properties, and concentrate on the new plantation at Kadirana (which was as large as that at Marendahn), and on those at Morotta and Ekela (which was each about half that size).¹ Or he might evict those who had encroached, and offer the rest other lands in exchange. The former course was neither sufficient nor satisfactory; and though the possibilities of Kadirana were strongly pressed by Jonville, was rejected. The latter involved one difficulty. Ratmahera holders, possessed certain customary and accepted rights in their lands, and could not therefore be, with justice, summarily evicted.

Consequently, North adopted a compromise. By a proclamation of the 18th November, 1799,² a committee was appointed "for examining the Titles of Persons having Possessions in the Cinnamon Gardens, and for settling for them a suitable exchange." Parveny lands were to be exchanged for Government cultivated lands producing 25% more than those which were to be evacuated. They were to be subjected to a land tax of 10%, and to such other general taxation as Government might introduce. Similarly, Ratmahera holders were to be granted lands elsewhere equal in value to their existing holdings. But holders of property usurped since the arrival of the British were to be expelled without compensation.³

Simultaneously, the complementary line of policy was followed. The detached cinnamon plantations in the districts continued to be sold "on the usual terms."⁴ The "usual terms" seem to have been, that the purchasers should bind themselves to root out and destroy all cinnamon trees on the lands,⁵ and probably that, as in the case of exchange, they should be subject to a tax of one-tenth. What the prices received at the public auctions were, cannot be traced. Judging from the tenor of North's letter just quoted, and from the remarks of Marshall,⁶ and Bertolacci,⁷ quite a few of these detached gardens seem

1. "Considerations on Cinnamon."

2. B33.

3. Ibid. "Instructions" to this Committee, 8th Nov. 1799.

4. B26. North to Board of Revenue and Commerce. 26th September, 1801.

5. Marshall, 10.

6. Ibid.

7. Bertolacci 250 and 251.

to have been sold. Lord Valentia too remarks of Jaela: "Formerly several cinnamon gardens were in this space, which were abandoned and ordered to be sold in 1802."¹ Consequently, the passage through the country, which had formerly been rendered difficult by the dense jungle, had become comparatively easy.

Departmental Reforms.

The departmental organisation too was altered. Though the Commercial Resident was continued as head of the Cinnamon Department, North himself assumed the title of Chief of the Mahabadda or Cinnamon Captain.² The two European assistants of the Resident were removed, and a purely native staff, with a Mudliyar and Mohandiram at the head, was substituted.³ Further, two European superintendents of the plantations were to be appointed, each with the necessary staff and labour. One was to be placed in charge of the Marendahn and Moratuwa gardens; the other of Kadirana and Ekela. But only one Superintendent, Jonville, seems to have been appointed.⁴

When the post of Commercial Resident was abolished, the headship of the Cinnamon Department devolved on the Superintendent of the plantations. Further, on the institution of the legal reforms of 1801, he also became Sitting Magistrate of the Mahabadda, with the usual powers of that post.

Jonville was allowed two hundred workmen for the Marendahn (the Dutch kept up eight hundred, he complained).⁵ The number was subsequently increased to three hundred.⁶ These were of course for cultivation, clearing, etc., and did not include the peelers. A similar labour-force, in proportion to their extent, was presumably allowed for Kadirana, Ekela and Moratuwa.

The expenses of the department were estimated at 39,820 rix dollars, or £ 3,892, per annum, for the next two years [1800 and 1801], during which the plantations were to be rested. After that, the cost of peelers would increase expenses to 41,456 Rix dollars, or ⁷ £ 4,145 per annum.

1. Valentia i. 324.
2. Ibid 303.
3. "Considerations on Cinnamon."
4. Ibid.
5. C.O. 416. 5. Bii. Jonville's Report, 1800.
6. Ibid.
7. "Considerations on Cinnamon."

When North instituted his policy of abolishing service tenure, the Cinnamon Department underwent a further change of system. Accommodessans were abolished, and all workmen and headmen were paid. The rates were fixed as follows:—Three Rix Dollars and a parrah of rice per month for each workmen (labourer or peeler); nine Rix Dollars and three parrahs of rice per month for each Cangany; and fifteen Rix Dollars and five parrahs of rice per month for each Aratchy. But a certain proportionate monthly stoppage of nearly one-third was made from these payments and allowances. The fund thus accumulated was annually distributed by the Superintendent, at his discretion, among the more deserving and hard-working employees of the department. The headmen of the districts received a fixed salary of 25, 40, 50 or 75 Rix Dollars per month.¹ Further, the superior headmen received a contingent allowance of $\frac{1}{3}d.$ pice per diem for every workman called out to work under them.²

North also restricted “the most unconscionable privileges”³ of the Chaliyas. They were limited to the following:—⁴

“1. To pass over all ferries, whether being on service or not, free of toll for their possessions and pingoes, on producing a printed certificate of the Superintendent of being enregistered in the Register books of the Cinnamon Department; but such certificate being of no force for articles of trade carried by them.

“2. To be entitled to receive in time of peace, from the Agents of Revenue, each man four parrahs of salt for one year, at the rate of twenty pice per parrah; but in time of war with Kandy, half a measure per mensem for each man actually in service.

“3. To have passports free of the duty of five Rix Dollars for their boats, the owner and crew being men of the Cinnamon Department.

“4. To be allowed in time of peace to load their boats with salt at the lewayas free of the duty called Ayan Cassi, but to deliver to the Agent of Revenue the half of the heaps of salt collected by them, at the choice of the said Agents of Revenue.

1. Bertolacci. 253 and 254.

2. C.O. 416. 5. Bii.

3. C.O. 54. I. North to Court of Directors, 26th February, 1799. This must have taken place before 25th September, 1802, for North says in a letter to Hamilton (B. 26. of the same date):—“As the Chaliya caste have been but *recently* deprived of the great and unconscionable privileges which they enjoyed under the Dutch.”

4. B 31. Jonville to Arbuthnot. 21st June, 1805.

“5. That no man of the Cinnamon Department may be apprehended (except in the course of justice) by any authority whatever for any service private or public, except by an order of Government through the Superintendent.”

Difficulties and Objectives.

The success of North's preserved plantation policy was threatened by several obstacles, particularly in the Marendahn. To begin with, there were general difficulties due to the initial ignorance of the British with regard to cinnamon cultivation, and the reluctance of the natives and the Dutch to impart that knowledge. Jonville, in a report made in 1800, pointed out further particular difficulties.¹ Marendahn was situated close to a garrison and surrounded by a numerous population. Much destruction was caused by the multitude of people who daily crossed the plantations, and further loss was occasioned by the depredations of cattle and of people searching for firewood. The sepoy, lascars, pioneers and their wives and children, were the worst offenders. Nor could the lascoryns who guarded the plantation check these depredations. North had endeavoured to check these evils. A Government advertisement of 24th May, 1799,² gave notice that cattle straying in the cinnamon gardens would be seized for the Commissary Department by the lascoryns who guarded the plantations. Also, by a Proclamation of 15th November, 1799,³ possessors of lands in the Marendahn were forbidden “to breed or keep cattle, goats, sheep, or swine, within the lands after the 1st of December next.” Trespassing and the collection of firewood, etc., was stringently forbidden. But, said Jonville, “they will not cease in spite of all Government orders to the contrary to come for what they want and cannot get in any other place.”⁴

Further, the policy of exchange was causing much hardship. Complaints had been made to North, and supported from motives of humanity, by the Collector of Colombo.⁵ Though the policy of exchange, contended Jonville, did no real harm, “they are notwithstanding unhappy, for they are by that means obliged to leave the soil on which they were born. Perhaps, indeed, they may lose another

1. C.O. 416. 5. Bii.
2. B 32
3. B 33
4. C.O. 416. 5. Bii. Jonville's Report.
5. Ibid.

advantage which is not imaginary, *i. e.*, the vicinity of the Fort where the carpenter, mason and smith sell their industry, and which advantage Your Excellency cannot replace for them although you give them ground of greater value than they before possessed.”¹

Moreover, Colombo needed room to expand. The gardens had already decreased to only 359 morgen (718 acres) of cultivated land. In addition, judging by the number of applications made for grants from Government, the people in Moratuwa too, seemed to be in want of land. Jonville therefore recommended concentration on the cultivation and extension of Kadirana.²

North, however, pressed on with his Marendahn policy. Concurrently, he paid greater attention to the opening up of Kadirana, and of the Moratuwa and Ekela plantations which were largely uncultivated. The plantations were given a rest for eighteen months in 1800-1801, and the collections of the latter year were made in the districts, and in Kandyan territory.³

The beneficial results which this policy of intensive cultivation of compact areas was designed to achieve were summarised by North in a despatch to the Court of Directors.⁴ “By this arrangement I hope to reduce the expense of that establishment to about £ 4,000 per annum, to assure an annual investment with a superabundant quantity for the purpose of opening a new and profitable market in Asia, the security and protection of the article against contraband, the restoration of a great quantity of land and labour to more profitable industry, and the simplification of the administration of that concern in such a manner as to enable you easily to control and direct it.” We may add that the cultivated article would ensure an improvement in and consistency of quality, that expenses of collection would be reduced, that the incidence of the severe cinnamon laws would gradually and automatically lapse, and that the attendant hindrances to cultivation and the rearing of live-stock would therefore disappear.

(*To be Continued*)

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. C.O. 54. 2 North to Court of Directors, 30th January, 1800.

4. Ibid.

Root-Words of the Dravidian Group of Languages.

BY

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(Contd. from page 55.)

Dravidian Roots and Indo-European Languages.

