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THE CAPITULATION OF COLOMBO, 1796.

Some Dutch Official Documents relating thereto.

Translated by E. Reimers, Government Archivist.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY L. J. B. TURNER, C.C.S.

THROUGH the courtesy of Mr. Reimers, who not only discovered, and made the following translations of, this valuable material, but generously placed it at my disposal, I am enabled to make some important additions to my article on the British Occupation of the Maritime Provinces, which was published in the Ceylon Antiquary, April 1918, Volume III, Part IV, pages 237 seqq.

The material referred to consists of a manuscript volume which contains the official minutes of the Secret Resolutions of the Dutch Council in Ceylon in 1795 and 1796. From these minutes, Mr. Reimers has selected, for translation, passages which are relevant to the history of the transfer of Colombo from the British to the Dutch. In view of the gap left by the official documents which were hitherto available, the material which has now come to light is of very great value, and may be briefly examined in its threefold relationship to what has been already known or conjectured, namely as

^{1.} Hereinafter referred to as C.A. III

^{2.} See C.A. III, 238, footnote 6.

(i) confirming the previous information; (ii) correcting it; (iii) adding · to it.3

With regard to (i), the Secret Resolutions, as might be expected, confirm the official information which was already available up to November 12, 1795. It is also pleasing to record that they confirm many of the conclusions tentatively drawn from the doubtful evidence of Percival and Tombe, the chief of these being that the dominating feature of the situation was the strength of the British forces 4; that there was no indication of any intention to capitulate till nearly the end of the incident 5; that the presence of the Kandyans, and the possibility of their intercepting the Dutch outposts was one reason for the withdrawal of the latter.

The documents also support the dismissal 7 of the charge of treason made by Tombe against Governor van Angelbeek, as they show that the capitulation was recommended by all the staff officers but one, and that its terms were unanimously accepted by the Council. At the same time, the Secret Resolutions, while disproving Tombe's main thesis, give partial support to several of his statements of detail. The numbers of the Colombo Garrison, for example, given in the documents 8 differ but little from Tombe's details, * the number of sailors being the same in both, the number of artisans nearly the same, while other differences, except in the numbers of Sinhalese and Moor companies, may be largely explained by the omission of the number of officers in the official statement. The names of the officers, as given by Tombe, are, in several cases, also given in the documents, though the spelling is often different. Thus, Tombe has Scheder while the documents give Scheede. some of the other differences being Van Hugues and Von Hugel¹⁰; Prosalot and Prophalow; Venagel and Villnagel; Hupner and Heupner.

It may also be noted that the reference in the documents11 to Lieutenant Colonel Raymond's sortie is in fair agreement with Tombe's account, except that no mention is made of the attack being made at Raymond's own accord, and the inference is that this

^{3.} These three classes overlap to some extent.

^{4.} C.A. III 256 and infra 117.

^{5.} C.A. III 247 and infra 117.

^{6.} C.A. III 252 and infra 114.

C.A. III 255 and infra 117.
 Infra 117.
 Royal Asiatic Society Journal (Ceylon Branch) Volume X, pages 388-391.

^{10.} See Lewis Tombstones and Monuments p. 80.

^{11.} Infra 116, cf. R. A. S. J. 382.

was not the case, although one may be inclined to wonder why the Colonel's "unwearied efforts" were necessary. The death of Raymond is not referred to in the documents, and the mention of Captain von Reitzenstein's detachment is new. The correspondence regarding Negombo12 confirms part of Tombe's statement on this point, while his mention of M. Sluysken 13 is corroborated by the documents.

With regard to (ii), the corrections in the previous treatment which are made necessary by Mr. Reimers' discovery, are not as numerous as might have been expected, but there is one of considerable importance which has to be applied to the tentative conclusions regarding the political views of Governor van Angelbeek in the Article referred to. 14 As the new information on this point is, perhaps, the most important contribution to history of the documents now before us, it may be dealt with in some detail.

In the Article, it was suggested, on the evidence of Percival, and on the probabilities of the case as they then appeared, that the Governor, throughout the period under review, maintained his allegiance to the Stadtholder. But the Secret Resolutions show that this was not the case. They confirm the previous official papers in the statement that the Governor and Council had, up till July 25, 1795, determined to adhere to the Stadtholder, but the Resolutions of August 15 show that it was then unanimously resolved "that the Republic was the sovereign of her colonies and, accordingly, of this Government."15

The reasons for this change of policy are fairly fully indicated in the Secret Proceedings, the translations of which are given in the following pages, but it is worth while summarising the course of events from July 12, 1795. On that date, the first news of the change of the Government of the Netherlands was received from Tuticorin, which was then a "subaltern settlement" of Colombo, the officers in charge there sending Governor van Angelbeek a copy of the English Madras Gazette containing the information. 16 On this report, it was resolved that the old constitution should be adhered to; that Colombo, Galle, and Trincomalee, should be defended against the British; and that the other posts, if attacked by them in spite of the declaration of adherence to the Stadtholder,

C.A. III 252 and infra 113.
 C.A. III 250 and infra 117.

^{14.} C.A. III 254, 16. Infra 100. 15. Infra 111.

should be defended if possible, or, if the enemy's forces were too strong, that capitulations on favourable terms should be stipulated for.¹⁷

On July 25, 1795, the news of the change of Government in the Netherlands was further confirmed by the arrival of Major Agnew with the two letters referred to on page 103. The problems raised by these communications were so important that the written opinions of the Members of Council were called for, and the discussion on them was fixed for the following day. 18

These opinions are recorded in the Proceedings of July 26, (pages 104-9 infra), and it was finally decided that a declaration of adherence to the old constitution should be made; that the protection of the British should be refused; but that 800 British troops should be accepted as auxiliaries. 19 The main object of this decision was to avoid a flat refusal of the British offer, which would have been followed by an occupation by force, and, at the same time, to secure that the Dutch remained masters of their possessions in Ceylon.

The next step resulted from the perusal of the London newspapers which Major Agnew had sent to Governor van Angelbeek, coupled with the action of the British commanders at Trincomalee in invading "the Company's territory with armed troops." The position, as it stood on August 12, 1795, is ably summarised by the Governor at the meeting of Council on that date (pages 98, 99 infra). The new point which is emphasised here is that the change of the constitution of the Netherlands, instead of being a "French usurpation" as was, apparently, supposed previously, is shown by Major Agnew's newspapers to have been effected with the consent of the majority of the people of Holland. This, apparently, suggests question, which does not appear to have arisen before, as to what was to be done if a French fleet arrived with orders that they were to be received as allies of the new Government in the Netherlands. The alternatives of adhering to the arrangement entered to with the British, or of their repudiation and the recognition of the new Republic as the sovereign authority, are fully considered. Either alternative is "fraught with the greatest risk, and we cannot choose between them without exposing ourselves to the greatest danger and the most grievous consequences, whereof the outcome or end cannot be determined by any human wisdom,

^{17.} Ib. 102 18. Ib. 103. 19. Ib. 108.

seeing that it depended on the issue of the war between Great Britain and France." The question was further discussed at a meeting held on August 15, 1795, 20 and it was finally decided that the Republic should be acknowledged as the sovereign of her colonies "and, accordingly, of this Government," and that, as a corollary to this decision, and in view of the fact that the British had invaded the Dutch territory at Trincomalee, the engagements with the British should be broken off.

There is no indication in the rest of the documents that the Governor disapproved of this decision, or, at any time, desired to retract from it, and, in the absence of such information, the tentative conclusions in the Article, that the Governor had remained a supporter of the Stadtholder, are now seen to require amendment.

Some reference may also be made here to the bearing of the documents on Percival's statement that the collapse of the defence was due to the insubordination of the Jacobins among the Garrison. If the mutiny among the troops, which was to be dealt with by the military tribunal,21 occurred among the Dutch soldiers—a possibility which might be read into the words "should it happen that the National (Dutch) Regiment and the Wurtemburgers were implicated in one and the same offence "-some support might be found for Percival's statement. It could also be argued that the Governor might, on grounds of policy, have omitted to mention this fact among the other reasons 22 in favour of a capitulation; while it is also to be noted that both Tombe and Percival make the statement that the Governor's house was fired at by the troops, after the Capitulation.23 But it might equally well be argued, on these three points, that the military tribunal may have been appointed to deal with the misdemeanours among the native troops to which the Governor makes explicit reference 24; that there was no reason why in the "Secret" Resolutions, no reference is made to insubordination among the Dutch troops, if this had been relevant to the failure of the defence; that Tombe does not make any mention of the insubordination of Jacobins, or of the chaos described by Percival. It is also difficult, though perhaps not impossible, to understand how a split between the Jacobins and the rest could have arisen when the documents show that the Governor and Council had transferred their allegiance to the Batavian Republic.

Infra 111.
 Infra 114.
 Infra 116.
 R.A.S.J. 385, 410.
 This view finds support in an untranslated passage in the Secret Resolutions.

On the whole, while it is possible that there may have been some disturbance after the Capitulation—an expression of opinion, perhaps, of those who agreed with Major Vaugine that some defence should have been made-and while the case against some of Percival's statements may be less clear than was hitherto thought, 25 his general theory is full of difficulties, and cannot be accepted till some further evidence in support of it is forthcoming.

The documents also correct some of the minor statements of Percival and Tombe. For example, Percival's statement that after the Capitulation, the Dutch troops were equal to those of the British is definitely contradicted; 26 his statement that the Capitulation was signed without the knowledge of the troops appears to require some qualification in view of the fact that nearly all the staff officers recommended surrender; 27 while Tombe's statement that the Governor had many means of provisioning the Fort appears to be contradicted by the documents.28

If we now turn to (iii), namely, the cases in which the documents provide information which was not hitherto available, we find that there are numerous new points of detail which have not been already mentioned. It is interesting, for example, to note that the benefits to be obtained from an advantageous capitulation were in the minds of the Council at an early date.29 The shortage of supplies for the Colombo Garrison as early as July 26, 1795 has not hitherto been fully known. 30 The correspondence regarding the evacuation of Negombo 31 is new, and is chiefly of interest in that it supports Tombe's statements, and the emphasis laid upon them in the Article. The Governor's reasons 32 for the failure of the defence are the most important contribution under this head. They are, briefly, the following: the non-receipt of help from Holland or Batavia; the failure of the expected diversion by Tippu Sultan; the non-appearance of the French fleet; the failure of the native chiefs to supply troops; the repulse of the attack on the British at Mutwal; the flight of the Chalias; the desertion of Sinhalese, Moors, Sepoys, and coolies; an empty Treasury; a shortage of troops; the recommendations of most of the staff officers to surrender; and the overwhelming strength of the British.

C.A. III 252.
 R.A.S.J. 409 and infra 117.
 R.A.S.J. 410 and infra 117.

^{28.} R.A.S.J. 369 and infra 104.

^{29.} Infra 102 30. Infra 104.

Infra 113.
 Infra 116.

estimate ³³ of the last item at 10,000 men, and of the fleet at 3 frigates, 13 three-masters, and five smaller vessels is also new. It is interesting to note that the first suggestion of capitulation, which is officially reported, is that made in a letter from M. Sluysken, the Governor of Surat.³⁴

Summarising the position as we now know it in the light of the documents before us, we may say:—

That the surrender of Colombo to the British was unanimously decided upon by the Governor and Council on the advice of all the staff officers but one;

That there is thus no question of treason on the part of Governor van Angelbeek;

That a defence appears to have been contemplated till, for the reasons given by the Governor, the position was seen to be untenable;

And that, while it is possible that there may have been disturbances in the Fort after the Capitulation, insubordination or Jacobinism among the troops is not proved to have been a determining cause of the surrender.

THE DOCUMENTS.

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Ceylon at a Meeting held on Sunday the 12th July, 1795.

Present: H. E. the Governor, Johan Gerard van Angelbeek; the Hon. the Chief Administrator, Dr. Christiaan van Angelbeek; the Hon. the Colonel and Chief of the Military Diederich Carl von Driberg; the Hon. the Dessave, Johannes Reintous; the Hon. the Political Secretary, Benedictus Lambertus van Zitter; the Hon. the Retiring Trade Supervisor, Abraham Samlant; the Hon. the Fiscal, Dr. Johannes Adrianus Vollenhove; the Hon. the Chief Warehousekeeper, Daniel Ditlof van Ranzow; and the Hon. the Trade Supervisor-elect, Thomas Gerardus Hofland.