It was noted that Dravidian roots throw a flood of light on the word-formation of other families too. I profess to have examined the languages of the Indo-European family alone. With respect to these too I do not pretend to possess first-hand knowledge in every respect. I have, however, availed myself of the philological researches of the most eminent scholars of Germany, England and France. The latest comparative lexicons of the languages examined have been used, and the more important philological publications consulted. As a result of this study I am convinced that the same primitive roots have supplied the word-material to both the Dravidian and the Indo-European group of languages. Hitherto South Indian scholars like Gundert, Kittel and Caldwell were satisfied with pointing out scores of Dravidian words as having been borrowed and embodied chiefly into Sanskrit. "It was Dr. Gundert that contributed to the journal of the German Oriental Society for 1869 an article on the Dravidian elements in Sanskrit. Dr. Kittel contributed his on the Dravidian element in Sanskrit Dictionaries, to the Indian Antiquary for August, 1872. Dr. Caldwell, in his comparative Grammar of Dravidian languages (second edition, 1875) has dwelt at some length on the same subject in part VII dealing with glossarial affinities (p. 452). He has fully utilized the materials contained in the articles abovementioned. One cannot, however, argue that Dr. Caldwell was inspired by Dr. Gundert or Dr. Kittel, for there is evidence in his work to prove that he has been himself thinking in the same groove. The labours of these orientalist enabled him to give a fuller treatment to the subject. More recently Dr. Kittel, in his Kannada Dictionary (1894), made a list of all the words he regarded as probably borrowed by Samskrta from Dravida (Preface, p. XVII). They are 420

in number.”¹ A modern writer, M. Jules Bloch,² examines some of these loan words and admits, to a certain extent, the influence Dravidian languages have had on classical Sanskrit, although he does not see much of it in the older Vedic speech. All these scholars have been confining their attention to individual terms in a later stage of formation. A comparison of the words of both the groups in their germinal stage has never been undertaken. This is, doubtless, due to the fact that the roots of the Dravidian family were never inquired into, although hypothetical roots for the Indo-European speeches have been largely constructed by philologists of Europe. Now that the true roots of the Dravidian speeches are available, the abovementioned comparison becomes feasible to a certain degree.

What is the result of this comparison? We find that the ultimate word-elements of the Dravidian group, more often in their secondary form, tally in a remarkable manner with the tentative roots of the Indo-European group. That this is no mere chance agreement is shown conclusively by the striking similarity in form and sense between the words of the two groups through every stage of their evolution. In detecting this similarity, due allowance is to be made, of course, for the operation of the sound-laws peculiar to each group and for their distinctive morphological character. It should therefore be borne in mind the question of radical identity of the two families of languages in a remote early stage of their development, is quite distinct from their later morphological and grammatical evolution. I readily concede that there is very little in common between the morphology and grammar of the two families. The radical identity I advocate belongs to a stage when language consisted of the most elementary forms which we designate roots, without declension, without conjugation—when single words without coalescing with other words, which we now call particles, expressed connected ideas by their relative position alone and perhaps also by a difference in intonation.

Now a few examples will be given to illustrate the light Dravidian roots throw on the word-building of the Indo-European group of languages. Some acquaintance with ordinary sound-laws is here presumed. In another paper we shall present a detailed study of Dravidian phonology.

1. Dravidic Studies No. III p. 8.
2. Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology, in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Inst. Vol. V. pp. 736. et seq.

The Root Unt-u.

It has been seen that the root *unt-u*, meaning "to push away," is composed of the deictic of remoteness *u* and the formative *t* nasalised. (Law IV). Now a secondary formation of this root is *ūt-u*, meaning "to send out the breath," *i. e.*, to blow. This is obtained by dropping the nasal and, as a compensation, lengthening the initial vowel (Law VI). A noun from this form is *ūt-ai* (properly *ūt-a*) constructed by suffixing another word *at-u* "the thing" shortened into *a* (Law VIII). *Ūt-ai* means wind. A further form is *kūt-ir*, meaning "cold wind." This is obtained by prefixing the initial intensive *k* (Law V) for sake of emphasis and suffixing *ir*, which is a corruption of the word *il*, meaning "what is." Again, another form is *kūt-al*, sensation of cold, where the suffix is a transformation of *at-u* "the thing." On the other hand, *ūt-u* "to send out breath" gives us another secondary formation *ōt-u* to breath out, utter, recite. Here *ū* is changed into *ō*—a common device for obtaining sense-differentiation, where it is not a case of vowel-shifting. From this we have *ōt-al*, reciting, learning; *ōtt-u*, reciting, scripture; again, *ōt-ai* the same as *ūt-ai* meaning wind, also sound of a letter, noise.

Such are some of the derivatives based on the root *un-tu* through its secondary form *ūt-u*. Through all of them we note the semantic contents of the primary root preserved, but in a slightly differentiated sense in each case. All the derivatives are, so to say, made transparent through the light thrown on them by their original base. Is there any cluster of words in the Indo-European family on which our root can throw a similar light? I think many of the words for wind in that family are to be referred to the same root. We shall first take the Sanskrit *vā-t*, to blow. Before comparing this word with the Tamil *ūt-u*, it should be observed that our *u* has a tendency to become *v*, not only in other speeches but in Dravidian itself. The latter has hundreds of words in which an initial *u* has become *v*. Thus, to give only one example, *ul-al* to turn round, whirl, (from *ul*, inside) is found as *val-ai* to be bent. It would appear that the sound *v* in this and other similar instances really stands for *w*, which is directly derived from *u*. This sound, produced by rounding the lips and emitting the breath as in blowing out a candle, becomes *w*, or rather *wa* by opening the mouth. That *w* is more ancient than *v* seems to be clear. Illiterate people in India would say *wū-du* for *vī-du*. In Singhalese *v* has the sound of *w* to the present day. It has been well remarked by Skeat that the *u* in Latin had been *w* before it became *v*. "Even the most perverse of those" he says, "who sound the L. *u* as *v* forget themselves and pronounce it as

w in *suādere* and *suāuis*.”¹ Now, it is quite consonant with sound-laws to suppose that the Skt. *Va-t* is the counterpart of the Tamil *ut-u*. Possibly the root *vāt* is a nominal verb from *vāt-a* and in that case our comparison will be with the Tamil *ut-a* (*i*). To refer the Skt. *vāt-a* to the root *van* will not help us, since *van* has quite a different semantic content, *i.e.* that of worshipping, honouring, begging, etc. The sense of sounding which also this word has, is obviously a secondary development. The root *van* coincides altogether with the Tamil base *van* in *van-angu* originally meaning to bend (in worship) etc. This Dravidian base *van* is a transformation of *val-ai* to bend. Hence we have to fall back on *ūt-u* to explain *vā-t* and *vāt-a*. So too the root *vā*, to blow, which is probably a secondary development. If this were so, we have the Anglo-Sax. *wind*, Goth. *winds*, Old High German *wint*, Breton *gwent*, Lat. *Vent-us*, etc., as cognates with our *unt-u*. To posit a fanciful root *awe* for explaining certain other forms such as the Gr. *a-ō*, etc., will not be so illuminating. These forms have probably been derived from the later *vā* which became *a-vā*. The hypothetical root *uent* suggested by Brugmann² is nearer the true root *unt-u*, which, as already stated, is not an artificial creation but an actual word in the Dravidian. When we take the latter and the secondary *ūt-u* as the starting point we find all the forms in the different Indo-European languages luminous with sense, whereas the hypothetical *awe* brings us no light.

Turning to the other set of derivatives from *ūt-u*, we saw that *ōt-u*, *ōt-al*, etc., signify uttering, speaking, reciting. Now, the Skt. *vad* to utter, speak, etc., would seem to be connected with this root when we consider that in Skt. the radical vowel of this word is often lengthened and that some of its conjugational forms like *ūde* and *ūda-te* disclose the same tendency. Or again the Skt. might represent another parallel Dravidian root *ut-ai* to send away, discharge. On the other hand, the Greek *hudeō* as also *aeidō* and *audē* show a greater connection. The transformation of the long *ū* into *au* will be illustrated in the following example:

Another illustration

Another root with an analogous sense is *uk-a* or *uk-ai* to drive, discharge, which has the secondary *ūkk-u*, meaning ‘to exert force for moving an object away,’ *i.e.*, to push. This is the original sense of the word as is seen in the classics (*e.g.* *Kalittokai*, 32). Later meanings are

1. The Science of Etymology p. 175.

2. Brugmann, Vergl. Gram. der Indogerm. Spr. I. 421.

to increase, to excite, to encourage, etc., *ūkk-am* is abundance, strength, zeal. In the sense of abundance, *ukk-u* has another form, *ūng-u* to be superior, etc. *Ukk-u* is again differentiated into *ūc-al* and *ūnc-al* with the meaning of a swing, from the original sense of being pushed to and fro. There is also an alternative form *unc-al* with *u* short, having the same sense. The softening of the formative *k* into *c* and the nasalising of both as *ng* and *nc* are very common expedients in Tamil as well as in the Aryan languages, for the purpose of differentiating and multiplying words.

The word *ūkk-u* has still another form *ucc-n*, with *u* short, meaning to pitch at a mark, to slip away, which shows that there must have also been a form *ukk-u*, with *ū* short. The secondary form *mukk-u*, to exert oneself, is probably from the lost primary form *ukk-u*. This conclusion is strengthened by the existence of allied forms of the same word with the formatives *t*, and so on, which also have in them a *u* short. Thus, *ut-i* to spring up, *ut-ai* to discharge as an arrow, to kick. Now from *ucc-u* we have *ōcc-u* (*u* intensified into *ō*) to drive away, to discharge a weapon, spur on ride. Again, *ōcc-am*, from *ōcc-u*, means eminence, celebrity. *Ōc-u* is strength, vigour. *Ōcc-al* as well as *ucc-am* means height from the differentiated form *ūng-u* we have *ōng-u*, to rise high, spread, grow. *Ōng-al* means, by analogy, bamboo, leader, king. *Ōng-u*, to spread, was again differentiated into *ving-u* to swell, abound. Here we have an instance of the frequent change of *u* into *v*. So too from *ukk-u* we have the derivatives *ōkk-u*, to throw, lift up, etc. *Ōkk-am* is enlargement, increase elevation.