At this specially convened meeting of the Council, H. E. the Governor tabled a secret despatch from the factors at Tutukoryn dated the 7th instant, and a translated extract from the *Madras Gazette* of the 27th June last which was forwarded therewith, both reading as follows:—

Kolumbo

To H. E. the Right Honourable Johan Gerard van Angelbeek, Councillor Ordinary of Netherlands India, Governor

^{33.} Infra 117.

^{34.} Infra 117.

and Director of the Island of Ceylon and the Dutch Settlements on the Coast of Madura, &c., &c., &c., and the Council. Right Honourable Sir,

We received, last afternoon, the Madras Gazette of the 27th June, which we have the honour to forward herewith, according to which it would appear that the Republic has concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with France, and that, consequently, England has declared war against the Republic. have, therefore, requisitioned the barque, the Jonge Willem Arnold, chiefly to convey this important news to you, have also, at the same time, shipped, in all haste, all the remaining packets of linen and completed bales, and all the cash that can be spared. We have also sent orders to Ponnekail that the linen goods recently arrived there-all that in bond as well as that lying outside the warehouses-should be shipped to you by the same vessel, but being uncertain as to whether this could be done without causing too great a delay, we have, in this eventuality, ordered Lieutenant Holm not to protract his stay there but to proceed on his course as expeditiously as possible. We would also point out that we possess no orders as to how we should conduct ourselves in the event of a hostile demonstration against us, and we would therefore take the liberty of begging Your Excellency for instructions as to what we should do in such a contingency.

We have the honour to remain, with all respect and obedience, Your Excellency's humble and faithful servants, (Sgd.) C. T. Ebel, H. van de Wall, D. van den Dreesen, F. C. van Spall, G. Keegling (in margin) Tutukoryn, the 7th July, 1795.

Translation of the extract from the Madras Gazette Extraordinary of the 27th June, 1795.

Holland has made a separate peace with the French Republic, the fortified places in Holland have been opened to French troops, and the Patriot party has suddenly assumed the ascendancy. The Stadtholder and his family have fied to England to seek refuge there, and it is reported in this connection that, immediately after his flight, the States General had abolished the Stadtholdership and accepted the French system of equality, also showing their ready acceptance of the new régime by joining forces with the French armies in order to prosecute the war; in short, that they have concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Republic of France. On the receipt of this news in England, all Dutch

merchantmen, which happened to be lying in the harbours of Great Britain, were placed under instant arrest, among which, it is reported, are 12 East-Indian merchantmen with cargo estimated at five million £ sterling. It is not certain, however, as to whether these vessels were captured at sea, but the fact remains that they are in our hands. Nine Dutch ships of war have also found their way into our hands, but it is not certain when and where they were captured. His Highness the Prince of Orange has been obliged to flee from his ungrateful country, in a fishing-boat, to England, where he was received with all honour and assigned the palace of Hampton Court for his residence, and the Princess also arrived at Yarmouth, with her family, a few days after her husband. The payment of Dutch monies lying in English funds has been suspended until a positive reply should have been received from the United Provinces regarding their intended attitude in the war, and, especially, if it is their intention to join forces with the French, also if they have finally decided to repudiate the House of Orange and abolish the office and dignity of Stadtholder and Captain-General with which that house had hitherto been invested. An ambassador-extraordinary has been sent to Holland to demand a direct and categorical reply regarding these points, on receipt of which Great Britain will come to a decision as to whether she should declare war immediately against the Dutch Republic. Soon after the departure of the ambassador to Holland, a proclamation was published, and orders were issued to the commanders of His Majesty's fleets and to all privateers to capture and arrest all Dutch ships and boats whereever they might find them. Two Dutch ships of 64 guns, a frigate, and two other warships have been captured in Plymouth Harbour, and, in addition, 64 merchantmen in the various harbours of Great Britain. A ship belonging to the Dutch East-India Company coming from Batavia with cargo estimated at a million £ sterling has been captured off Cork. It is rumoured that a French squadron has been despatched to the East Indies, composed of 4 ships of the line, 6 frigates of 48 guns each, and several transports with certain French regiments which were shipped at Rochefort on board, but the date of their sailing is not certain. We are assured, however, that a British squadron of the same strength is following. Admiral Elphinstone, with several ships of the line, had sailed for the Cape of Good Hope in the beginning of March, and we may suppose that he will frustrate the French designs regarding that place, (written

below) Extracted and translated. (Sgd) A. H. Giesler, Sworn Translator.

Whereupon, after earnest consideration, it was agreed to and resolved, in case the news was true and the English attempted any hostilities against Tutukoryn, to make the following reply to their summons: (1) that we know nothing whatever concerning any change in the constitution of our Republic, and that we faithfully and steadfastly adhere to the old constitution of the same under the States General, with the Stadtholder at its head; (2) and that this form of reply should be communicated to all the other subaltern settlements. It was also resolved to add in respect of Kolumbo, Gale, and Trikonemale, which, although they were not provided with suitable garrisons for a long and protracted siege, were, nevertheless, strong and defensible fortresses, "that we shall give over this fortress to no one but shall defend it to the best of our ability."

With regard to Jafnapatnam, it having been taken into consideration that the garrison there was too weak to offer resistance even to a moderate enemy force with any chance of success, consisting as it did of barely 300 men, and that no reinforcements could be sent from either Kolumbo or Trikonemale without weakening those important fortresses and exposing them to the greatest danger; further, that if the place was stormed, all benefits would be lost which might otherwise be stipulated for by a capitulation: it was accordingly agreed to and resolved that the Company's representatives at Jafnapatnam should be informed that "they should be on the alert against any surprise, also that if the English attempted any hostilities, notwithstanding the declaration referred to of adherence to the States General and the Prince of Orange, they were to defend themselves to the best of their ability, but that, in case the enemy's forces were too strong, they should endeavour to stipulate, by capitulation, for a free withdrawal to Kolumbo with the Company's effects, the free right to private property, and, chiefly, the bringing away of the Company's records; further, in case the Company's effects were with-held, that a complete inventory of them should be made and sent here."

With reference to Tutukoryn and the other subaltern factories, it having been observed that they were absolutely lost since the cash and linen goods had been allowed to be transported hither, it was agreed to and resolved that the factors should be

ordered to send, by the first opportunity, only the less valuable effects of the Company, which might be lying ready to hand there; further, that they were to make the declaration already resolved upon, and, if this was of no avail, to capitulate at the first opportunity on the terms agreed upon in respect of Jafnapatnam. On the proposition of H. E. the Governor, it was further resolved that the company of Malays at Mannar should be summoned to Colombo to strengthen the garrison there, and that the Malay company which was stationed in the Wanny should be ordered to march to Trinkonemale for the same purpose.

Thus done and resolved in the Castle of Colombo (datum ut supra), (Sgd.) J. G. van Angelbeek, C. van Angelbeek, D. C. von Driberg, J. Reintous, B. L. van Zitter, A. Samlant, J. A. Vollenhove, A. Issendorp, T. G. Hofland, and D. T. van Ranzow.

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Ceylon at a meeting held on Saturday, the 25th July, 1795.

Presentibus omnibus, dempto Dr. J. A. Vollenhove, Aeg:

The Englishman, Major Agnew, having come ashore from the British frigate "Heroine" which arrived in the roadstead this morning, and having delivered two letters addressed exclusively to H. E. the Governor, viz, one from His Serene Highness the Prince Stadtholder dated Kew, the 7th February, 1795, and the other from Lord Robert Hobart, Governor of Madras, dated, Madras, the 7th July 1795, the same were communicated to the Council by H. E. at this specially convened meeting, both reading as follows, the second having been translated for the purpose:—

(Here follow the letters; for the former see C.A. iii. 239, and for the latter R.A.S.J. X 392-4)

It was thereupon resolved unanimously that, owing to the important nature of the contents of the letters, which required mature consideration, the discussion should be postponed for the following day, and that, in the meantime, in order to arrive at a ripe decision, the members should bring with them their written opinions, in order that the necessary measures might be taken according to the considered opinion of the Council.

Thus done and resolved in the Castle of Kolumbo, datum ut supra.

(Sgd.) J. G. Van Angelbeek, &c., &c.,

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Ceylon at a meeting held on the 26th July, 1795.

Presentibus omnibus.

The Council having met today after yesterday's adjournment, the written opinions of the members, in respect of the proposition contained in Lord Hobart's letter referred to and inserted in yesterday's minutes, were tabled, as follows:—

Advice of the Hon. the Chief Administrator van Angelbeek.

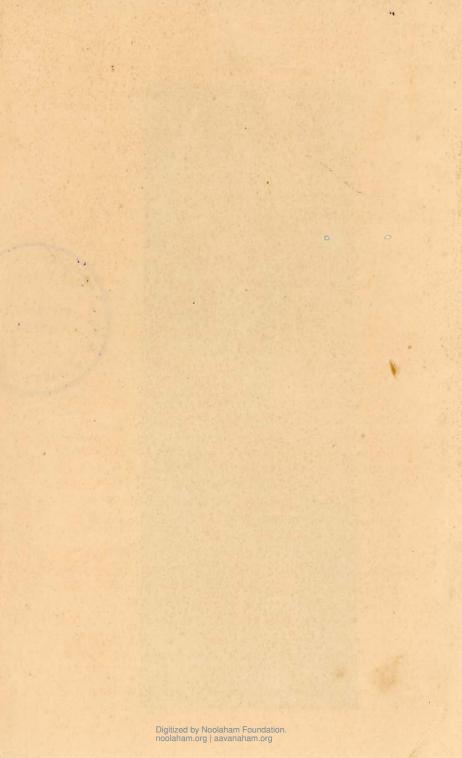
According to the unanimous references in the Madras newspapers regarding the state of affairs in our Republic, we may take it for certain that our government has been dissolved, the which, even if these English reports should not be relied upon too implicitly, is confirmed by the flight of His Highness to England from where his letter has been written. Matters standing thus in our Republic, we can be sure that we can look forward to no help or relief from there this year, nor, for the matter of that, can Batavia, from where, consequently, we can also hope for nothing. the meantime we are put to the greatest hardship owing to the want of necessaries of the utmost importance; our sick can no longer be tended in the hospitals owing to the lack of the most important drugs; we have no money whatever; and all our magazines are empty: so that it is with the greatest difficulty that it is possible to carry on the public business, which, in case no relief is received, must, in some respects, soon come to a standstill. I, therefore, think it most important that our critical situation must be considered as bearing on our deliberations regarding the summons of the English ministry to place ourselves under the protection of the Crown of Great Britain, as conveyed by Lord Hobart's letter, according to the tenor of which we should place ourselves unreservedly in the power of that state. For, although we are now provided with rice sufficient for our needs for a few months, it is certain that, if we offend the English by our reply and make them our enemies, the scarcity of rice will soon make itself felt, since it is in their power not only to intercept our supplies from Batavia, but also to prevent any supplies from being brought from Bengal and Coromandel. They could also, by taking Jafnapatnam, Mannar, and our stations on the opposite coast, which we cannot prevent, cut off our remaining sources for the supply of this most necessary article. However, there is no gainsaying that our acceptance of - the summons would not only be at variance with our oath and duty to our superiors, but also with the terms of the letter of His Highness

SIGIRI-GALA.





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himself, which only enjoins us to admit English troops and ships in order to prevent the colony from being invaded by the French. We have, for a long time past, admitted English ships into our roads and harbours, and, in my opinion, the admission of English troops could so far be consented to, in view of our present shortage of men, which cannot be denied, so long as these troops came into our service as auxiliaries. By so doing we shall fulfil the orders of His Highness our Chief Director and Supreme Governor General, and also indicate our willingness to abide by the alliance between the Crown of England and our State, and to oppose with arms the enemies of our Republic. Kolumbo, the 26th July, 1795.

(Sgd.) C. van Angelbeek.

Advice of the Hon. the Colonel von Driberg.

I am of opinion that there is no justification for delivering the Island of Ceylon to the English on the summons made by them. However, having considered the weakness of our garrisons, which can be seen from the report which I have the honour to submit herewith, I think that we should ask the English for a force of a thousand men, as auxiliaries, provided that this help should not prejudice us in any way. I lean the more to this opinion considering that the detachment of 432 men, who, last year, were sent from here to guard the Company's ships to Batavia, have not yet returned, and also because it is in accordance with the letter of His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange. Kolumbo, the 26th July, 1795, (Sgd.) D. C. von Driberg.

Advice of H. E. the Governor.

All reports of the state of war with regard to our Republic agree that our Republic has been usurped by the French, and the flight of the Prince Stadtholder is the surest confirmation of this. The English newspapers also say that, if the East India Company has not yet been dissolved, its activities have been arrested, and evenif this were not true, we can at least take it for certain that no ships will be sent us this year, and, consequently, no money, nor recruits, nor supplies for the administration of this Island. Batavia has equipped us badly last year, and, chiefly, not supplied us with the money requisitioned for by us; and since Batavia, similarly no better off than Ceylon for the above resasons, is still awaiting most of her supplies from Europe, we can have little hope of receiving much help from there. Indeed, any prospect of receiving the money and other necessaries, chiefly the rice, must be regarded

as remote, seeing that the ships in which they were carried would be exposed to the risk of capture by the enemy. We now have only a five or six months' supply of rice, if we might reckon on our usual supply of paddy from Batticaloa, but we are so badly provided in respect of all other necessaries, that we shall shortly be in need of everything. Our scanty supply of gold, which was intended for our trade in cotton goods, will not avail us much if we should have to pay for the necessaries for the Government, and, chiefly, for the rice, with hard cash. As matters stand, we can look for no assistance or relief from any other quarter, except from the English, who, chiefly with respect to the rice, possess the power to grant or withhold supplies. Our attention, therefore, must be wholly directed to our present situation when discussing the two letters now lying before us from His Highness the Stadtholder and the English Government; for, if we flatly refuse to comply with the latter, we can not only look for no help in that quarter, but our supplies of rice from Bengal and Coromandel will also be cut off. This is not all: the threat of the English to take our establishments by force need not make us uneasy as regards Trikonemale, Kolumbo and Gale, which, although not suitably garrisoned by far for a long siege, would have to be invested with more important forces than the English could spare from their own stations on the Coromandel coast at a time when they were expecting a French Fleet; but Jafnapatnam, Mannar, and our stations on the Madura coast would, without any doubt, be taken at the first opportunity, since only a small force would be necessary for such an undertaking. We would lose thereby the important profits of the Commandement of Jafnapatnam, and all hope of a rich pearl fishery in the next two or three years; while our communications with the opposite coast will also be cut off. In addition, once the English set foot and established themselves there, it would afterwards be most difficult to drive them away. Further, in case of conquest by force of arms, the English would not be bound to make restitution, which is only contingent on a willing surrender. We must, therefore, devise a middle course and so word our reply as to avert the fatal consequences which would immediately follow on a flat refusal. On the other hand, it is obvious to me that the English, through their summons, secretly intend to take possession of our establishments in Ceylon, and although they promise, at the same time, that everything will be restored at the conclusion of a peace, we should not place any reliance on these promises, since, according to the state craft in vogue in these days, pretexts are always found to repudiate the fulfilment of such promises. We should, therefore, so word our reply that we or our superiors should remain absolute masters of our possessions. With this twofold object in view, I am of opinion that the letter of the English ministry should be replied to as follows: "That our fortresses are suitably provided with everything necessary, and, therefore, do not require much strengthening, but that we should be happy if the Government of Madras would now be pleased to return the friendship which we showed them last year and send us a similar number of 800 troops, of which 300 should help to garrison Oostenberg, 300 the forts of Kolumbo, Negombo, and Kaltere, and 200, Mature, adding that we have not sufficient money to pay these troops, and asking that the English Government should make the payments and recover the amount from our superiors in due course. That, with this help, we believe we should be in a position to repulse any enemy force that might attack us, and frustrate their designs, and that this belief is grounded on the strength of our chief fortresses, our large garrisons, our abundant supplies of provisions, and everything else necessary for a vigorous resistance, and, above all, on the steadfast resolution with which our officers and men are animated to hazard their lives in a valiant defence of the establishments entrusted to our care. That, in respect of His Highness the Stadtholder's letter, we are prepared to admit the ships of His Majesty of Great Britain into our harbours and to be of all possible service to them. But, with respect to the proposition that we should place our establishments in their hands, that we should openly declare that we are bound by oath and obligation to maintain them for our superiors and not to resign the least part of them to anyone whomsoever. That His Highness' letter, on which My Lord bases his proposition, makes no mention whatever thereof; and that it would not further the object of the letter, since we are able, thank God, to defend the establishments entrusted to us against all enemy attempts whatsoever, especially if it would please the English Government to send us the troops asked for, and His Majesty's ships would be pleased to co-operate for the protection of our coasts and harbours." Kolumbo, the 26th July, 1795. (Sgd.) J. G. van Angelbeek.

Following on a scrutiny of the above-mentioned statements of advice, it was found that the demand of the Governor of Madras,

that the Company's establishments should be placed under the protection of his sovereign and be given over to his troops, was unanimously considered detestable and abject; that H. E. the Governor and the Hon. Members van Angelbeek, von Driberg, Reintous, and Hofland, were of opinion that only a certain number of troops should be admitted into our fortresses, but certainly not as masters, according to the intention of that Lord, but that they should be admitted into the service and pay of the Company only as auxiliaries on the same footing as the Company's troops when serving on the Coromandel coast as auxiliaries of the English. Whereupon, the members van Zitter and van Ranzow, who, in respect of this point, had referred in their statements to a certain condition contained in the 6th article of the treaty of 1787 between the Republic and England, whereby reciprocal help in wars against European enemies in India was stipulated for, and the Members Samlant, Vollenhove, and Issendorp, who had voted against the admission of any troops whatsoever, all now declared that they had worded their statements in the full conviction that it was the intention of the English to establish their troops in all our forts and to take over our own troops into their service and pay in order thus to make themselves masters of our establishments, but that they were entirely in favour of H. E's proposition to take over into our service and pay 800 troops as auxiliaries, the number sent by us as auxiliaries to the English in Coromandel. Accordingly, on all the members declaring that they were in full accord with H. E., it was unanimously resolved that the proposition of the English Governor that the establishments in Ceylon should be placed under the protection of his sovereign should be totally declined, and that no English troops should be admitted into the Company's territory, with the exception of only 800 troops as auxiliaries in the Company's service and pay, similarly as last year 800 of our troops were admitted into the service of the English in Coromandel, and that the letter of the English Governor be replied to as follows :-

(vide letter published in R.A.S. Proceedings Vol. X, pages 395-6)

It was also resolved, with reference to Lord Hobart's request as contained in his letter, that all further correspondence on the subject should not be addressed to him, but that our reply should be sent to the Commanders of the Sea and Land Forces before Trikonemale, that we should act in accordance with his request, but at the same time, that Major Fornbauer should be sent copies of the letters from the Prince of Orange and Lord Hobart, together with our reply to the latter, in order that he might take his instructions accordingly. H.E. the Governor also undertook to send the said Major Fornbauer further particulars, in secret, as to how the English auxiliaries were to be received, and, with this object in view, to despatch the Undermerchant Francken to Trikonemale on board the English Frigate.

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Ceylon at a meeting held on Monday the 3rd August, 1795.

H. E. the Governor informed the members that, after Major Agnew's return on board, he had sent H. E., at his own request, certain London newspapers in which certain references to the Republic appeared, and that he had had them translated in order to communicate them to the meeting to enable the Members to conduct their deliberations in future with a fuller knowledge of affairs.

Secret Resolutions of Wednesday the 12th August.

At the discussion of the correspondence from Trikonemale, the Governor, after defending his action in sending Major Fornbauer a letter signed by himself alone, continued as follows:—

The question as to what we should do in these circumstances is so extremely important and so difficult, and at the same time so obscure in view of our uncertainty as to the consequences, that I can suggest nothing in respect thereof without first arriving at a positive decision regarding another question on which the former depends, viz: what should we do if French ships were to come and the French desired to be received as friends, and also brought with them orders from the new Assembly or Government of the Netherlands to that effect? Concerning this question, we must bear in mind that our secret Resolution of the 26th July last, according to which we decided to abide faithfully by the old Constitution of our Republic and the form of Government as established in the year 1787, was arrived at in view of the report of the state of affairs in our Fatherland, which is inserted in our secret Resolutions of the 12th July last, and which only referred to French usurpation. But since then, on the 28th of the same month, I received the London newspapers up to the 13th March last, from which I have had extracts translated for your information.

according to which it would appear that our Republic has indeed been conquered by the French, but that the changes in the Government were effected with the consent of the majority of the people of Holland; that the calling together of an Assembly of the Provisional Representatives of the people was the work of the Deputies of the different cities of Holland; that the abolition of the old form of Government and the Stadtholdership was the work of this Assembly; and that the States-General are now constituted as formerly, with only this difference respecting Holland, viz., that this Province shall be represented in the Assembly of Their High Mightinesses by the burghers Halm, Lestevenon and Lorca. If we should desire, for the above reasons, to recognise the new régime on the arrival of a French fleet, we should avoid all conflicting engagements with the English and, accordingly, not take over any of their troops; but if, on the other hand, we would abide by our resolution of the 12th July last, which we have subsequently confirmed by our resolution of the 26th and our letter to the English, dated the 27th, to adhere to the old constitution of the Republic as established by the treaty of 1787 and, accordingly, acknowledge the States-General with the Stadtholder as their head, we should take over 800 of their troops as auxiliaries and order Major Fornbauer, by a further communication, to take over 300 of that number. In case we adopted the former alternative and thus broke off all engagements with the English, which would conflict with our obligations to the new régime, we certainly now have good grounds for this course, seeing that the English Commanders of the sea and land forces before Trikonemale had summoned the forts on the 2nd of this month, declaring that any refusal would be considered as an act of hostility, and had also invaded the Company's territory with their troops and artillery. Both these alternatives are fraught with the greatest risk, and we cannot choose between them without exposing ourselves to great danger and the most grievous consequences, whereof the outcome or end cannot be determined by any human wisdom, seeing that it depended on the issue of the war between Great Britain and France. For, indeed, if we abandoned all friendship with the English, we expose Ceylon to all the dangers which I have recounted in my statement of advice of the 26th and which I will again repeat. We lose Jafnapatnam and Mannar, our considerable revenues therefrom, and all hope of rich pearl fisheries; we lose our factories on the Madura coast and thereby all the profits to be derived from its salt, lime, and linen; we lose,

beyond all question, Batticaloa, and thereby a considerable source of supply of the most necessary paddy; we lose all hope of supplies of rice from Bengal and Coromandel, which we cannot afford to do without; and, above all, we shall have little hope of supplies from Batavia, since the English will intercept and capture our ships. Our arecanut trade will result in almost nothing, since the vessels from the mainland will not dare to approach us; our rents will dwindle still further, and, in spite of their now being greatly reduced, the farmers of the revenue will either be totally ruined or, at least, lose considerably. I confess I can see no means of escape from all these calamities, the more so by reason of our serious shortage of money. In order to avert all these misfortunes from Ceylon and its inhabitants, I advised you, on the 26th, to accept 800 English troops as auxiliaries, and I had also made such arrangements that we should always have remained masters. I believe, moreover, that the English would not only have accepted our offer, according to their reply to Major Fornbauer, but that they would even agree to it now, if the difficult situation created by Major Fornbauer was rectified by us. But can we do this now in face of the information disclosed by the London newspapers of the state of affairs in our Fatherland, according to which the change of régime was not the work of the French alone, but also of the people of Holland? Can we now with a clear conscience faithfully adhere to the old Government? Can we, in face of orders from Holland to recognise the new régime, oppose them and take arms against the newly formed Republic and the Republic of the French Nation? Gentlemen, is the all-important proposition which I now put before you, and in respect of which I anxiously await the replies of each one of you, in order that, according to your replies, some plan of action may be devised, to which end you should bring to our Council the means for such decision.

Secret Resolutions of 15th August, 1795.