So far we have witnessed the evolution of the word *ūkk-u* in Tamil alone. Its parallel evolution in the other languages can now be seen to advantage. It was noticed that an intensified form of *ū* was *ō*. In Sanskrit and its sister languages there is also another intensified form *au*. Thus the Tamil *ūkk-u* (*ucc-u*) becomes, in Latin, *aug-ere*, to increase, grow, advance, furnish abundantly. Similarly *aug-mentare* to enlarge; *veg-ere* to move, arouse; *vig-ere* to thrive; *vig-or* force, etc. So the Greek *aux-anein* to increase. English has *eke* (through *ek-en*, *ec-an*) to argument; Icelandic, *auk-a*; Swedish, *ok-a*; Gothic, *auk-an*; Dutch, *ook*. Also Anglo-Saxon, *wac-an*, *wac-ian* and German, *weck-en*, *wach-en*, to wake, watch.¹ Skeat cites an artificial root *wag*, *wak* or *ug* for explaining these different forms. The Tamil *ūkk-u* is an actual root and it throws a flood of light on them. The English *wax*, to grow is

1. Cf Walde : Latinisches Etymol wörterbuch S. V.

parallel to the Sanskrit *vaksh*. This is perhaps directly connected with the Tamil *ucc-u* and *uy-ar*, to rise high. In this sense Sanskrit has also *vaj*, to increase, go; *ucca* (Vedic), upwards; *uccais*, aloft, powerfully; *ug-ra* powerful, violent; *ojas* bodily strength. On the Sanskrit from *vaj* Monier Williams remarks, in his dictionary, that "a lost root *ui, vai* may be conjectured. Cf *ugra, ojas*, etc." What is conjectured as a lost root in Sanskrit is actually found as a primary word in Tamil. As a striking instance of the way in which derivatives in Tamil and the other languages have had parallel developments, compare the Tamil *ōkkam* with the English *auction* (from Lat. *augere*). Both come from the same root *ūhk-u* and both mean "to increase" the latter having acquired the extended sense of "increasing the price till the article is knocked down to the highest bidder."

Within and Remote.

One more example to show the connexion between the idea of 'being hidden from view' and that of 'remoteness.' The root *ul*, built up with the deictic *ū* and the formative *l*, denotes that which is hidden from view or away, hence what is within or inside. The verbal form *ull-u*, or *ul-ku* yields the sense of getting inside a thing, penetrating,—hence thinking. From this we have *vil-u* (for *ul-u*) to fall into a thing, *vilu-ngu*,—by Law III "second formatives,"—(for *ulu-ngu*), to swallow, and other derivatives. Another form is *ul-u* to insert into a thing, to plough. *Ōlu-ku* is to flow into a depression as a stream. Other allied forms are *ol-ku*, to become bent, to move to a side; *ot-ku*, to droop, fall short; *oru-vu*, to escape; *ol-i*, to leave off, become extinct. Further, by the change of the formative *l* into the stronger *ḍ* and by the substitution of the more emphatic *ō* for *o* we have *ōḍ-u* 'to pour into a hole as water' to run. *Ōḍ-ai* is running water, water course, etc. But *ōḍ-am* is "the running thing," a raft and *ōt-am* represents running water, flood, wave, the sea, dampness, etc. In the forms *ōḍ-u* and *ōt-am* the initial *o* is long. This *o* long was derived from an *u* short and therefore sometimes returns to the original value as, for instance, in *occ-u* which becomes *ucc-u*. The final *am* in *ōḍ-am* and *ōt-am* is a transformation of *at-u* as already stated, and it is further transformed into *an al ar*, etc. We often see this in one and the same word: e. g. *mar-am*, a tree, is also found in earlier literature as *mar-an* and *mar-al*; *cāmp-al*, ash is also found as *cāmp-ar*. When these phonetic changes are borne in mind, we can easily understand how the Tamil *ōt-am* is represented by the Sanskrit *udan*, a wave, etc. Sanskrit lexicographers derive this noun from a verb *ud*, to flow, which is perhaps a

back-formation. At all events, it is a counterpart of the Tamil *ōḍ-u* which alone throws any light on the origin of the word. The Sanskrit *ud* might have been influenced also by another allied Dravidian root *ut-i* to Spring. But in consideration of the many words relating to water which the Dravidian presents as derived from the idea of running, it seems probable that the Sanskrit *ud* is related rather to *ōḍ-u*, influenced by the more original *oḷu-ku*, etc. This may account for the change of the long *o* into the short *u*. As for the replacing of the cerebral *ḍ* of the Tamil by the dental *d* of the Sanskrit this is a very common phenomenon in both the languages. The Sanskrit *ud-an* (also *ud-aka* with a taddhita *k*) is related to the Latin *unda*, a wave, water, and the Greek *hudor*, water. The final *or* in Greek is noteworthy as the equivalent of *an* in *ud-an*. We have already spoken of the very general phonetic change of *u* into *wa* or *v*. It is by the operation of this law that *udan* and *unda* are represented by such forms as *wandu* in Lithuanian, *wato* in gothic, *waeter* in Old English and *wasser* in German. The Sinhalese *watur-u* or *watur-a*, water, is also probably from the same source.

The supposed Indo-European base is *wed*, covering words like *water* *wet*, etc. Note that the word *wet* had originally a long *e* and was spelt *weet*. The light which the artificial root throws on the derivatives is, however, very little. The case is quite different when we refer them to the real Tamil word *ōḍ-u*. Then they become luminous with the original idea of the fluid most necessary for all living beings. The semantic evolution was something like the following: 1. The elementary idea of being remote or hidden from view—*ul*. 2. Getting into a dipression of flowing—*oḷu-ku*, *ōḍu*. 3. The "Flowing thing" water, etc.—*ōt-am*. 4. Hence moisture, etc.

In concluding this all-too-brief study in Dravidian root-words it should be noted that the examples above given were taken at random and are not meant to be typical. There are scores of Indo-European word-clusters which can be easily referred to Dravidian roots throwing more lights on them than the imaginary roots constructed for them by painstaking philologists. The radical connexion of Dravidian with Indo-European will not be fully established, however, until a larger number of roots and their derivatives in both the groups of languages are examined and the sound-laws governing their evolution in the one and the other are set down. At the present, the phonology adhered to by

Indo-European philologists cannot be said to have resulted from an examination of the whole field. What Hunter said long ago is still true in great measure. Referring to a larger range of Indian languages he wrote: "Philology has hitherto concerned herself almost exclusively with Indo-Germanic and Semitic speech; with speech, that is, at a single stage, and perhaps not at its most instructive stage. The study of the non-Aryan tongues of India is destined, I believe, to open the door to the vast linguistic residue, and to furnish the basis of a new science of language, as the study of Sanskrit in India, eighty years ago, afforded the foundation upon which the present system of philology has been reared."¹

1. A comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia—
W. W. Hunter, Preface.

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. 68)

D. 45

Samuel Kindt to Directors of Netherlands East India Company
15th April, 1616.

The Honorable the Governors,

Most honored, worthy, wise, prudent, discreet sirs,

As lately mentioned, I cannot comprehend the matter of Ceylon, as I believe Mr. Hans de Haese before this advised your honors of the circumstances of the latter, because the same is so strongly occupied by Portuguese, for your honors to get great fruit there, requiring forces of a greater maximum than employed by your honors in the Molucques; but Ceylon being brought under our Allegiance would undoubtedly yield a handsome profit and secure to us the trade of the said gulf. The Portuguese are designing to appoint Ceylon as the rendezvous of their reliefs, because on land from Goa they do not enjoy much freedom, only according to the pleasure of the king Herdalchia of Vijsiapour. You will have learnt that on the release of Marchelis Michiels from Candia the undermerchant Gysbrecht van Sulen was dispatched, and then Marchelis betook himself to Bantam in company with Mr. de Haese in order to make a report on the matter of Ceylon. I have received from van Sulen the accompanying missive remonstrating his treatment and also how his majesty was occupied in entering into *trêves* with the Portuguese, regarding which I have written to his majesty as in the copy. It is certain that the viceroy, in spite of his strength, finds himself very weak for the prosecution of the Indian conquests, and endeavours to enter upon an armistice with his neighbouring enemies; he has also caused to be published a pardon of all offending Portuguese and other Christians sheltered by them, to allow them to again possess

their ordinary residence unmolested: as to which time will show. I have according to the recommendation of Mr. de Haëse ordered to send to Candij to the aforesaid van Suilen for his requirements guilders 89: 5: 14 pennings: there is in all to the debit of Ceylon guilders 832: 7: 2 pennings.

I am still burdened with the ambassador from Candij, the gentleman having thought well for him to continue at our factory of Tijrepopele until further orders from Bantam. He has come not only to make a statement on behalf of his majesty regarding the promised assistance but also to seek for the return of jewels and other things dishonestly consigned by Sr. Marchelis to the director van Berchem not however as his own but goods as it were received from some signoras which the Portuguese in passing captured. Upon the arrival of the aforesaid Marchelis demand was made for payment on behalf of the signoras: this has been referred to Bantam. Since the departure of the above I have discovered on information from van Suilen that aforesaid Marchelis must have proceeded reprehensibly: we cannot as yet judge to the contrary. Truly by his irregularity no little trouble arises from the said place: through his capturing of a certain Moorish vessel with araeck off Ceylon, when he let nine of the Moors be murdered, they are awaiting him again hitherwards, possibly to transport him to Ceylon. It were better that we were relieved of Ceylon, unless the gentlemen intend something therewith.

Written in our factory of Maslipatan 15 April, 1616.

Your honors' ever obedient,

SAMUEL KINDT.

Address:—Most honored, worthy, wise, prudent, very discreet, honored sirs, the governors of the United Netherlands East India Company of the chamber at Amsterdam. Per the ship the *Swarte Beer*, which God preserve.

D. 46

Hans de Haese to Directors of Netherlands East India Company,
10th May, 1616.

Honorable, wise, very prudent sirs,

Of the rashness of Marcelis Michielsz Boshouwer I have not been able ere this to advise you, as I was not informed thereof. Herewith go divers letters received from Selon in his absence, so that your honors may not complain of having had no advice and may not be deceived by

him, and as has been done with many others. By the first opportunity we shall recall Ghysbrecht van Suylen from Seylon, because in my opinion nothing is to be done there for your honors, unless the Portuguese were out of there, that is of any consequence, as in my previous letter I advised.

In Masulipatan, this 10 May, 1616,

HANS DE HASE.

The honorable, wise, very discreet gentlemen, The directors of the General East India United Company in the Netherlands.

D. 47

Directors of Netherlands East India Company to Governor-General and Council, 26th November, 1616.

To the Governor-General and Councillors of India.

26, November Ao. 1616.