Following on the adjourned discussion of the letters from Trikonemale, it was unanimously resolved "that the Republic was the sovereign of her colonies and, accordingly, of this Government; moreover, that the Colonies were bound to accept whichever form of government the Republic adopted and to obey the command; of their rulers." It was further resolved to accept and obey the orders of the present Republic, but that the old constitution should be adhered to until the receipt of such or other legitimate orders. It was also resolved, in view of the disembarkation of the English at Trikonemale, to break off all engagements with them which might conflict with the carrying out of the orders of the present Republic, and to instruct Major Fornbauer accordingly, that the decision to receive 300 English troops into Oostenburg was annulled, and that he was to defend the forts to the last. The British officers commanding the sea and land forces before Trikonemale were also to be informed that it was decided not to accept the 800 auxiliaries asked for and, consequently, the 300 troops for Oostenburg.

Secret Resolutions of the 9th October, 1795.

Lord Hobart's letter dated the 22nd September, 1795, and Count de Meuron's letter to his brother dated the 30th September, were tabled for the information of the Members, and, after discussion, it was resolved by 6 votes to 3 not to accept the terms offered by the English.

After scrutinising the statements of advice, H.E. remarked that the advice of the Hon: (C) van Angelbeek, von Driberg, and van Ranzow, were not decisive in respect of the demands of the English, and that they only suggested that an attempt should be made to find out from the English emissary what conditions could be stipulated for, but that all the other members recommended outright the rejection of all the propositions; that H. E. on the one hand fully recognised the many and great objections urged by the Hon: three members as well founded, but, on the other hand, considering that they were bound by oath and obedience to their superiors to decline all offers of the English, which were contingent on a surrender beforehand of the Company's establishments, or which included the surrender as a basis for negotiations, he threw in his vote with the majority to decline the later summons of the Govt: of Madras, and to continue to adhere to the resolution of the 15th August, last. It was, accordingly, decided to inform the Governor of Madras that, although the Count de Meuron had withdrawn his regiment from the service of the Company, they were not altogether unprovided with the resources necessary to make good the defence of Colombo, and that, in the event of their being ultimately overpowered by superior forces, they could console themselves with the knowledge that they had done all in their power as trusty ministers who placed their honour and duty above all things.

(It was resolved on the 11th December, 1795, to issue cash notes to the amount of 50,000 ryxdollars, in view of the shortage of cash.)

Secret Resolutions of the 29th January, 1796.

H. E. stated that two letters dated the 26th January were received from the Resident of Negombo, de Haart, stating that he had received information that the English were sending about 1,000 troops (from Mannar) to Silau by sea, and that a force of 3,500 were following by land, which information was confirmed by two spies whom he had sent to Silau, who said that they had learned that a force of 1,000 sepoys with 5 English officers had arrived there. also that, as soon as the English had come to Silau, they had sent a letter to Dambadeni to the Dessave of the 7 Korles; further. that it was rumoured that an additional force of 3,000 would arrive on the coming Sunday, and that they would march to Kaymelle and camp there. H. E. also informed the Council that on receipt of the information respecting the arrival of the English and their intention to join forces with the Kandyans and march on Negombo, he had strengthened the detachment at Negombo with still another company of Malays, and placed the commando under the command of Captain de la Motte Bertin. (The "commando" was composed of 406 Malays in addition to the garrison of 37.)

A report of Capt. Bertin addressed to Colonel von Driberg was also communicated to the Council, stating that a large force of British had arrived at Silau, and that it was reported that they intended crossing the Kaymelle river in three columns, one at the mouth of the river, the second at a place called Topoe and the third at Tammerawille, and it was resolved that the following letter should be written, addressed jointly to Capt. Bertin and the Resident de Haart:—

Gallant, and Hon'ble and Discreet Sirs,

We have considered the contents of your letters of yesterday's date and hereby communicate to you our decisions. In the first place, we have approved the measures taken by you for the defence of the Kaymelle river and for the destruction of the sheds which had been erected for the enemy on the opposite side. In the second place, we find the observations of the Hon'ble de la Motte well grounded, regarding the risk the whole detachment would run of being cut off if the enemy crossed at different points of the river. This danger is more apparent, since, according to all reports re-

ceived, the enemy is so strong that he can cross in three separate columns, each of them stronger than our whole detachment. danger is also greatly increased by the preparations now being made on our borders, not only in the 7 Korles, but also in the 3 and 4 Korles by the Kandyans whose Dessave, who is only a quarter of a mile from the Hina Korle, is about to invade the latter Korle, in which case it would follow beyond all doubt that the Sinhalese inhabitants of that Korle, as well as the Hapitigam and Aloetkoer Korles, will forsake us and go over to the enemy, so that our detachment would be lucky even if it could cut its way through the surrounding enemy, with the heaviest loss. Above all, it was our intention, by placing this detachment at Negombo, to hold up the enemy who were then reported to be barely 600 strong, and to prevent the passage of the river (Kaymelle), but we had already decided, when we resolved to defend Kolumbo alone, to abandon all other subaltern positions in view of the enemy's great superiority. We have, therefore, decided to recall the whole detachment from Negombo, and hereby order the Hon. de la Motte to set out on the return march to Kolumbo before he could be cut off; and we also leave it to Your Honours to select whichever way, by the sea shore or further inland, you may consider practicable in the circumstances, which, as Mr. de la Motte rightly observes, change daily in times of war. In this connection we would also inform you that, fearing a general uprising in the District on the other side of the river (Kelani), we cannot send a detachment to Dandoegam. Meanwhile, Your Honours must inform us which way the detachment intends taking, so that we may give the Dessave (of the Colombo Dessavony) the necessary orders in time, to have in readiness the boats required for the crossing of our river (Kelani).

We remain, with greetings, Gallant and Hon'ble Sirs, Your good friends. (Sgd.) J. G. van Angelbeek, C. van Angelbeek, D. C. von Driberg, J. Reintous, B. L. van Zitter, A. Samlant, J. A. Vollenhove, N. Issendorp, and G. Hofland (in margin) Kolumbo, the 31st January, 1796.

Secret Resolutions of the 10th February, 1796.

It was submitted by H. E. the Governor that, in consideration of the fact that the misdemeanours of the military in Colombo, such as desertion, mutiny, etc., should, in the present circumstances, be dealt with summarily and, therefore, could not be submitted to the protracted routine of the Court of Justice, he had decided, with the advice of the Hon: the Colonel von Driberg, to appoint a military tribunal to deal with offences of a purely military character during the siege, and that this tribunal was to be composed of one Major, 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, and 2 Ensigns with Lieut: Venekamp as Auditor; but that should it happen that the national (Dutch) regiment and the Wurtembergers were implicated in one and the same offence, the tribunal should be composed half of national officers and half of the above-mentioned regiment, and that a staff-officer of either corps should alternately preside. It was resolved to approve the Governor's action.

Secret Resolutions of the Council of Geylon at a meeting held on Sunday, the 14th February, 1796.

At this specially convened meeting of the Council, H. E. the Governor produced a letter from the gentlemen, Stuart and Gardner, commanding the British sea and land forces with which this fortress is invested, addressed to H. E. and the Council, demanding the surrender of this fortress, and threatening that if, in the event of a refusal, they should be forced to open fire with their batteries, we would not-be afforded the option of capitulating, but that we should have to surrender at discretion,—the translation running as follows:-To the Hon'ble J. G. van Angelbeek and the Council of Colombo: We the undersigned commanding His Britannic Majesty's sea and land forces before Colombo, call upon you to surrender to the King our master this fort and the remaining possessions in Ceylon under your rule. Your Honours must be aware that all hope of succour from Europe, from your own country as well as from the power that has usurped the liberal and lawful government of the same, is vain; and when His Majesty's conquests on this side of the Cape of Good Hope, as well as the surrender of that fortress, are taken into consideration, moreover the strength of the British fleet in the Indian Ocean, you will also realise that all hope of help from any of the remaining Dutch possessions in Asia is equally vain. These are the reasons that have prompted the undersigned to make this demand, knowing full well that Your Honours are equally desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, which, as proved by the recent incidents, is idle and of no avail. Your Honours should also remember that an obstinate resistance against the forces now before Colombo will tend to change the kindly sentiments with which the undersigned are now animated towards you and

force them to open fire with their batteries; also that, if you then surrender, it will have to be at discretion. Major Agnew, who will have the honour to hand this letter to Your Honours, is empowered by us to draw up the terms of capitulation, and we have not the least doubt that an agreement satisfactory and honourable to both parties will be arrived at. (Sgd) J. Stuart and A. H. Gardner, Headquarters of the Army before Colombo, the 14th February, 1796. (below) Translated from the English. (Sgd) A. H. Giesler, Sworn Translator.

After reading the above, H. E. said by way of introduction: That, since the first summons in July up to the present, H. E. had done his utmost to carry out the numerous repairs which the fortress stood in need of, and to strengthen it as much as possible, as could be seen from a detailed report by the Captain Engineer Foenander, the which he wished should be inserted here. (Report follows; not reproduced).

H. E. went on to say that, when it was resolved by a majority of votes totally to decline the second summons in October, he cherished the hope that they would receive the necessary orders and early help from Holland and Batavia, also that he relied on the rumour widely current, that Tipoe would create a diversion, and, lastly, that he fully believed that before long a French fleet would make its appearance; however, that nothing had come of all these hopes and expectations. He added that (1) the Native chiefs had failed to supply the 800 volunteers promised to form a flying column with Captain Mittman's Malays to harass the enemy and cut off his supplies 35; (2) that certain dispositions to check the British advance by Mutwal had failed, and that they had lost 40 killed and 64 wounded, and that the 200 Chalias with these forces had taken to their heels; (3) that 260 up to yesterday had deserted from the four companies of armed Sinhalese, and more than half of the four companies of Moors; (4) that most of the Sepoys had deserted, and that he dared not trust any of them outside the fort;

^{35.} A fuller translation is the following :-

That through the unwearied efforts of Lt.Col. de Raymond, he took the field on the night of the 11th of this month with a detachment of 2 companies of Malays, together with the corps of Capt. Legrevise, in order to attack the enemy at Mutwal, who, according to the reports of spies, were distributed on this side of Greater Mutwal, the Pasbetal, and Grand Pass; that Capt. Mittman who was stationed at the so-called Silver Head with 2 companies of Malays and 200 Chalias had been ordered to cover the retreat of that corps, and that Capt. von Reitzenstein with a detachment of 300 strong was to take his position in the Green Way (forest path) and attack the enemy at Grand Pass, but that all these detachments had been repulsed with the considerable loss of 40 killed and 64 wounded, and that the Chalias had also taken to their heels on that occasion.

(5) that there were desertions also among the Malays, and that more than half the Moorish artillery had defaulted; (6) that with the exception of the officers, the Kolumbo garrison consisted of only 584 European infantry, 772 Malays, 124 European artillery, 118 sailors, and 19 artisans; (7) that all the coolies had run away; and (8) that there was no more copper money in the Company's chest.

H. E. also submitted statements of advice from his staffofficers, who, with hardly an exception, were in favour of a surrender, and pointed out that, according to his estimates and the reports of spies, &c., the British forces amounted to not less than 10,000 men, and that the fleet consisted of 3 frigates, 13 armed 3-masters, and 5 smaller vessels.

H. E. also communicated to the Meeting the contents of a letter received from P. Sluysken, (Governor of Surat), pointing out the great superiority of the British forces, &c., &c., and suggesting that H. E.'s staff-officers should be called upon to state their opinions, in writing, regarding the feasibility or otherwise of making good the defence of Kolumbo.

The staff-officers, with the exception of Major Vaugine, all agreed that Kolumbo could not hold out longer than three days. Major Vaugine's statement reads as follows :- "Notwithstanding our unfortunate situation, since we have been forsaken by the Government of Batavia, the Hon'ble Company, and the Republic; notwithstanding our shortness of men and coolies and our lack of means for transporting our artillery and ammunition; notwithstanding the slender resources which are only left to us; notwithstanding the large number of desertions among our Indian troops; and notwithstanding the overwhelming superiority of the English forces; but taking into consideration the good courage of the few people that are still with us: I am of opinion, not in a spirit of temerity but as befits a man of courage, that we are in duty bound to defend our city to the best of our ability, and that we should not capitulate until we have won the esteem and regard of the enemy by a valiant defence."

The Council having considered all this, and chiefly taken into consideration that the staff-officers von Driberg, Von Hugel, Scheede, Prophalow, Villnagel, and Heupner, had advised that the fortress could not hold out for longer than three days; also that the fortress could not be defended with any chance of success against the great force with which it was invested; further, that all that

would result on their refusal to capitulate would be the destruction of the whole city and the slaughter of the inhabitants, and also that if they had to surrender after all this, it would have to be at discretion, in which event neither the Republic nor the Company would derive the least benefit for the present, or till Great Britain should be forced to restore, at a general peace, what she had taken: accordingly it was unanimously resolved to propose an equitable capitulation.

Secret Resolutions of Monday the 15th February, 1796.

The draft of the Articles of Capitulation having been laid before the Council, together with Major Agnew's observations, and H. E. also having acknowledged that better terms could not have been stipulated for, it was unanimously resolved to accept them and, thereafter, to surrender the fortress the next morning. Thus done and resolved in the Castle of Kolumbo, datum ut supra.

(Sgd) J. G. van Angelbeek, C. van Angelbeek, C. von Driberg, J. Reintous, B. L. van Zitter, A. Samlant, J. A. Vollenhove, D. D. van Ranzow, A. Issendorp, and T. G. Hofland.



HUGH CLEGHORN,

Ceylon's First Colonial Secretary.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE first Englishman (or must we say Scotchman?) entitled to mention, in connection with British rule in Ceylon, is certainly Hugh Cleghorn (1761-1836). For it was to him that the annexation of the Ceylon coasts by the East India Company was chiefly due.

During a temporary residence in Switzerland, he had met Count Charles De Meuron, and, with him, negotiated the transfer of the Swiss Regiment De Meuron from the service of the Dutch, to that of the English, East India Company. This so weakened the power of the former that the forces of the latter made a rapid and easy conquest of the coast of Ceylon, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Hon. Henry Dundas, attributed this to Cleghorn's acquisition of the De Meuron Regiment. Cleghorn died in 1836, and on his tombstone at Strathvithie is styled "the Agent through whose instrumentality the Island of Ceylon was annexed to the British Empire."

He has other claims to notice, not conceded by the Dictionary of National Biography, nor by Buckland in his Dictionary of Indian Biography, which find no place for him in their columns. He was Professor of Civil History at the University of St. Andrew's before he travelled East, and Sir Walter Scott, who met him thirty years after his return, described him as "an able man, has seen much and speaks well." The Royal Geographical Society of today would certainly honour him, for he "made a remarkable journey with Count De Meuron across Europe to Alexandria, over the desert on camels to Suez, and down the Red Sea in a pilgrim boat to Medina, then in an Arab ship to Bombay." This was in 1795, before "the overland route was opened." And the motive for this hazardous and adventurous journey was his zeal for the glory of the British Empire, for "he achieved his object of reaching India before news of the events in Europe could arrive by the ordinary channels."

It seems that Cleghorn accompanied the expeditions that the Government of Fort St. George sent, in 1795-6, against Trincomalee and Colombo.

Possibly, 'Lieutenant Cleghorne' of the Madras Engineers, who accompanied a detachment of that Corps in these expeditions, was a son of Hugh Cleghorn. If so, was he a Colonel four years later and identical with the "Colonel Cleghorn," son of Hugh, who was present with the De Meuron Regiment at the siege of Seringapatam in May, 1799?

On the appointment of the Hon. Frederic North to the Governorship of Ceylon in 1798, Cleghorn was made his "Crown Secretary" "with the same powers as Mr. Bernard of the Cape." He may, therefore, be said to be the first member of "His Majesty's Ceylon Civil Service," first in time as well as first in status, as his successors have been reckoned.

Cleghorn travelled out with North to Bombay early in 1798, and remained there with him for two months. He was then sent by North to Madras "to arrange forms of business and to establish checks on public expenditure" in the administration of government in Ceylon. He arrived on 15th August and remained there until after 8th September. He was also to get the papers on Ceylon left there by Lord Mornington, who had for a short time been Governor of Fort St. George before taking up the Governor-Generalship, and who had just come out from England and assumed office. Ceylon, after it had been freed from the rule of Fort St. George and the East India Company, had been placed directly under the Governor-General.

On 28th September, Cleghorn was at Jaffna on his way to Colombo where he was when North arrived there on 12th October.

At the beginning of their association together in the Government of Ceylon, North was quite pleased with his Secretary. He was "sincerely happy in having such men as De Meuron, Cleghorn and Agnew." Cleghorn had furnished him with an able report on the affairs of the Island, its administration while it was under Fort St. George, its procedure, accounts, etc., and had commented unfavourably on the spirit shown by the chief Civilians at Madras with regard to the transfer of Ceylon to an administration independent of Fort St. George, a measure which they regarded as adverse to their patronage and emoluments. He had also taken

an unfavourable view of the conduct of the Madras Civilian, Robert Andrews, in Ceylon, and of the Madras dubashes who had worked under Andrews. In this last matter, Governor North followed Cleghorn, and seems to have depended on him a good deal in the formation of his opinion.

When, therefore, there was, just at this time, talk of the King of Kandy's sending an embassy to Colombo, North at once decided that to Cleghorn should be entrusted the embassy that was to be sent to Kandy in return. Meanwhile, Cleghorn and Captain Turnour, the Commandant at Mannar, were busy "collecting and arranging" the accounts and statistics of the last Pearl Fishery, as well as examining those of the revenues of the Island, generally, for the information of the Governor, who had already discovered that its finances were not in a satisfactory state.

But things did not go on smoothly for long. The Governor and his Secretary were not congenial spirits. Mr. North seems to have been liable to what now-a-days would be called "nerves." Lord Mornington had noted in his diary of 7th July, 1798, after North's appointment to the Governorship, but before his arrival in Ceylon: "North is angry, afflicted, surprised, his state uncertain and embarrassed, and so ridiculous."

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Governor soon got it into his head that Cleghorn was at the head of a "click," as he calls it, or combination of the Madras Civilians left in Ceylon, which was out to make things disagreeable for him. In view of Cleghorn's strictures on Andrews and other Madras civilians, this hardly seems likely, but North was convinced of it, looked upon everything Cleghorn did, with suspicion, and made very uncomplimentary references to him in his correspondence with Lord Mornington.

The trouble began at Trincomalee some eight months or so after North had taken up the reins of government. It arose over a report made by Cleghorn and Macdouall, a Madras Civilian, who, with Andrews, had been appointed Commissioners for the Pearl Fishery of 1798, on the subject of that Fishery. (Andrew) had nothing to do with this report as he had already returned to Madras.) Some recommendation or proposal—North calls it "a profligate cheat"—had been over-ruled by the Governor-General in accordance with North's views, and Cleghorn, according to North's informant, had drawn up an intemperate letter in reply, which Colonel Champagne "with difficulty" had prevented him

from sending, but had sent home to the Secretary of State, according to North "reams of paper" against the Governor.

So much was the latter perturbed by this, that he had asked the Secretary of State to let either him or Cleghorn go home "by the next cinnamon ships." He writes to Lord Mornington: "The conduct of Secretary Cleghorn has been outrageous, far beyond what I had imagined....I am much roiled by that madman...." But he reflects that he can get rid of him temporarily when he goes on that embassy. He can dispose of Cleghorn for three or four months "as he cannot do as much harm there as at Colombo," and then he proceeds to make an atrocious pun—"though I am afraid that candying will not have the same effect on him as on currants in making him sweet, yet he will have leisure to reflect that he has not succeeded in overthrowing my Government."

But, two days later, North received some letters from Cleghorn that had been sent after him to India and were now returned, and they were "full of courtesy and kindness." The Governor softened towards him and reflected that "fierceness is not my forte," though he was "fully determined to govern." He hears that Cleghorn is now "quite humble and decent," and is talking with resignation or equanimity of his embassy to Kandy or departure by a cinnamon ship. He would be "sorry to hurt the poor devil" for whom he has "rather a twaddling regard."

But at the same time, North was rather uneasy lest the Secretary of State should adopt Cleghorn's view of his proceedings in the matter of Macdouall, whom North had suspected of culpable negligence in the discharge of his duties as Collector of Mannar. On 31st July, he wrote a private letter to Cleghorn "to open his eyes and bring him to his senses." This letter explains his reasons for suspending Macdouall and Garrow, Collectors at Trincomalee and Mullaittivu respectively, and for appointing Turnour to Mannar in place of the former.

Meanwhile, the Governor unburdens himself about Cleghorn, in his diary and in his letters to Lord Mornington: "Not a day passed" without Cleghorn's "publicly abusing him," until the arrival of the Governor-General's proclamation approving of the Governor's action, which "dumbfounded" Cleghorn. But Cleghorn had written a ream of paper against this decision and against North, and had got the clerk to transcribe these letters in his own house. For, as North writes to Lord Mornington a few days before, he is afraid

that Cleghorn's conduct is inspired by the belief that Lord Mornington has withdrawn his confidence from North and that he prefers Cleghorn. The latter has "grown disagreeable and really dangerous"; "he says you like him and will let him go home for one year." North is quite ready to join in this hope—in fact he would pay half the expenses "for making that golden bridge."

In the same letter to Lord Mornington he describes him as under the domination of Macdouall, and adds that "his vanity, when sufficiently flattered will make him give his confidence with a facility that would disgrace a child. He has no method, no regularity, and does not understand money matters." North is afraid he has been made a catspaw by Macdouall. By September, North had, after suspending and reinstating, finally dismissed Macdouall. In North's view, the effect of this display of authority was to overawe Cleghorn, who, he informs the Governor-General, had "lost his senses with terror. I am high and distant with him, and he never comes to the office....Cleghorn will shortly be fit for no place but Bedlam."

It is not perhaps surprising that the culpability of Macdouall was not at first sight evident to Cleghorn, for General Hay Macdowall, who had been deputed by the Governor to examine Macdouall and to verify the rice in his charge at Arippu, reported at first that, in his opinion, Macdouall, "though he had been careless, had not been criminal."

But North's irritation and dissatisfaction waxed daily. The next thing was that Cleghorn was to resign the embassy to Kandy, and that General Hay Macdowall was to take it instead. North was, in fact, thinking of suspending Cleghorn, for "his absurdity is beyond comparison." Three weeks later, he writes that Cleghorn is "absolutely quaking with fear, and now absolutely fawns upon me," whereas, when the Chief Secretary was at the Fishery, his public abuse of the Governor at the table at which he presided "was a public scandal, it never ceased and he was never sober after dinner." From the complete change in his behaviour North infers that there was "sad work" at the Fishery and he intends to ferret it out. By 14th September, he had resolved on suspending Cleghorn as soon as he had received the report of the Commission he had appointed to inquire into the conduct of Macdouall at the Pearl Fishery. This he seems to have done, for, in January, he informed Lord Mornington that he had

reported the suspension of Cleghorn to the Secretary of State, and had called on him either to support him in this action or to recall him.

But, within the next fortnight, Cleghorn had settled the matter, as far as he was concerned, by leaving Ceylon, and North is jubilant. "The *Preston* with Cleghorn has weighed anchor from this place."

One cannot somehow, in view of Cleghorn's record and the Hon. Frederic North's weaknesses, his sentimentalities, his impulsiveness and his want of judicial balance, 1 feel that he was treated with fairness by the Governor, or that the latter's imputations and inferences were justified.

How the matter of Cleghorn's suspension ended does not appear from the official correspondence. Anyway, he gave up his £3,000 a year appointment and returned to Scotland. He was laird of Strathvithie in Fife, and died there in 1836. He had been given a bonus of £5,000 by the Ceylon Government for the part he took in bringing the Island into the Empire. He has left an interesting diary, in manuscript, of his remarkable journey to India, and of the whole transactions which led up to the acquisition of Ceylon, which is preserved at Strathvithie, now the property of Sir Alexander Sprot, M.P., his great-grandson.