Most honorable, brave, dear, particular,

Of the war
and trade

Regarding the trade and the affairs of Ceylon, as we have now for years heard of no profits or even trade (that could be called trade) there, and as our intention is not to use our means anywhere more for the honor and reputation of the country (as the English here at home impute to us should be done there) than for the profit of trade, we consider that it were better with all prudence to abandon the factory there, in the same manner as has been done in Atchin, Grece, Macassar and other places, than any longer there to consume in vain our means without hope or appearance of profit. However we refer all this likewise to your honors' discretion and disposal, whom we only recommend here in like manner in all other matters to seek the most profit of the Company.

Herewith, etc.,

Actum this 26 November, Ao. 1616.

D. 48

King of Kandy to Hans de Hase,

3rd January, 1617.

Senerathadasyn by the grace of God emperor of Seylao, king of Qamdea, Seytavaqa, Triqinamale, Yafanapatao, Sete Qorla, Manar, Chilau, Bateqalo, Palugama, Yala, prince of Uva, Denevaqa, Pasadum Qorla, Gale, count of Qohatra Corla, Qoruite and Batugedra, etc.

To Mr. Yoma Daza, counsellor of India and visitador general of all the fortresses and ships, director of Maluço on behalf of the high-born prince the most serene Mauritius of Nasau.

I have received your letter and one from Nigumbo Maharale on the 1st of January, written on the 19th of October, from which letter I learnt, what grieved me much, of the death of the viceroy: but everything is in the hand of God.

I am very glad that Nygumbo Maharale has left for Holland. I trust that he will give good information to the king of Holland in order to come well dispatched with a large fleet to expel our Portuguese enemies.

I am very glad that the elephant arrived safely and that it can do its work. I have also heard that a ship is to come to the port of Batacalo in the middle of March in order to give fuller information, of which I am very glad. You also recommend me to send the ambassador, that the ship remain not there without speaking with him. I do not send the ambassador there lest some disaster occur on the road; but his letter shall go and some person of ours.

The news from this kingdom is this, that two provinces have risen against the Portuguese: we cannot tell if they will be able to continue. We do not write more fully because there is nothing to write about, only that our Lord guard you and the whole army.—Amen.

Written in Qamdea the 3rd of January, Ao. 1617.



Being about to seal the letter, I have heard of the quarrels of Qute who took freight of the elephant. In the chanpana that took the elephant to Sataobyia with exchange of good words we embarked the elephant. To Quti for its freight we gave an elephant of six cubits and three-quarters in height; to the sailors three *hamanois* of areqa in front of my factor, and in front of the vaniha of the port I gave a signed paper on behalf of the king after this manner with these agreements that he should not take freight on the other coast and deliver the elephant there. You can inquire at the hand of Satambia who had the champana from Temdaire Pulett.

D 49.

King of Kandy to Bochouwer

3rd January, 1617.

Senerat Hadasin by the grace of God emperor of Seylao, king of Qamda, Seitavaqa, Triquinamale, Yaffanapatam, Sete Qorla, Manar, Chilau, Bateqalo, Palugama, Yala, prince of Uva, Denavaqa, Pasadum Qorla, Gale, count of Qohatro Qorla, Qoruite, and Batugedra, etc.

To the signor Migumbo Maharalahamy, second counsellor and secretary, keeper of the royal seal of his majesty.

I received a letter from you, at which I was very glad, and on the other hand was very sorry—at the death of the viceroy I was truly much grieved, but everything is in the hand of God, for without him nothing happens.

I was very glad of your departure for Holland: may God convey you in safety and the rest of the company for the good of us all as also to give full information to the king of Holland of all matters. I trust in God that there will come to me a large fleet from the king of Holland that we may expel these Portuguese traitors; and our honor is that of the king of Holland.

The news from this kingdom is that we are day and night at war without taking rest; but God grant that it very soon end with the good help that is to come to me. At present I have no more to write about, except that God may guard you for the services of the kings.—Amen.

Written in Qandea the 3rd of January, Ao. 1670

Up to the present the Qohatro Qorles and the Sete Qorles have remained in rebellion against the Portuguese: we cannot tell if they will continue.



D 50.

Extract from the Resolutions of the Directors of the Chamber of Amsterdam, 1616—1619.

16 January, 1617.—To Marcellis Michielsz is provisionally granted acceptance of a bill of exchange on account of his salary of a hundred pounds Flemish.

16 February, 1617.—The controllers of accounts are authorised at the earliest opportunity of dispatch Marcelis Michielsz and settle his accounts with him and close them.

23 February, 1617.—In the matter of Marcelis Michielsz it is understood that he shall be granted in addition to his monthly salary a hundred guilders besides, more or less, for the pretended presents made by him to the king; and regarding his position among the princes, this shall be postponed until later advices come from India, his further pretensions being rejected.

(Concluded)

Macdowall's Embassy to Kandy

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

(Continued from page 94)

D. 113

Frederic North to Hay Macdowall

SIR,

April 25th, 1800.

I received this morning your Excellency's letter of the 23rd by which I perceive that the Nobles of the Court of Candy object to the admission of the number of troops which you propose to send into their country and their establishment at Ganorouwa.

As to the first point I think with your Excellency that we cannot agree to any reduction as no force less than what you propose can be efficient or even safe. But I am not so entirely decided as to the rejection of the treaty in case the other point should not be conceded.

Should our troops be at Idamalpane or at any place not in the vicinity of the Capital, it is evident that the King's personal safety and dignity cannot be preserved to him by their means. But as that consideration seems to have little weight either with His Majesty or those ministers who appear to be the most attached to his person I doubt whether it will be proper for us any longer to consider ourselves as particularly obliged to undertake his protection.

With a view to the maintenance of our own power and influence in the country and for the preservation of the Commercial advantages which the treaty will give I do not know whether a situation in which our troops may be easily succoured and relieved from our own provinces may not be fully as advantageous as one more immediately in the centre of the Candian country, unless it would be such as to give us a virtual authority over the Court and its councils.

Whether Idemalpane is a station fit for the troops, is a point, which I must leave for you to decide, as I certainly will not consent to their being placed in any situation, which might be deemed unhealthy.

With regard to the point of a subsidy to be expected I will beg leave to refer you to my letter of last night.

I have the honor, etc.,

Colombo,
25th April, 1800.

FREDERIC NORTH.

D. 114

Hay Macdowall to Frederic North

24th April, 1800.

Sir,

In my letter of the 22nd instant I expressed an opinion that from the state of the negotiation a probability of success remained and I was led into this belief by having received a promise from the Nobles that the King would sign the treaty before my departure. With this view I repaired to the palace last night and in a Conference the heads of which I enclose declared my determination to make no further change and that seven or eight hundred men, were the smallest number I could recommend to your Excellency to station in the centre of the Island. Two hours and a half passed away in messages to and from the King, but perceiving no indication of success, I desired to be presented to His Majesty which was granted and I received permission to depart. When I quitted the Adigar who escorted me to some distance from the Audience Chamber, he seemed extremely pensive and gloomy, appeared to wish to say something, but was probably prevented by the presence of surrounding nobles. There is certainly a strong party against him in Court which has completely prevented the accomplishment of his designs. Although there can be little doubt that he will bye and bye again commence his intrigues. What appeared to strike the meeting most forcibly was the expence of the troops which I reckoned at 3 pagodas per month each man exclusive of officers and they said that the royal treasures were not sufficient to maintain so large a body, but that 3 or 400 could be paid for. This I treated as a mere excuse, put them in mind of their having broken their word to me and said that it was in vain to argue the point more at large. I had at their suggestion mutilated and curtailed the treaty to endeavor to give general content that having failed I was sorry for it, but could not give up the smallest part.

As it was no part of Your Excellency's instructions to me, to treat with the Candians unless they should agree to subsidize a certain force, for the security of the King and the tranquility of their country, neither of which objects could be obtained, were the troops to be quartered out of the King's Dominions, I did not think myself empowered to listen to a vague proposition of paying for 200 soldiers near their Capital and 2 or 300 more at Colombo, as under the reasons already given, I had every reason to suppose they were not sincere in making it.

I shall depart from hence tomorrow, and shall be happy to receive Your Excellency's commands respecting the returns of the Detachment at Rouwanelly to the presidency.

I have great pleasure in stating to you that there has not been a single complaint of any Soldier or follower belonging to the escort since my arrival at Ganorouwa and that the most perfect harmony and good humor has prevailed between the natives and the troops. Numbers have flocked to our little Camp every day and care has been taken to treat to them with attention and kindness, and to reconcile them by trifling Civilities and by giving full scope to their prying disposition to the British nation.

I have the honor, etc.,

HAY MACDOWALL.

Ganorouwa,

April 24th, 1800.

D. 115

Enclosure—Extract from Diary of Embassy
April 26th.

It having been announced to the General in form that the King would receive him tonight in order to sign the treaty. He was carried with the usual Ceremonies to the Hall where he had the conference with the Nobles in the palace on the 21st.

The Nobles asked him if he had come to a determination on the part of the treaty that remained unsettled, when they parted with him at Ganorouwa, meaning the number of troops.

The General said that was a subject on which he could never alter his sentiments—He declared that he would be very glad to meet their wishes, but that as a man and an officer he could not admit or recommend less than 7 or 800 men to remain at such a distance. They asked if we should pay for the eight hundred, will you agree to keeping two or three hundred only in the country. The General assured them that money or payment was not the object with us that he never would consent to having two hundred men only in the country, and that they must admit the 7 or 800 men or none at all. That it remained for themselves to decide which was best for themselves, for he was not come to force them to a treaty, it being the Governor's wish that they might see their interest and come into it of themselves. He said he must however remark that after their offering to sign the treaty on the 21st he was not a little astonished to hear these objections started now. That it

was in vain to attempt making him change his opinion, which he had deliberately and maturely formed with respect to the number of the troops and he would therefore be much obliged to them if they would say no more upon that point.

They all seemed very much distressed and dejected and a long silence followed. The General broke it by begging to know if their objections were such as prevented the treaty being signed, that he might be led to the audience chamber to take his leave of the King. This was immediately complied with and the copies of the treaty laid by.

After the usual ceremonies at introduction, the King asked the Ambassador if he had forgot no part of the Commission entrusted to him by the Governor. He replied that he had not. The King then said that he was much pleased with the expressions of Friendship contained in the letter which the Ambassador brought to him from the Governor. He asked his age, country, and rank in life and whether he had had all his wants supplied since his arrival at Ganorouwa. This ceremony over they brought in the presents and gave a gold chain and some pieces of cloth to everyone with Sufsan (?) betel nut boxes and cutters, small toothed combs and knives. There was a difference in the value of some of the things but there were nine Gentlemen present the whole amount must have been very trifling.