Although he was a professor of Civil History, he had no liking for the study of law, for he remonstrated with North for having put him into "that damned law business of which he knows nothing." The "damned law business" was the system of the administration of justice in Ceylon, regarding which he had to write a letter to the Secretary of State. Notwithstanding this, he compiled a "Minute on Land Tenure in Ceylon." When the Land Settlement Ordinance came into prominence at the end of last century in Ceylon, as Mr. E. B. Sueter remarked, "Cleghorn's minute" was as often in demand as it was difficult to find. Versatility, at least, was one characteristic of Ceylon's first Colonial Secretary.

[Cordiner, who came over from Madras to Trincomalee in April 1799, and journeyed by land from that place to Colombo in June, met Cleghorn at Negombo on 24th June, and handed over to him some letters of introduction which he had brought from Madras. This was just at the time that North was characterising Cleghorn's conduct as "outrageous" to Lord Mornington, in whose company Cordiner had made part of the voyage out. The chaplain dined

¹ See Sir Thomas Maitland, by W. Frewen Lord.

with Cleghorn two days later at Colombo. He does not, in either of his books, mention Cleghorn again. Cordiner was a great admirer of North's. One wonders how he managed to steer a course between the Governor and his Secretary, and to keep in with both.

The above account of Cleghorn is based on (1) an article on "The Ceylon Civil Service" by the late Mr. E. B. Sueter, c.c.s., in the Christmas Number of the *Times of Ceylon* for 1914 (2) a letter to one of the Indian newspapers by Cleghorn's great-grandson, Sir Alexander Sprot, Bart, M. P. and (3) the Wellesley MSS published in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II.]



PORTUGUESE INFLUENCE ON SINHALESE SPEECH.

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Concluded from Vol. VIII, Part I, Page 60).

118 Kaba-

kuruttuva, කබාකුරුත්තුව "Women's Cabai curta. Short jacket." cabaya.

The word cabaya also means "a sort of silk stuff generally embroidered with gold and much used a few years ago for ladies' dresses." (Vieira).

119 Kabalériya, ໝລະເອີຣິໝ "Tress of false hair" of hair, wig."
120 Kabáya, ໝລວຜ "Coat." C.P.Cabaye,Cabai "Tunic." Port.
Cabaya, of Arabic origin.

Gray, in his notes on Pyrard, thinks that "the word was introduced before the time of the Portuguese," and remarks that "Cabaya in Ceylon means a coat or jacket." (Hob-Job. s.v.) The word has been used by Castanheda (1551), Correa (1552) who explains "Cabaya he hum vestido como a nos he o pelote." The Englishman, Ralph Fitche, (1585) describes it "Cabie made like a shirt tied with strings on one side;" Linschoten (1598) "a thinne cotton linnen gowne called Cabaia." The Portuguese sent Manamperi Mohottiyar a white Cabaya (Huma cabaya branca muito fina) which he donned with great ceremony when he assumed the title Jayavira Bandar." (Queyroz 384-5.) According to Schouten, the chief men in Ceylon, wear "a white Cabay or gown made of silk, flowered or of white cotton" (C.B.R.A.S. Journal XI. 343.) Percival, (141-2) describing the dress worn by the unmarried Dutch ladies, says: "Over the whole is thrown the kabey, or muslin robe with sleeves fitted close to the arms, and reaching down to the wrist, with five or six buttons of gold, silver or precious stones. A long or short kabey is used according to fancy."

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121 Kabuk, කාබුක් 'Laterite.'' Cabouco, "quarry," Anglo-Indian Cabook.

"It is likely that the blocks of laterite were called by the Portuguese pedras de cavouco 'quarry stones,' and, by a process familiar in English, the last word, after a time, came to be retained as the name of the material." (Ferguson C.B.R.A.S. Jl. X, 173). Daalmans (1689) uses kopkok; Heydt (1744) Capock.

122 Kachchiya, మాలీలేదు "Roll of cloth." Cacha, "a kind of coarse cloth made in India." (Ketchies, catchas, Hob-Job).

123 Kachchiya, කාව්මය "Roll, whole piece of cloth" of cloth 40 cubits in length." (Cf. No 114 and Queyroz, Conquista, 33)

在工业主发生的代表

124 Kadadási, කඩදසි "Paper" Cartaz.

Carta is not used in the sense of paper. Cartaz, of Asiatic origin, came into use in India for "certificate," "safe conduct," and thence, for "any paper, bill, placard." Portuguese writers felt the need of explaining the word: "Certidao, a que elles chamao Cartaz" (Correa). "With cartazes of 'safe-conduct' from the Capt. of Cochin" (Couto IV. VIII, J 60, 92,) permissoes para navegar, Boccaro, 16 etc. The British troops, in 1803, found in the King's palace, Kandy, "profusion of soft paper made in the country of the bark of trees "(Cord. II, 181).

126 Kaldarama, කල්දරම "Cauldron" Caldeiro.
Now applied to the copper stills used in distilling arrack.
127 Kaldu, කල්දු "Broth." Caldo, "soup."
128 Kalisama, කල්ලම "Pantaloons." Calças.

129 Kamaraya, Kambre, කාමරය "Room." { C.P. Cambre, Camara, "chamber." 130 Kambaya, කම්බාය "The coloured cloth worn by women."

Cambaya, panos de Cambaya, "cloth of Cambaya," a port of Gujerat formerly well known. Ships from Cambaya were in Colombo when Lourenço da Almeida arrived (1505). Correa (C.L.R. III, 133.)

According to Castanheda, the people of Ceylon "cover themselves, below the girdle, with cloth of silk and cotton which they call patolas (C.L.R. I.V, 190); and patolas are "coloured cottons and silks" (Barbosa) "which are made at Cambaya" (Correa). The word Cambaya, though of Asiatic origin, was introduced into India by the Portuguese (C.L.R. I, 239.)

The Anglo-Indian "Camboy," is a corruption, not of Cambaya but of Cabaya, and is used to designate both the Kambaya and the Sarong; a fruitful source of error. Tennent, for instance, says "the term 'Camboy' is used to designate the cotton cloth universally worn at the present day in the Maritime Provinces," (I, 588). On its derivation he says "The Chinese who visited the island in the seventh century described the people as clothed in the loose robe, still known as 'Camboy,' a word probably derived from the Chinese koopei, which signifies cotton" (I, 451). This discovery he repeats at p. 588, and II, 107.

131 Kamisaya, කම්සය "Shirt; children's Camisa. night-shirt."

It is much discussed whether the word is of Latin or Arabic origin. St. Jerome uses camisa in his Ep. ad Fabiolam, which Yule and Burnel consider to be the source of the Arabic kamis. (Hob.Job. s.v.)

132 Kanádé, మనుంక లై "Measure of capacity." P. Canada, "a measure equal to 3 English pints." (Nunes, Livro dos pesos, 34).

"In Mannar arrack was sold by the canade, which is the Portuguese Canade, a measure of liquids, which is said to be 12 bottles" (C.A. & L.R. v. 15).

133 Kanuva, മാതുව "Gutter, drain" Cano. Cano is also a barrel, see No. 134.

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134 Kanuva.
                            " Barrel." (see
                                            No. 133).
135 Kapalaruva, කපලාරුව "Plastering"
                                            C.P. Cafla "plas-
                                            ter," F. Acafelar,
                                            "to wash with
                                            lime."
136 Kapiri,
                කාපිරි
                            " Caffir."
                                            Cafre
137 Kappadu,
                කාප්පාද
                            "Castrate"
                                            Capado, "gelded."
138 Kappitta.
                කප්පින්නා
                            "Captain."
                                            Capitao.
                Raj. 557
139 Karabu.
                කරාබ
                            "Cloves."
                                            Cravo(see No.165)
140 Karapuse,
                කරපුසේ
                                            Carapuça, "a hat
                                            to keep out the
                             " Hat."
                                            cold."
                                            C.P. Carpuçe
    Karabuse,
                කාරබුසේ )
                                            " Cap."
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1812. "The King has lately sent අවමුල්තොප්පි (eight-cornered hats) to the two Adikars, and හතරමුල්තොප්පි (four-cornered hats) to the Dissawes, and white Karapus Toppi to the Dukgannas, to preserve the proper distinctions" (D'Oyly's Diary, 115).

141 Karatte, කරන්තෙ "Wagon,

Karettuva, කරෙන්නුව "Bandy Careta. carriage." F. 142 Kardamungu, කර්දමුංකු "Cardamons." Cardamomo. (S. Ensal). 143 Kartuva. කාර්තුව " Quarter," Quarto. 144 Kasada, කසාද "Marriage." Casar, "to marry;" Casado, "married

carriage.'

man." C. P. Cazado.

Every Portuguese in the East was either a Soldado or Casado;
the former received pay, the latter no regular pay, but enjoyed

certain privileges.
145 Kaskinna, කස්කිඤ්ඤ "Applied to the Casquinha, dimigold shells which nutive of Casca on each side partially enclose the glass or coral bead of a necklace"
(Nell, 19).

146 Kastane, කස්තානෙ (?) P. Catana

"A curved, Sinhalese short-sword." The sabre worn by Sinhalese headmen; P. Catana, a large broad-sword used by the inhabitants of Japan. The word is of Japanese origin and has been used by Lucena Boccaro, Cardim (Cf. Dalgado, 47).

The Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, whom I consulted, doubts this derivation on the ground that the weapon is Eastern and not European in type, and that the Portuguese word *Catana* itself is said to be of Oriental origin. He tentatively suggests a Persian or Malay origin.

Cord. (I. 97) thus describes the castane: "All the men in office wear swords of a moderate size, antiquated and not formidable in appearance. The hilt and scabbard are made of silver. The former imitates the head of a tiger; the latter is curiously embossed and turned round at the point. The sashes are either of rich gold or silver lace, to which is affixed a brilliant star, or cluster of various gems. The design and workmanship exhibited in these decorations are distinguishing badges of the particular rank of the wearer."

D'Oyly(5)" There are among them (the people who attend the 2 Adigars") some guns, swords, and *Castanas*." "Guards bearing muskets, swords, *Kastanas* stood arranged in two rows" (142).

Portuguese writers speak of a Sinhalese weapon called calichurro, a "sabre two and half spans long" (Ribeiro), "a broad, short knife a little curved" (Boccaro), "small broad-swords" (Menezes, Queyroz etc.). Calichurro evidently stands for a Sinhalese word which has not yet been identified (Cf Jl. XIV. 175).

147 Kastiguva, කස්තීඉව "Trouble." Castigo, "punishment." 148 Katikisma, කතිකිස්ම "Catechism." Cathequesi, Catecismo. " Cheese." Queio. 149 Keiu, තේජ 150 Kenti. කේන්ති " Anger." Quente, "hot." 151 Kirichchiya, කිරිච්චිය " A Malay dag-Cris, Malay Kris. ger." (Raj. 63). The Portuguese coined crisada, "a blow with a cris."

The word was probably used in Ceylon prior to the Portuguese. If Reinaud is right in his translation of the *Arab Relations* of the 9th and 10th centuries, in correcting a reading, otherwise unin-

telligible, to khri, we shall have a very early adoption of this word by Western travellers. It occurs in a passage relating to Ceylon.

C. 910 A.D. "Formerly it was common enough to see in this island a man of the country walk into the market grasping in his hand a khri, i.e. a dagger peculiar to the country, of admirable make, and sharpened to the finest edge. The man would lay hands on the wealthiest of the merchants that he found, taking him by the throat, brandish his dagger before his eyes, and finally drag him out of the town." (Hob-Job s.v.)

Queyroz (755), Schouten (Jour. XI, 343) and D'Oyly (164) mention the use of Cris in Ceylon. Percival (155) "The arms which the Malays carry....consist of a kind of dagger, called Kreese or Crisse; the blade of which is of the best tempered steel and often made of a serpentine form, so as to inflict a most deadly wound. The handle is of ivory or wood, carved into the figure of a man's body and arms, with a head representing something between that of a man and a bird."

- 152 Kittarama, කින්තාරම "Guitar." Guitarra.
- 153 Kompanna- කොම්පඤඤ "Slave-Island." C.P. Companha, Vidiya, විදිග and ilha,"Island."

This has been supposed to mean "Company's street." Nell denies that the Company is the Dutch East India Company, "as all the roads belonged to them: this is too far-fetched."