We were permitted to depart from the presence but obliged to go to the Banqueting House where they detained us till half past 5 o'clock in the morning. At parting with the 1st Adigar the Ambassador told him that he gratefully acknowledged the attention he had received during the whole of the time he had resided in the Candian country, that he wished well to His Majesty and the Nobles and expressed a hope that he might yet see them in Candy when they had changed the resolution they had now formed.

The Adigar seemed quite overcome with the mildness of the General at parting and the turn which affairs (unfortunately for him) had taken.

He said he would wait on the Ambassador in the course of the day with the elephant which had been presented to him by the King.

We now set out for Ganorouwa where we arrived long after sunrise on the 24th.

WM. MACPHERSON,

Secy. to the Embassy.

D. 116

Frederic North to Hay Macdowall
26th April, 1800.

Sir,

I received last night your Excellency's letter of the 24th, acquainting me of the ultimate refusal of the Candian Ministers to admit more than four hundred men into their territories and of your resolution to leave the Capital on the 25th.

I perfectly agree with your Excellency in thinking that four hundred men are by no means a force sufficient for the purpose of protecting the King's person and Government or of establishing our influence over the country in a firm and permanent manner.

But as the former of these objects can no longer be considered as obligatory upon us, since His Majesty and his Counsellors have refused the terms on which we offered to protect him, and by which alone we could be enabled to do so, and as the second of these objects will probably be procured for us by the encreasing weakness of the Government and by these troubles which since our intervention has been declined, will shortly take place in that country, I should be willing to secure and improve at present those commercial advantages, which they seem inclined to give us by any step which is consistent with the Honor of my Government.

I will therefore request your Excellency to halt at the resthouse where you may receive this and to inform His Candian Majesty by a message that although I have heard with the greatest displeasure of their rejection of my friendly offers I am desirous of averting as much as I can the evils into which they seem to be running.

That seeing the dislike which from an ill-placed and undeserved want of confidence of me, they entertain of the only measure by which I could effectually undertake to protect them, I am contented to give it up and to substitute in lieu of the third article these which follow.

3rd. That His Britannic Majesty's Governor shall furnish his Candian Majesty whenever his Candian Majesty shall require it, a sufficient body of troops to insure the safety of his country and that his Candian Majesty is to pay the whole expence of those troops while so employed.

4. And whereas the British Government is thereby obliged to keep considerable force for the security of the Candian Dominions His Candian Majesty and the Nobles of his Court in consideration thereof, cede in entire sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty all such land now in their territory as may be within thirty-eight miles of the sea, and Commissioners shall be named on both sides to settle the respective limits on this basis.

In mentioning thirty miles English, or six Dutch, I do not mean to insist on the Frontier being exactly at that distance from the sea as you may inform them, but that the Commissioners may settle it according to a mutual convenience of both parties. Should they object to this, the object of guaranteeing the King or interfering to preserve the ancient form of Government must be given up altogether, and the 2nd and 3rd articles left out and the treaty reduced to such points as may secure our commercial advantages with the addition of the following articles :

That the British Government shall have liberty to erect warehouses in such parts of the Candian territory as may be most convenient for trade, and to place guards over them, the number of the said guards within the Candian territories never to exceed four hundred men at any one time.

And that also, whereas great utility will be derived by his Candian Majesty's subjects by being enabled to send their commodities by water to the British territories, the British Governor will give all assistance in his power to His Candian Majesty for the purpose of rendering navigable the rivers in his Dominions.

Your Excellency will inform the Candian Ministers that if these alterations are agreeable to them, you will be ready to receive any persons appointed with full powers from His Majesty at your Quarters, where the treaty may be signed by you and them and afterwards sent for ratification to His Majesty and me.

As your Excellency supposes that the Ministers (particularly the Adigar) are much dejected at the failure of the negotiations, I have endeavoured to quicken their alarm by giving it up to be understood that I shall send for Boodha Samy the pretender from Jaffna to Colombo, a matter which I shall certainly execute unless the Court of Candy makes proper proposals.

The said Boodha Samy is perfectly reconciled in his interests to the man at Tutocoreyn, and the man here, and in short with all the Malabar Faction and many of the Cingalese who are discontented with the present Government and he was certainly intended to be successor to the last King.

I have told the Maha Modeliar to communicate that intention of mine confidentially to such persons as will make it immediately known to the Adigar and the Dessave of Ouva and also to say that I am highly offended with them both and with all the Counsellors of the present Court.

If the troops continue in tolerable health I do not think that we ought to be in a great hurry to break up the Camp at Rouvanelly.

If after all the Court of Candy should agree to one thousand men being stationed at Ganorouwa, you may immediately conclude the treaty with them on their giving the value of two thousand pagodas per mensem in rice and betel nut or territory producing as much as that to their Government.

I should also at all events wish for an alteration in the 8th article as far as relates to mutually giving up all persons required by the other party, as I cannot consent to expose to their barbarous caprice such persons as may take refuge here.

If they consent to the treaty as originally proposed or to the first alternative mentioned in the present letter, I will agree to send to the coast such refugees being subjects of His Britannic Majesty as they may require of me and that they shall not harbour in their territories any European of whatever nation or any native subject of His Majesty or the Company whom I shall require of them, but that all such persons shall receive a pass to embark immediately in the first sea-port.

If they will only agree to the commercial regulations, I will bind myself by no such article nor by the second article which stipulates that the King's enemies shall be mine.

I have the honor, etc.,

FREDERIC NORTH.

Colombo,

26th April, 1800.

D. 117

Extract from the Diary of an Embassy to Kandy.
Ganorouwa, April 25th.

At one o'clock p.m. the 2nd Adigar attended by two Dessaves of inferior note and a number of other persons of inferior rank waited on His Excellency the Ambassador.

After the usual compliments, the Adigar and his attendants sat down and the Ambassador having also seated himself took the opportunity of expressing his regret that he had failed in his endeavours to unite the English and Candians by the treaty he had proposed to them, and that great expence had been incurred. He said there was no instance of two great nations being so near to each other, without being united by a treaty; that it must one day take place and that it would be for the honor and glory of the prince and his ministers in whose time such a treaty should be concluded. That he had personally the greatest respect and regard for the King and his Nobles and would at all times rejoice at hearing of their health and happiness. To all this the usual civil replies were made. The Ambassador then said it was time to go, upon which the Adigar accompanied him a few yards upon the road, and told him that the King had ordered him to go so far with him and had appointed the Dessave of Udapelly to accompany His Excellency to Sittawaka. The General begged that he would offer the King his grateful acknowledgments for all his kindness and civility since entering his Dominions. He added that he should be very happy to return to Candy to sign a treaty of friendship and alliance with a nation he so much respected as soon as they had come to the resolution of agreeing to such terms as the English could honorably accept. The Adigar said they should be happy to see him, and that he would carefully report to the King all the kind things he had said of His Majesty his Nobles and his people at large, and that he might rest assured that all classes of the Candians were as desirous of an intimate alliance with the English could possibly be (*sic*). He now took his leave, we proceeded to Valgaervegody where we arrived a little before sunset, attended by the Dessave of Idapelly.

A true copy and extract,

WM. MACPHERSON,

Secy. to the Embassy.

Valgoorvegody,

26th April, 1800.

(To be Continued.)

The Kandyan State Trial

EDITED BY

FATHER S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Contd. from p. 83.)

Third Day—Wednesday, 14th January.

The Fiscal again brought to the notice of the Court two instances of intimidation used by Tikiri Banda, and the Deputy King's Advocate pressed on the Judge the necessity of enquiring into those complaints.

The following proceedings were then entered into:—

Mahalle Banda sworn—Is not a witness for the Crown, my uncle is a witness, Mahalle Unnanse; know Tikiri Banda, saw him yesterday morning at the door of the Court—Tikiri Banda came riding on a pony—he alighted from the pony and raising up a whip which he held in his hand—said to me contemptuously “your uncle is going to give evidence—you son of a bitch take care of yourself.”—After he said this he went to Mr. H. Staples and spoke something to him—upon which they both came up to me—then Tikiri Banda told me “If you remain here hearing what is going on; don't you go and mention this in your uncle's Temple.”—After that they both laughed and went away—there were many people there at the time. Do not recollect any one in particular—there were no Chiefs present, but plenty of other people whom I do not know—Mr. Staples was in sight after Tikiri Banda spoke but was not in hearing.

Tikiri Banda denied having even seen Mahalle Banda the preceding day, and begged permission to ask witness a few questions.

Mahalle Banda—Cross-examined—I was in the outer verandah of the Court-house—and Tikiri Banda in the yard—about four yards off—did not hear the exact words spoken to Mr. Staples.

Mr. H. Staples sworn—Did not see Tikiri Banda and former witness together—I am positive he had nothing in his hand at the time I saw him. I recollect the last witness standing in that corner at the further end of the verandah.—I went and shook hands with Mr. Armour

at the window—then Tikiri Banda said there is a witness who leaves the Court now and then and reports the evidence to his friends—I can't say whether such expressions were used or not as those imputed to Tikiri Banda.

Watterantenne Rate Mahatmeya sworn—I was examined the day before (yesterday) as witness for the Crown—know Tikiri Banda—saw him yesterday—when I met him here yesterday, he lifted up one of his fingers in a menacing manner—he said you have given evidence, and threatened me—Tikiri Banda I understood had sent messages to bring the people in from my village to Kandy.

Mr. Staples here interposed—I will save the Court further trouble on this point—I asked Tikiri Banda if he could bring people in from Watterantenne's village without the trouble of summoning them. And I hope the Court will overlook this complaint, as the young man has already received the censure of the Court for it.

Witness continued.—A man came and told me that the people resident in my neighbourhood were brought in consequence of a writing from Tikiri Banda—the writing must be with the people.

After some further discussion, at the intercession of Mr. Staples, on the ground that this alleged misconduct had occurred prior to the reprimand received by Tikiri Banda yesterday, the investigation was not pressed further.