"There is another suggestive derivation from the Portuguese Campanha, which would, however, rather refer to a field expedition than a cantonment."

Mr Denham in his Census Report (131) thought that the Company referred to is the "Company of gun lascars who had their lines there." He even doubted "as to how the name Slave Island arose. It would appear that the name Slave Island was given it in English times."

There is, however, no doubt that it was called Slave Island at least 100 years before the British. In 1707 it is spoken of as the "Ilha dos Escravos" "Ilha dos Escravos da Companhia" (O Chronista de Tissuary II, 162) as a familiar and well-known name. From which it would appear that the name "Slave Island" was not given in English times, and that "the Company" is the Dutch East India Company.

Ferguson gives the following origin to Slave Island: "One night the slaves of a certain Dutch household in the Fort rose and

murdered the whole family. After that, all the slaves in the Fort, after the day's work was done, were collected in punts and rowed out into what was nearly an island, and there kept under guard until the time came to return and engage in their daily toil" (Old and New Colombo, 9).

According to Cordiner, there was no Street in Slave Island.: "There is no road by which a carriage can drive to either (of the two gentlemen's villas in Slave Island) without making a circuit of several miles. The common way of going to the first mentioned villa is through the sally port, either on foot, on horseback, in a palanquin, along the causeway, or across the lake in a boat. In going to the other it is usual to pass nearly a mile along the south road, until in front of the house, then to turn down to the water's edge, and cross a branch of the lake, which has there the appearance of a river, not being more than thirty yards in breadth (present Bridge Road?)"

There was, therefore, no street. Whence came "Company's Street?" I am inclined to think that vidiya is not "street," but a corruption of ilha, pronounced "ije." Ije in Sinhalese mouths became vidye.

"During the Dutch period" writes Mr. Denham, "it is referred to only as 'Ije,' the island; and it is still known by this name amongst many of the Portuguese mechanics."

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154 Konsejuva,කොන්සේජුව "Court."
                                          C. P.
                                                  Consejo.
                                          " council,"
                                                      (P.
                                          Conselho).
155 Kontaya, කොන්නය
                                          Contas.
                           "Rosary.
    Kontinna, කොන්තිකුකු
                                          C.P. Continha.
156 Kopi,
                           "Coffee."
              කොපි
                                          Café.
157 Koppe,
              කෝප්පෙ
                           "Cup."
                                          Copa.
158 Koradama, කොරදම
                           "Twisted
                                          C.P. Cordan.
                             thread," " a
                            shoe-tie "F.
159 Korasama, කොරසම
                           " Heart."
                                         Coração (Nell).
160 Korel,
              කොරුල්
                           "Coral."
                                          Coral.
              කොරොනැල් "Coroner."
161 Koronel.
                                          Coronel.
162 Korosme,
              කොරොස්මේ "Lent."
                                          Quaresma.
163 Kottama,
              කොට්ටම
                           "Jacket."
                                          Cotao
164 Kova.
                           " Pipe."
              නොව
                                         Cova, "crucible."
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165 Krabu. "Ear-ornament" Cravo, කාබ nail," C.P. "earornament," also the spice No.139)

The ear-ornament is so called from its resemblance to the spice, which was called crave from its resemblance to a nail. Clove from L. clavus "nail." Fr. Clou de girofles "nail of girofles," Garcia da Orta calafar, (Arabic garafala, quarafal, anglice gilly flower, now applied to the similar shaped bud of Pink). The comparison to nails runs through many languages (Hob-Job). Chinese nail spice, Persian nailkin, German nail spice.

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166 Kulachchama, කුලච්චම "Mattress."
                                            Colchao.
    Kulichchama, කුලිච්චම "Bolster"
                             (Clough.)
167 Kuluna,
               කුලුණ
                            " Pillar."
                                            Coluna.
168 Kumera,
              කුමේර
                            "Top ridge of a Cume (L.culmen).
                              roof."
169 Kunna,
                            "Wedge."
               කුඤ්ඤ
                                            Cunha.
                            "Small bottle." Copa.
170 Kuppiya, කුප්පිය
171 Kurtinna, කුර්තිඤ්ඤ
                            "Curtain."
                                            C.P. Cortinha
                                           (Cortina).
172 Kurusaya, කුරුසග
                            "Cross."
                                            Cruz.
173 Kussiya,
               කුස්සිය
                                            Cozinha.
                            "Kitchen."
    Kussinna, කුසිඤ්ඤ ්
                                            C.P. Cuzinha.
174 Kustura.
               කුස්තුර
                            "Seams in floor- Costura.
                              ing, between
                              bricks."
175 Laduru,
                            "Leprosy."
              ලාදුරු
                                            Lazaro.
176 Lakada,
                            "Sealing-wax."
              ලාකඩ
                                           Lacre.
177 Lansaya,
                            " Lance."
              ලන්සය
                                           Lanca.
178 Lansi,
              ලන්සි
                            " Hollanders."
                                           C.P. Landez (Hol-
                                           landez); Ollan-
                                           duwa (D'Oyly,
                                           80). Olande,
                                           ඕලන්දෙ, Lan-
                                           desi : ලන්දේසි
                                           (Raj.73).
179 Lansoluva, ලන්සෝලුව "Bed sheet
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Lançol.

180 Lansuva, ලන්සුව ^{("}Throw, Cast (of dice), bid (at

an auction)." P. Lanço.

181 Lantéruma ලන්තෑරුම "Lantern." Lanterna.

182 Latara, Como "Cakes shaped Letra, "letter" in the letters of (Nell, 35).

the Roman Alphabet."

183 Lellam, 6CdC "Auction." Leilao, "auction"

(from Arabic Al-Ilam "proclamation.")

Lellampola, scoco "A place where fish is sold by auction." (Clough).

The word survives in Anglo-Indian English as Leylam." Should a man die, they at once make a Leylam of his property (1527. MS quoted by Hob-Job. 621).

184 Léndiyá, ලේන්ඩියා "Nit." Lendea. 185 Lónsuva, ලේන්සුව "Handkerchief.' Lenço.

186 Lesti, ලෑස්ති "Ready." Lestes.

187 Lingus, ලිකුස් "Sausage." C.P. Lingus (linguiça)

188 Listaraya, Eccosico "Cornice, raised Lustre. Port. edging, moulding." (Clough). Listrar, "to stripe."

189 Livaramentu ලීවරමෙන්තු

Nossa Senhora do Livramento, also N.S. do Parto ("Our Lady of Release, Delivery"), now the Burial Ground to the South of the City.

"Half a league from Colombo, to the south, is the Church of Our Lady of Delivery, and within gun shot, to the east of it, formerly stood the city of Cota" (Queyroz, Conq. 583).

"They (the Catholics who were arraigned before the Dutch Council) said they met the Father in *Livramento*, which is a place outside the city, where formerly was a church of Nossa Senhora do Livarmanento, but now only a ruined wall, but many people, white and black, even pagan Chingalas visit it with great devotion and each one according to his faith receives favours from God, and the sick drink of the water of the well which is by the side

of the church, and all the orders and penalties which the Company had published against those who go thither did not succeed in doing away with the devotion of the people." 1707. (C. A. & L. R. 9, VI. 120).

The well still exists, and a statue found in it is now preserved in one of the churches of Colombo.

"Cassock." ලෝගුව Lobo. 190 Loguva, "Lottery." 191 Lotariya, ලොනරිග Lotaria. "Room or Lugar. (cf Nell, 192 Lugara, ලුගාරා space." p. 35). P. Lula, "calla-193 Lula, "Fresh water CCo fish." mary." (Nell). P. Tanque Sal-194 Lunu Pokuna, ලුනුපොකුන gado. "Shining or pol- (Nell). Lustre. 195 Lustara, ලස්තර ished surface " 196 Madrinna, මද්රික්ක "God-mother." Madrinha. "Old woman." 197 Maiya, මාසියා Maia. 198 Malavara, මලවරා " Malabar." P. Malavar (cf Raj. 48). 199 Malvatta, මල්වන්ත Orta fula. C. P. Fulle, "flower" P. Machos, "fet-200 Manchu, " Handcuffs." මාන්ච ters." 201 Mariya, Marear. මාරියා "Seaman." මස "Dough." Maça. 202 Masa, "Zizyphulus jujuba." Macao. 203 Masan, මසන් Anglice "Messenger Street.") (Cf Masangas Vidiya. "Mangosteen." Mangostaõ. 204 Mengus, මැන්ගුස් මැරුන්දේ C.P. Merenda. F. 205 Merende, " Luncheon." "Thanks." Merce 206 Merisa, Meris, මෙරිස් 207 Mes. මේස් "Stockings." Meas. "Stock-"Gloves," lit. ings." අත්මේස් "Hand stockings" "Socks." lit. කොට මෙස් "Short stockings." "Table." Mesa. 208 Mese. **මේසෙ**

170, n 256).

Knox gives this word in his vocabulary. (C.B.R.A.S. Jl. XIV.

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209 Mestiri, මේස්තිරි ජ Barber." Mestre.
210 Midula, මිදුල "Compound." Medula
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Dalgado considers Sco a Port. derivative from Medula, but it is a Sinh. word (cf. Námávaliya 105.)

The Anglo-Indian Compound, "the enclosed garden which surrounds a house," was thought to be derived from P. Campinho (Tennent II, 70; Suckling I, 380), but it is rather from Malay Kampung (Hob-Job. s.v).

umpu	ng (1200-300.	S.V).				
211	Milagiriya,	ම්ලාකිරිය	Nossa	Senhora	dos	Milagres.
				eus " Mila	gre ")
212	Minindoru,	මිනින්දෝරු	"	Surveyor.	" 1	Iedidor.
213			"	Minute."	1	Inuto.
214	Mostaraya,	මෝ සනරය	"	Sample."	1	Iostra.
	211 212 213	211 Milagiriya, 212 Minindóru, 213 Minittuva,	212 Minindoru, මිනින්දෝරු 213 Minittuva, මිනින්තුව	211 Milagiriya, විලාකිරිග <i>Nossa</i> (Bald 212 Minindóru, මිනින්දෝර ₇ " 213 Minittuva, මිනින්තුව "	211 Milagiriya, විලාඛරිය Nossa Senhora (Baldeus " Mila 212 Minindóru, මිනින්දෝරු " Surveyor. 213 Minittuva, මිනින්තුව " Minute."	211 Milagiriya, විලාඛරිය Nossa Senhora dos (Baldeus "Milagre" 212 Minindóru, මිනින්දෝරු "Surveyor." 1 213 Minittuva, මිනින්තුව "Minute." 1

cf Anglo-Indian
"Muster."

215 Múnissan, මුනිස්සන් "Small shot." Muniçao.

216 Nattal, නත්තල් "Christmas." Natal 217 Niskansu, (same as Diskansu" q.v.)

218 Nona, කෝනා "Lady." C.P. None, P.

219 Nos, නොස් "Nutmeg." Noz, nut.

Sadikka is Tamil. Gun. 367. According to Queyroz (Conquista 33) nutmegs of the same kind as those of Banda grew in Meneripiti and from Sitávaka to Malvána. (cf Suckling, ii, 390).

220 Notisia, නොවීසිය "Notice." Noticia. 221 Nuvane. නුවානෙ "Novena." Novena. 222 Ompo, බම් පෙර් "Uncle." C.P. Ompi 223 Opis. ඔපිස් " Office (of the dead.") of

D. Officio. 224 Orappuva, ඕරප්පුව "Orphan." Orfalo.

(Raj. 71) ඕරොප්පුවේ ඇතිකර උන් " brought up in the Orphanage."

"A well-known Mudliar's residence near the Fort of Galle is known as the *Oroppe* Walauwa or 'Orphan house,' because it was the site, in the Dutch time, of an orphan house." (Nell, 44)

225 Orasan, මරසන් "Prayers." Oração. 226 Orgalaya, ඔර්ගලය "Organ." Orgao.

227 Orlosuva, මරලෝසුව "Clock." C.P. Orlozo (P. Relogio became rologo, orloso, (probably through Dutch orlogie, from same root L. horologium).

228 Pádiri, පාදිරි "Father." Padre.

1812. "Recd. Official Letter from Govt. authorising to permit the Ja Mohm. to occupy and possess 4 Acres of Govt. Garden at Negombo, Pádili Watta" (D'Oyly, 110).