10th Witness.—Mahalle Unnanse, sworn. I know 2nd prisoner—He called me to his house; I had a conversation with him. I sat down; he then asked after my health—after he had conversed together, he said that the ancient customs which had prevailed in this country had been discontinued. This Government will increase the taxes, and further will not let the chiefs and the religion possess the privileges which they now have—that neither the chiefs nor the religion can enjoy any privilege during the continuation of this Government. I then asked, what is to be done for it? he (2nd prisoner) said we shall never obtain any good unless this Government is removed from the country. I then asked what steps should be taken for it—I have taken into mind (he said) several measures necessary for it, I asked what are they? He then told me that this Government could be removed from this country with the assistance of the French. I asked how this was to be obtained?—he said that Cinnamon and other mercantile products of this country should

be collected, a trading ship should be built and delivered over to Ihagama Ralle¹ who came lately from the Isle of France, and that he should be sent in that ship to the King of the French Nation, as if he was going on trade. The mercantile articles should be prepared, and they could send him as if he was going on trading business. By sending him in that way they might perhaps engage the assistance of the French and perhaps by that means remove this Government. I said that the French and English were now friends and that I thought it could not be effected. He said, it is true what you say, I have taken into mind another plan. I said, what is that?—He said that the Buddhist religion is professed in the country of Amrapura—that four or five priests might be sent as if they were going on religious purposes; that it was the same country where I lately heard there was a war. By sending them as if they were going on religious affairs, they might speak to the King, and perhaps obtain his assistance in removing the English Government from this country. I observed that the English Government had lately carried on war with the King of that country and taken part of his dominions—and besides that I did not think that making war against the English Government would be attended with success. That is also true, he said, I have taken another thing into my mind—He said that the English Government had conferred much good on the people here—that the thing was to give an entertainment to all the gentlemen and soldiers by applying so to do to the Government. That if poison were mixed in the victuals they might be got rid of in that way, and they might gain their objects by that means also. I said I do not think it can be done, namely, the poisoning so great a multitude—He then said that he had heard that a great many men were once destroyed in the last expedition which was in the time of the late General McDowall.² The men were English troops—therefore that they would not fail in this plan. When the Government was destroyed a Cingalese one was to be established, I at last told him it was not an object which could be effected. He only spoke to me and cautioned me not to mention it to any one. The 2nd prisoner also added, as Molligoda was not his friend, and Mr. Turnour being a very sensible

1. Ihagama, Born circa 1793 was a priest at Malwatta and had been involved in rebellion ever since the annexation. In the Rebellion of 1817—18 he was captured, court martialled and sentenced to death, but was banished to Mauritius in 1819. Lieut. James Holman, R.N., gives an account of the adventurous life of Ihagama whom he met in Mauritius.

2. In 1803 when the British garrison was massacred.

person, that it was difficult to prevail in these designs—He told me, you should take an oath that you will neither disclose what has already passed, nor what is to pass. There is more to be spoken on this subject.

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples—This occurred I think about 12 months ago—I mentioned a part of this, not the whole, to my pupil Ratnapalla—He told me first of all that the Dessave had spoken to him on this subject before I told him—and soon after the 2nd prisoner had spoken to me. *The Dessave (2nd prisoner) spoke to me three different times, not on the same subject.* I think I mentioned this to my pupil soon after the three different conversations took place. I mentioned this to David Modliar, I think about nine months ago, and to the Agent of Kandy also, on the same day. I cannot speak correctly as to the time—I only recollect the number of months—Don't recollect if it was after the Cingalese new year. I think it was more than 10 months ago; I am on friendly terms with David Modliar¹—He told me it was a subject proper to mention to the Government Agent, so he took me there—I saw no one but him—Mahawalatenne Dessave came after the arrest—I know him, but have not spoken to him on this subject—I have only mentioned to those before stated. *Yes he (2nd prisoner) told me to keep it secret* but at the time I did not think it was an object which could be attained—that was the conversation that passed between ourselves. On the day preceding this conversation the second prisoner met me at this hall and said, if it is not inconvenient to you, come and see me to-morrow—there were people about the outer verandah, but none near us.

By Mr. Carr—*I recollect the time of the arrest—I gave the information before it.*

11th Witness—Ratnapalle Unnanse, sworn. I am a Priest belonging to Malwatte Temple in Kandy. *I recollect going to the house of the 2nd prisoner; he met me one day after 12 o'clock, I met him near this hall, he asked me to give a call at his house if not inconvenient. I do not recollect when it was, but I think there was an entertainment given to Sir Edward Barnes. I think it was about two months before. I went down to the house of Dunuwille Dessave (2nd prisoner) saw him*

1. Don David de Silva, Titular Mudaliyar, 1833, Translator to the Revenue Commissioner (George Turnour), afterwards 1834 to Government Agent of Kandy. After the investiture Don David de Silva Welaratna Jayatilleka Amarasiriwardena, Mudliyar of the Governor's Gate.

when I went there, saw some people at the Dessave's house, *when I went he presented me a seat and while we were in conversation he desired them to go away*; he enquired after my health, I answered I was well, *he told me that the ancient customs and usages had been discontinued by the English Gentlemen. He said, they have deprived us of the Buddhist religion and the prosperity of the Chiefs, and conferred powers on low-caste people*, that it was the intention of Government to increase the taxes on the lands belonging to the Temples and Dewales, also on Coccoanut, Coffee, and other fruit trees, so that *in case Government was to continue, hereafter we should meet with no further benefit but more and more hardships and injustice*. I said, what do you intend to do about it? Upon that he said, to remedy this a complaint should at once be preferred to England, and if that could not be adopted, *some other steps must be taken to remove the Government; until that was done we should not meet with any good*. I asked how it was to be done? He said that to employ the Cingalese people to remove the Government would not be successful, but that *it must be done by a foreign nation and that a plan had been devised*. I asked what plan? he said a large quantity of Ivory works and other mercantile articles not produced in Europe, sufficient to load a mercantile ship should be procured; that it should be delivered over to *Ihagama Ralle* who came lately from the Isle of France, and who could speak French and *that he should be sent to the Isle of France or the French country and bring the French here and by that means remove this Government*. I observed that when this country was under different nations formerly, by collecting the Cingalese people expeditions were carried on successfully. The Dessave then said, that this succeeded formerly because they were fortunate people, *that there was no other means now but by foreign nations*. I told him it was not a fixed or predestined thing to have this Government removed from the country; there were no fortunate persons now, that it was absolutely necessary to get the assistance of a foreign nation. I told him that I did think the attempt to take the country could be effected by the aid of a foreign nation. He said that is not all—*I have another plan in view*; he said there is a rumour now current, that there is no Upesampeda ordination in the country, *that four or four or five priests of talents should be sent to Anoradhapoorā as if they were going on a religious mission, to propose to the King of Amarapoorā to remove this Government*, either by his personal assistance or that engaged through his influence, and that perhaps it could by this means be effected. I said foreign countries being far off it was difficult to get their aid, and that I did not think it could be

obtained. He then said that the proceedings of the English by sea could not be prevented but by a foreign nation, so that in case the arrival by sea could be prevented he could in a day or two have the English nation removed. I asked, "how can so great a Government as this be removed in a day or two?" On that he answered me,—*I am able to obtain the co-operation of all the low-country people.* He said there was another good plan—what was that? I asked him—that from the time when the English Government was established up to the present time no entertainment had been given to the English Gentlemen and Soldiers at the same time, therefore that preparations should be made for an entertainment by collecting money from all classes, rich and poor, then to obtain the sanction of the Government for such an entertainment, and then to have a large quantity of beverage prepared and that while they were getting intoxicated poison could be given, by putting it into the beverage. I said what an immense quantity of poison must be given to poison such a large number of people. He said, I have heard that when the country was once taken and poison was put into toddy by giving it to the Soldiers great numbers of people were destroyed. He did not mention what time, but during the present Government. I asked the Dessave "If this Government is discontinued who is to govern us?"—*He then said that among the low-country Headmen there is still a Prince concealed.* That a part of the present Kandyan Provinces formed the territories of the low-country formerly which would be given to a foreign nation, and that a King would be established in this the (Kandyan country) and govern it as before. I saw a newspaper on his table, the Dessave took it up and explained its contents. I do not recollect it sufficiently to explain it from beginning to end, but remember the subject concerned our commerce in England. The name of Rammohun Rajah Roy¹ occurred; the subject was that the privileges which prevailed in some part of India were discontinued in that country, the same as here, and one Ramon Roy went to England to complain. I mentioned this to Government before the arrest of the Chiefs, through David Mudliar. He is a Cutcherry Mudliar.

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples.—The Dessave asked how I did. I know you (Mr. Staples) very well; I myself had no intention of poisoning the Gentlemen. The Dessave said he was going to poison

1. Raja Rammohan Roy (1772—1833) the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. In 1830 he was sent by the Emperor of Delhi on a deputation to England to advocate certain claims.

all the Gentlemen and Soldiers, did not mention the Ladies, I mentioned this story to Mr. Turnour, I said that first of all the Dessave had spoken on such a subject to my Teacher. I think a day or two after I spoke first on the matter, and told him that Dunuwille had a conversation of the same nature with me. He told me I have also been spoken to in the same manner. The next person I mentioned it to was the Government Agent; I mentioned it to Mr. Turnour by going with David Mudliar. I did not go to the Mudliar on that account, I went because I knew him. The Mudliar asked me why did Molligoda and Dunuwille (1st and 2nd prisoners) go to Anooradhapoor taking with them a large concourse of people. Mahalle Unnanse went with me, I don't recollect how long after the conversation. I can't help not recollecting it though it is a thing of such importance. Am not able to mention how long it was since, it was not two months nor four months. I can't swear before or after the Supreme Court came here—it was before the entertainment to General Barnes.

I did not engage you in a case of mine, I am sure that I delivered you over no case, I might have been at your lodgings with other Priests, I am not sure—it may be the case, I recollect the servant, it might be. You went to Mr. Armour's house; I must have seen you when you went to Mr. Armour's; yes I did; I do not recollect if I spoke to the Dessawe (2nd prisoner) before this. I went to Colombo with some other priests. I recollect the statement being reduced to writing. It was taken down the day I mentioned it to Government, it was read over to me once, not the same day. It was not taken down the first day I mentioned it, it was about two days after it was taken down. It was read over to me on the day on which it was taken down I mean it was not taken down on the first day I mentioned it. After I gave the information I was confined. I might have gone to the Government Agent after my statement was taken down. I do go on different subjects, I did not go to him on this subject until after I was confined, after I was released I went, I might have been before that Gentleman on different subjects, after I was confined I was sent for to the Bungalow of Mr. Anstruther and Mr. Turnour was there. I was sent for and when questioned told what I had stated before. When questioned at the Bungalow, what I stated was taken down Mr. Anstruther questioned me and asked me to put my signature to it, don't recollect if it was read to me, after the Supreme Court came this time I did not go to him. It was from the verandah I came.

Did not speak to Mr. Turnour—the statement has not been read since the Court came. Don't know the terms on which the 1st Prisoner and Mahalee Unnanse are. I know the 2nd Prisoner's children were sent to learn at Malwatte. It is my object in stating that about the children to shew that they are not on bad terms. I don't know what terms 2nd Prisoner and Mahalle are on now. I am not always in Kandy, live in Doombera—I am not appointed a Proctor by Government. If I am not, how can I be a Proctor otherwise? I did not act in this case as Proctor, that land was transferred to me. Still the property belongs to Pelemetalawe.¹ The land was only transferred to me during the progress of the case, know of no disputes about land. The land is called Dunuwille. I knew of no disputes. I never had a dispute or case with the Dessave or any of his family. There might have been cases about the Dunuwille land which I was concerned in with other people, my land is separated from his land. I heard that Dunuwille-game was formerly a royal village and the land I have were by a royal grant, since I became the owner of the Temple. I knew of no dispute, his (2nd prisoner's) relative (younger brother) had been to Mahalle for instruction. Since, they have gone to Mr. Browning's. When my statement was read the King's Advocate was present; it might be about 6 months ago. Since, the session I have been in Mr. Turnour's verandah. During the trial all the witnesses were there.

By Mr. Perring—*The Dessave said that an oath must be taken by me that I would not disclose what had already passed, or what was to pass.* I did not take the oath, nor that I should take the oath instantly. He said he would speak further to me after I had taken the oath, on another occasion.

12th Witness—Mulligame,² 3rd Adigar, sworn.—I recollect the entertainment given to Sir Edward Barnes; recollect the two first prisoners calling on me after it; recollect what was said on that occasion. First and second prisoners came to the verandah and seated themselves on a cot. Before the entertainment the two prisoners came to my house, spoke to me, and went away; nothing particular was said. On a subsequent occasion when the first prisoner came to Kandy, on some business, he and the 2nd prisoner came to my house again; on that occasion both

1. Pilima Talauwe

2. Mulligame Heratdawunde Wickremasinha Ekanayaka Abayakoon Pandita Rajapaksa Mudianse, Kunamaduwe Lekam.

said, our respects are lost, our religion is lost, it is therefore necessary to take some steps about it; again the Adigar came to Kandy on some business, and remained in Kandy for several days; and as he was returning from Kandy, he came to our house and told me that he had the directions of His Excellency to go to Nuwara Ellia; he was now going to his own village and intended to come back; he came back accordingly and called at my house again; on that occasion he told me there was an order forbidding the festivals (Perehara) we have no use of them, therefore we should look-out what we ourselves can do, we don't want what Government has forbidden: after that the Adigar alone came; on the first occasion both came, the second time also both came, the third time the Adigar came alone, I was ill at the time; on that occasion (the 3rd) on which *Molligoda* (1st prisoner) came, he could not see me, I was unwell; after I was partly recovered he told me "we entertain both Moodeliars and Gentlemen, it is bad that you should alone refrain," and advised me to give an entertainment to the 2nd Maha Modeliar¹ and other Modeliars; I agreed, and made the necessary preparations at my house; after I had made the preparations, I invited *Udupalata Dessave* (2nd prisoner) the 2nd Maha Modeliar and several others; I invited the 4th Modeliar² also; they all came and took victuals; the party being over, the two first prisoners and myself entered into common conversation, and being satisfied, went away; the 1st and 2nd prisoners told me afterwards that General Barnes was expected, and that he had a very favourable opinion of us, and proposed to raise a subscription to entertain him; it was collected from all of us and everyone was then invited; we went to the party, all the Chiefs; the party was over and we all retired. The next day the First Adigar gave another entertainment, and I was invited and other Moodeliars; after the victuals were taken away on this occasion, *the 1st and 2nd prisoners* came to the verandah in the 1st Adigar's house, we all then sat down on the same cot; *the Adigar said, "our religion is not in existence, the customs of our religion and our respects are also gone, we must adopt measures suitable to regain it; the Government Agent after ruining this country will leave it; it is therefore necessary to take into mind how to destroy this Government."* The 1st Adigar said "I am going to my country, I will come back, bear this in mind." *Udupalata Dessave* said the same; *they both said, "our religion is lost, our respects*

1. Abraham de Saram Wijesekera Abeyagooneratna, 2nd Maha Mudaliyar, 1816—1834.

2. Christoffel de Saram Wannigesekera Ekenayaka.

are lost, we must take into our mind to destroy this Government; you must take it into your mind also." It became late at night, I came away leaving the Adigar in his house. After that when the Supreme Court came the first time to Kandy, the 1st prisoner came to Kandy 2 or 3 days before the session commenced, stayed a day or two and went away. He came again, and went to the Maligawa; while I was there, the 1st prisoner, *Ellepate Nileme*, and some others came there to worship Buddho; there were three came; after they had worshipped they came out; I worshipped and came to the outside hall where the 1st Adigar was; I then asked him what keeps you there? He said my name is not taken down (as a juror) by the Supreme Court. I want to mention it to the Revenue Commissioner, because there is no use in my remaining. At that time the Revenue Commissioner was inside his house, and he went there; don't know what occurred between them. The Adigar called on me after his return from the pilgrimage, he and *Dunuwille* (2nd prisoner) came to my house; they told me that the 1st Adigar had already sent the 2nd Adigar a message for him to come; a little after that the 2nd Adigar also came to my house; we all four then went to the 2nd Adigar's house through my garden; we did not meet together; after that something occurred about slaves; *Molligoda* came to my house alone after he returned from the pilgrimage; on the occasion he came alone he had no opportunity to speak to me, for I was sick; my attendants told me that he had called; afterwards he did not come alone.

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples.—So you like good living? Nobody dislikes good living; three of us sat on a couch; I drank a little wine, I don't get drunk, as much as that (three fingers); we drank the King's health—I did not drink half as much as the glass would hold; I did not drink the health of the Court; I have no business to recollect how many toasts were drunk; I have no occasion to take into my mind all the 1st Adigar did, those things which were necessary I can recollect; I take into mind all things which concern the welfare of the Government, I don't take anything bad into my mind; we talked of nothing else. The Adigar and others drank toasts and spoke amongst them; a toast was proposed by Dehigama¹—"The King" was the first toast; afterwards the Maha Nileme proposed several toasts and gave entertainments; after the entertainment was over, which was given to General Barnes, it was then that this conversation was held. The 1st

1. Dehigama Navaratna Attapattu Wahala Mudianse, Uda Gabada Nilame.

Adigar gave several entertainments, but we did not go; the last entertainment given by the Adigar was before I fell sick, I do not recollect the month; I was sick when the arrests took place. Ellepate Basnaike Nileme was not present when the conversation took place, he was present when the party came to worship Buddhoo. This conversation in the verandah took place the day after the entertainment to Sir E. Barnes; no one was in the verandah but the Adigar, the Dessave, and myself, no one else; the Adigar had left his guests; I have a daughter—no such proposition was made as 2nd prisoners's brother wanting to marry my daughter; I did not speak of my daughter's marrying him—on the day they went on the pilgrimage, I went to 2nd prisoner's house—nothing was spoken about the marriage—the Dessave wept on that occasion—I know nothing of any message about such a marriage with my daughter; whether or not a conversation took place on that subject I do not know, neither directly nor indirectly—did not hear from any person that the 2nd prisoner's brother wanted to marry my daughter. The 2nd prisoner's mother sent a message that one of her sons wanted to marry my daughter; I replied she was already solicited—she did not say it was Madduma Banda but one of her sons. Did not know that 2nd prisoner had objected to what his mother had done—have not been on bad terms with him. This Bambaradeneye accused me falsely that I used to receive bribes. An investigation was instituted and I was fined—this was in Mr. Tolfrey's¹ time.

Re-examined by Mr. Carr—Madduma Banda is not a man of property.

By Mr. Staples—I mentioned this to the Chief Secretary of Colombo (Mr. Anstruther). When they were arrested I was very sick; I mentioned it afterwards—did not mention it to anyone before I went to the Revenue Commissioner, after I had told it to him I was sent for. Of my own accord I went and mentioned it—did not mention it to any one until I went of my own accord. I was confined to my bed by serious illness two or three months; sometimes at day and sometimes at night, I lost my mind.

By the Jury—Were you asked to join in these measures to destroy the Government, by the Adigar?—He only requested me to bear this in mind but did not ask my co-operation in it—This was stated after his return from Anooradhapura. I have something more to state. There

1. Edward Tolfrey, C.C.S., 1803—1821. Judicial Commissioner, Kandy, 1820. Died 1821.

was news that slaves would not be allowed any longer; we all signed a petition on that subject and presented it; on that petition being presented Mr. Turnour said it is not good, apply to keep the slaves for a limited period. After this petition was returned, it was carried to the verandah of the Maligawa, it was debated amongst ourselves to what period it should be limited; after this the 2nd prisoner said, an attempt was made to abolish slavery in the Isle of France, that the inhabitants of the Isle of France rebelled and resisted it, and disputed with those Gentlemen who were sent from England; that if unanimity existed in this country the same could be done here; after this both the 1st and 2nd prisoners said, *“we cannot endure these things—If there are no slaves, no religion, no respect, how can all this be endured? therefore some steps should be looked for; that the Revenue Commissioner would burn this country before he left it”*—when they said that he would burn it, they meant that he would destroy the country, the religion, everything; that this could not be endured and that we must look out for something to destroy the Government; our Walapane Dessave¹ was there also. The Adigar told him that when this was begun he should do what was needful to be done. He agreed to it.

13th Witness.—Mapagey Mohandiram of Molligode—*I have known the first prisoner from his infancy. I am in the service of his house, it is I who keep the keys of the several apartments. I was also a confidential adviser of the late 1st Adigar, his brother. I know of a book which he has been keeping. I saw a book being written about the royal families and local customs; I don't know that anything about the King was written, I will tell all I know about it. The Maha Nilleme makes the entries in that book. I can't say exactly what is written in it. I recollect the Adigar going to Anooradhapoorā; everything I stated has been recorded. I know the landed property possessed by the 1st prisoner was given to his son. It happened at his Walawe in Molligodde. I can't say how long before he went to Anooradhapoorā; there were many people present, Korales. The Basnaikē Nilleme of Saffragam was there (Ellapata.) There were some of the tenants there also—a part, not all. He took up the grants of different lands, called up his son and handed the sannas or deeds to his son. He read over all of them and gave them to his son, and after those deeds were handed over to his son, he and the deeds were committed to the care of Ellapata. The*

1. Walapana Dissawa Galagoda Rajapakse Rajakaruna Pandita Wahala Mudianse.

Adigar's son is *his nephew* (Ellapata's.) He desired his son to take care of them and to keep them. He did not say why he delivered them over to his son. He did not mention that he could not take them back. He said, "this is the only son I possess, I ought to give all I have to him," nothing more was said about this. The tenants were also given over to this Tikiri Banda (his son). He retained only the estate in Dodantellegamme, and though he had given them to his son he could not say he could not do what he pleased with them (the lands); the Dodantelle estate was retained, never said that it was given, said the other property was given. I can name what estates were given.—(*The estates were then named*).

The great mass of the property was given. I can't say what his motives were. I cannot penetrate into the motives of such fortunate men. Ellapata did nothing; being there he was directed to take care of the boy and property. I could not know what were his motives; the father is the most natural guardian; don't know why Ellapata was made the guardian over the child, whether it was on account of his relationship or not. *The Adigar is not an old man*. I can't say the reasons for it. *I have seen the emblems of the sun and moon at the Dodantelle temple and at the house also*; when a ceremony takes place they are taken to the house, and when it is over they are taken back again. In the King of Kandy's time, they were not given by the King for any common purpose, they were given to the Temples and by the King alone. They were not at any other person's house. *In the King of Kandy's time, a person who had them in his house would be found fault with, or lose his head, which is the same thing. It is rather suspicious their being there*. I saw nothing else that is peculiar to the King alone. *Mutukuda and other insignia of royalty were there*. Nothing further was said at the transfer of the land than, "he is the only child I have. I give to him the landed property I possess." He (1st prisoner) merely said this and nothing else. I know nothing about magic. He delivered over the son and told Ellapata to take care of the property for him. I saw the estates given to the son and the deeds also. He said to the son, with regard to me (witness), that he might choose another guardian if he liked.

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples.—Many persons knew that the Adigar had these things; they were not taken privately; everyone in the District knew of them; they were made by the Adigar for the use of the Temple—the Adigar had no occasion to fear his head being cut off

now for possessing these things. They were kept at his house in custody. They do transfer their property when they go to camps or on expeditions. They do the same when they go to any distant or sickly country. Anooradhapoorra is an unhealthy place.

By Mr. Perring.—*I cannot specify an instance of property being thus transferred; I have heard people speak of it but never knew an instance myself. It did not occur to me at the time that it was an unusual thing. I do not recollect saying so, what I have stated will appear in the writing. I do not give you an affirmative answer because I don't recollect; I can't swear to the case in the negative. I recollect the book; I saw one day that the forms of the inauguration of a King were written in the book. It is not with me, I don't know where it is. The keys that I have belong to the deserted house; everything is in the house at Dodantelle; that book was not written privately, but when there were other people present. I only saw it on that day when it was on the desk; I saw it was in the hand-writing of the Adigar.*

14th Witness.—Rajapaksa Walimunegedere Sattamby,¹ sworn,—*I recollect the late Kandyan King, was in his employment, know the first prisoner (Molligoda) he spoke to me formerly. Three years ago I was desired by him to come to his house, I saw him, had a conversation with him, when I went to his Walauwe he said to me, "I have been appointed to my situation by the favour of Government and wish to consult you about the ancient customs."* Witness's former position was that of Sattamby over the Palanquin-bearers; the prisoner said he did not know how I employed the people. I said there were two sets of duty, I said if the King wanted to go out in the city, I was in the habit of employing people in two sets within the town of Kandy, and if he wanted to go to a far place, I employed additional people. I know how to equip a Royal Palanquin. He said he wanted me to equip a royal Palanquin as the Governor was coming to Kandy. I equipped one and brought it to the Revenue Commissioner. The Rate Mahatmeya brought me to the house of the Revenue Commissioner and told me to say this. I did not come formerly to say anything, I said nothing before. There are other Sattambies but they did not come. I did not say the other Sattamby was young when the King was on the throne.

1. Sattamby Officer of the Patti caste, attached to the royal bathing and palanquin establishment.

At the time the King was on the throne the Adigar said he was young and did not recollect these things. He only said he got the situation of Adigar by the favour of Government and it was necessary for him to know these things. I thought he made these enquiries because he was quite young at the time they existed.

(Dunuwille the elder, Basnaike Nileme, was called. An ola was put in to certify he was sick. The learned Judge decided that the King's Advocate had a right to examine Wellegedere Rate Adikareme, but whether his further deposition would be admitted as evidence was still a point for future consideration.)

15th Witness.—Molledande Rate Mahatmeya—¹ *I was the late King's Betel-bearer*—I know the 1st Adigar and spoke to him last year, I think in the month of May. *He said that he did not understand the ancient customs, and therefore enquired into the way of performing them, he said he required this information for the purpose of compiling a book, he said he had written some customs himself and I gave him others which were taken down by him. The religious ceremonies which were performed in the month of May, and some of the other customs of the country—the process by which the betel is furnished—all the former customs I mentioned—all the Raja Karie duties—how the Raja Karie was performed in the Country—and how the compulsory services were executed. I do not recollect anything being said of the Cutcherry Lekammittiye (Register)—I am in doubt. I did not swear before that I did. I now recollect that I said to the Adigar “refer to the Lekammittiye at the Cutcherry.” I said he could see it by permission of the Revenue Commissioner. I said something about the Raja Karie—how the betel was furnished to the King—I also mentioned the villages from whence betel was brought for the use of the King. The 1st Prisoner took down my statement with a pencil at the table.*

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples.—*I know Mahalle and Ratnapalle Unnense—they have been on bad terms with the 2nd Prisoner for a long time, the estate of the two parties are near each other—they are constantly litigating with each other about lands, I know this from my observation.*

1. Moladande R. M. of Hewaheta.

I know Watterantenne—he is on bad terms with 2nd Prisoner but I do not know that he is on bad terms with the 1st Prisoner.—There was a talk concerning a marriage between the 3rd Adigar's daughter and 2nd Prisoner's brother. I do not know it from my own knowledge. The 3rd Adigar did not speak on the subject.

By Mr. Perring—Mahalle and Ratnapalle Unnanse are on bad terms with 2nd Prisoner. I am a cousin of the 2nd Prisoner; he is also my brother-in-law.

(To be continued.)

Notes and Queries.

THE WELIGAMA STONE STATUE.

The following note is taken from a letter by Dr. A. Nell to the "Ceylon Daily News":—

The Weligama statue should be examined in a scientific manner, as regards the iconography, the location, and the legend. Unfortunately explanations based upon the distorted legend precede examination of the form and significance of the statuary. In some instances, such a mode of procedure has proved an obstacle to further knowledge, even after extended investigation has placed more facts before us.

Another obstacle to a true understanding of certain stone statuary in Ceylon has been the insular or parochial prejudice against comparative study of the iconography. Examples in India, Java, Siam and elsewhere are not considered, or, if brought to notice, are treated with serene indifference. Volumes of compilations, with literally hundreds of illustrations, are available for reference, in the Colombo Museum Library, by those who are not able to visit India, etc.

Your correspondent "Student of History" is mistaken in writing of controversy among antiquarians; there is agreement among them as to the character of the Weligama stone statue. It was pointed out by me in 1906 that, besides other signs, the image of a Buddha in the head-dress showed the statue was not of a King, but of a Maitreya. This was denied until the late Mr. Ayrton confirmed it. Recognising the value of the clue, he proceeded further climbing up examined the rest of the head-dress, and saw four more Buddhas carved in it. Subsequently I verified this for my own satisfaction, when Mr. Ayrton published his own description. Another symbolism is to be noticed, that of a lotus held in one hand. Those who have seen many Ceylon stone figures should have been mindful of the fact that this image is cut unusually high on the rock and above the ordinary level. Put together these facts and consider the statue for an explanation of its iconography.

The image of Amitabha in the head-dress indicates that it is a Maitreya; the lotus held in the hand that it is Padmapani, Avalokiteshvara, "the god who looks down from on high," who is the Dhyani-Bodhisattva, emanating from the Dhyani-Buddha Amitabha, and whose manifestation on earth the Manushi-Buddha was Gautama-Buddha, the Sakya-Muni. According to the iconography, it is purely a Mahayana image; a beneficent attribute will be mentioned later.

The location is next to be considered; the dewale in the immediate vicinity is one of Natha Deviyo, the Sinhalese portrayal of Avalokiteshvara. Lastly we come to consider the legend, of a King (cured of "leprosy" by an Indian physician) who cut the image in the rock. Contrary to some moderns he would not cut his own image on the rock, but that of the god to whom he was grateful for a cure. The easy spread of Buddhism in Tibet was ascribed by historians to the immense popularity of the early monks who practised medicine successfully and gave all the credit to "the god who cures leprosy," *i.e.*, Simhabanda-Lokesvara, one of the synonyms of Avalokiteshvara in his benevolence. By the term translated "leprosy," we may understand some stubborn skin-disease.

If we collate the known facts, we find the iconography is not contradicted by the location and the legend, but confirmed by them, and Mudaliyar H. E. Amersekere was right in calling it "Natha Deviyo": he suggests not dropping the misnomer Kushta-Raja, but adapting it to fit the truth, by using the term "Kushta-rajage Deviyo." This would be a concession to usage but my experience in the matter of "the battle of Getambe in 1638" was that a conciliatory concession as to a name could be received with a sneer. It is best to be strictly accurate and to try to remember the image as one of Avalokiteshvara, *i.e.*, Natha Deviyo.