Padirinna පදිරික්කු "God-father" Padrinho. " Pagodi coin." Pagode. 230 Pagodi පගෝදි (measure of weight) A gold coin current in South India and Ceylon. (cf. Jour. xxiv 180; D'Oyly, Index).

(" Scaffolding ?") Prancha, 331 Palanchiya, පලන්චිග "plank."

Palangana, පලන්ගාන 232 "Dish." Palangana, "an oblong basin."

233 Pan. පාන් "Bread." Pao. Raj. 51 (73)

234 " Panel." Panela. පනේල Panela "Cross beams in the timber of roofs." (Nell, 45).

Pankadu-Karaya පන්කාදුකාරයා "Dandy." Pancado, which also means " taunt."

236 Pap. " Pope." පාජ Papa. 237 පාප්පා Pappa, "Paste." Papa. 238 Papus, පා පුස් "Slippers." C.P. Papuses 239 Parala, පරාල "Rafter."

Nell gives Parallello, " the probable derivation, the rafters being arranged in parallel rows." (45). Gunasekara suggests a Dutch origin. But the Dutch used pralen as a foreign word (Memoir of van Rhee, 29). P. Barra, "bar," Barrote, "dim. rafter" (cf Denham, Census Report, 148).

240 Paralu. " Bran." වරය C.P. Farelha (Farelo). "Flask." Paraskuva, පරස්කුව 241 Frasco. Pasku, 242 පාස්කු " Easter." Pascoa. Pastela, පස්තෑල " Pastry." Pastel, Pastelhao. 243 "Pataga coin," C.P. Patarca." 244 Pataga, පතාග dollar "

rix. (P. Pataca, patacao, Anglice Pataka, Patacoon).

"The Spanish piece of eight or pataca was introduced by the Portuguese.... In Ceylon it was rated at 5 larins, ridi paha. It continued in use under the Dutch, whose standard coin was the silver rix dollar of very much the same value, and was employed to pay the British troops (Jouro xxiv 181). The rix-dollar was in 1825 three quarters of the then value of the rupee " or the modern 75 cents, which sum is still known as patágaya or ridi paha" (Ib 183),

245 Patroma, පත්රොම "A dress pattern." "partern," "part shown as sample" (Vieyra).

Patorama, meaning "cartridge," is from Dutch.

246 Pattakka, පන්තක්කා "Water-melon." Pateca from Arabic battik, bittik (cf. Hob-Job).

Pattaya, 247 පාත් ත ගා "Goose." Pato. 248 පෙදරේරු වා " Mason." Pedreiro. Pedareruva Pena, " Pen." 249 පැන Péna. " Sieve " 250 Penere **පෙනෙන්රෙ** Peneira. 251 පැපොල් "Papaw." Papola. Pepol, 252 පේර "Guava." Pera, "pear." Pera.

The fruit and its name (guava) are alike Brazilian (guyaba). The commonest Hindustani and Persian names for the guava mean properly "pear" (Hob-Job). Robert Knox mentions "pare gediya; like to our pear."

පෙරගම් " Banns." 253 Peragam, Pregao. " Proctor." 254 Perakadoru, පෙරකදෝරු Procurador. පෙත්සම Petsama, " Petition." Petiçao. පෙතිස්සම Petissama, "Slice." (e.g. pan petta) Fatia, Petta, පෙත්ත 256 "Slice."

Dalgado (78) thinks it is a Port. derivation, but *Petta* is Sinhalese (*Námávaliya* 115).

257 Pidalguva පිදල්ගුව " Fidalgo." Fidalgo. "The fidalgo (පිදල්තුව) called Don Juan Arikku" (Raj. Ib.) " Liver." 258 Pigadu, පිගදු Figado. පිගුර Piguru-karadásiya; Figura. Pigura, 259 figure of "survey." Pimburu, පිඹුරු " Pick-axe." Picao. 260 Pikama, පිකම " Paint." පින්තාරු 261 Pintaru, Pintar. 262 Pintura, පින්තුර " Picture." Pintura. 263 Pipinna, පිපිකක "Cucumber." Pepino. Pirisenti, පිරිසෙන්නි " President." 264 Presidente. Pirissa, 265 පිරිස්ස "Saucer." Pires.

```
Pistole.
266
                පිස්තෝලෙ "Pistol."
                                            Pistola.
267
     Pitta.
                පීත්ත
                            "Ribbon."
                                            Fita.
                            " Peon."
268
     Piyon,
               පිගෙන්
                                            Peao (from pe)
                               "Foot-soldier," also "a pawn
                               at chess."
      Porake,
269
               පෝරකො
                            "Gallows."
                                            Forca.
270
               පෝරම
     Porama.
                            " Mould."
                                            Forma.
271
     Poranuva, පෝරනුව
                            "Oven."
                                            Forno.
                            "Lining."
272
                පෝරුව
     Poruva,
                                            C.P. fur, P. forro,
                                            "lining."
     Poruva, 6536,8
                            " Dues."
273
                                            Foro.
     Pratikal, පුතිකාල්
274
                            " Portugal."
                                            Portugal.
275
     Pukaru, පුකාරු
                            " Drinking-cup." Pucaro.
     Punilaya, පුනීලග
276
                           "Funnel."
                                           Funil.
     Purtuges, පුර්තුගෙස්
                           "Portuguese."
277
                                           Portugez.
     Pusalana පුසලාන
                            "Cup."
278-
                                          Porcelana (Dalg.).
     Kusalana, කුසලාන
                          "Toilet-powder' C.P. Puir (Poiera).
     Puyara,
279
               පුගර
280
     Rabakinna, රඛකිඤඤ "Fiddle."
                                           C.P. Rabequin (P.
                                           Rabeguinha dim.
                                           of Rabeca).
281
     Rabu.
               රාබු
                           "Radish."
                                           Rabao.
282
     Ramuva, රාමුව
                           " Picture-frame." C.P. Ramo. cf D.
                                              Raam.
                           "Flock, gang." Rancho, "a band,
283
     Ranchuva, රන්චුව
                                             company."
In military parlance ranchoo equals 24 men (C.L.R. iv, 53),
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In military parlance ranchoo equals 24 men (C.L.R. iv, 53), The Dutch wrote Rantjes, Ranchies, "bands of lascars" (Valentyn).

284 Rapinadu, රිපිකාදු

"Rapinadu karanava is applied to the clearing or refining of a sugar syrup" (Nell. C.P. Rafine, to refine, Rafinado.)

285 Ratinna, රතිකුකු "Cracker." Ratinha, "little mouse," dim. of Rato (cf. rachar, "crack.")

286 Rattala, රාත්තල "Pound weight' Arratel.

287 Reda, Sŏç™ "Reins." Redea.

288 Regimentu, රෙජිමේන්තු" Regiment." Regimento.

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රේගුව
289 Reguva,
                                            Regoa,(?)" rule."
                                do
290 Renda.
               වර්න්ද
                             Lace."
                                            Renda (L. rete).
291 Renda,
               රේන්ද
                                                      " rent
                            "Rent."
                                            Renda,
                                           revenue." Rende-
                                           iro, (Sinh.Rénda-
                                           rála), "Renter";
                                            Rénda-pola.
                                            "Toll station."
292 Reparamadu, රෙපරමාදු "Protestant."
                                           Reformado.
293 Retorna,
               රෙතෝර්ත "Return."
                                            Retorno.
294 Rippa,
               රීප්ප
                                                   "shingle,
                            " Lath."
                                            Ripa,
                                            lath."
295 Riska.
               රිස්ක
                            "Striped cloth." Riscu "stripe"
                                           (speaking of
                                           stuffs ).
               663¢
296 Roda.
                            "Wheel."
                                            Roda.
297 Rulan,
                            " Pollard."
               රුලන්
                                            Roláo.
298 Saban,
               සබන්
                            "Soap."
                                           Sabáo.
299 Sakkuva,
                            " Pocket."
               සාක්කුව
                                           Saco.
300 Sakaramentuva, සකර
                           "Sacrament."
                                           Sacramento.
                  මේන්තුව
301 Salada.
                            "Salad."
               සලාද
                                           Salada.
302 Sale,
                            "Hall, drawing- C.P. Sale, Sala.
               සාලේ
                           room, of a house."
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In popular use practically the same as *Baránde*. The Sinhalese word *Sáláva*, from the Sanskrit, is a different word.

(Couto x. viii. xii) and Queyroz. 743 "Campo de S. Thome," where stood the church, the precursor of the present St. Thomas' Church.

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308 Sapateruva, සපත්රුව "Shoe-maker." Sapateiro.
309 Sapattuva, සපත්තුව "Shoe." Sapato.
310 Sarampa, සරම්ප "Measles." Sarampo.
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311 Sarentu, සරෙන්තු ."Sergeant."
                                         Sergento.
312 Sarungole, සරුංගෝලේ Paper-kite."
                                         C.P. Sarungola.
313 Saruvale, සරුවාලේ
                          "Short draw-
                                         Ceroulas.
                          ers."
314 Satan.
                          "Satan."
              සාතන්
                                         Satan, Satanas.
315 Savalaya, සාවාලගා
                          "Shad."
                                         P. Savelha, Caval-
                                         lo.
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"This is mentioned as a fish of Ceylon by Ives (1775). It is no doubt the same that is described in the quotation from Pyrard. 'Ces Moucois pescheurs prennent entr'autres grand quantite d' une sorte de petit poisson, qui n'est pas plus grand que la main et large comme un petit bremeau. Les Portugais l'appellent Pesche cavallo'" (Hob-Job. 176).

316 Savódi,	සවෝදි	" Health."	C.P. Savodi (Sau-					
			de).					
317 Saya,	සාග	"Women's petti	-C.P. Sáya (P.					
			Saia, Saya, Sayo).					
318 Seda,	සේද	"Silk."	Seda.					
	A TOWN	Cf. Séda-watta (Orta seda).					
319 Sédavatta,	සේදවත්ත		Orta Seda, C.P.					
			Orta, "Garden."					
320 Setin,	සැටින්	"Satin."	Setim.					
321 Sidade,	සිදුදෙ	"Town."	Cidade.					
322 Sidaran,	සිදරන්	"Citron."	Cidrao.					
323 Simenti,	සිමැන්ති	"Cement."	Cimento.					
324 Sinno,	සිසෙස	"Sir."	Senhor.					
(Also contraction of visinho, Di. 23)								
325 Sinu,	සිනු	"Bell,"	Sino.					
326 Sippi,	සිප්පි (බොත්	" Mother-of-	Port. Chipo,"oys-					
	තම)	pearl."	ter" from Tamil					
			shippi (அப்பி)					
327 Sitasi,	සිතාසි	"Summons."	Citação. C.P.Cita,					
			"to summon."					
328 Soldaduva	, සොල්දදුවා	"Soldier."	Soldado.					
329 Sopava,	සෝපාව	"Sofa."	Sofá (Arabic Sof-					
000 0 11			fá).					
330 Sorole,	සොරෝලේ		Charola, "Proces-					
			sional car," andor					
001 01			de processão.					
331 Sorti,	සෝර්ති	"Sort."	Sorte.					

332 Suluppuva, සුලුප්පුව "Sloop." C.P. Chulupo. 333 Sumána, සුමාන "Week." C.P. Sumana. (P. Semana). 334 Sumbaraya, සුම්බරහ "Hat." Sombreiro, (sunshade) originally a "sun-hat" afterwards "umbrella."

Knox gives "sumbera, hat" (C.B.R.A.S.Jl. xiv 171). "In the Kandyan country the word *sumbaraya* means a head-dress. *Mundásanaya* (මුණුඩාසනය) and *sumbaraya* are synonymous." *Ib*.

335 Susi, 🛱 "Sister." C.P. Susse.

336 Tabakka, නමන්න Anglice Tomback. Tambaca, Tombaqua, "mixture of gold and copper" (Vieyra); rather an alloy of copper and zinc said to be of Chinese origin (Tom-

337 Táchchiya, තාච්චිග "A large earthen

vessel, frying Tacho.

bac, Faria).

pan."

338 Takséru- භාක්සේරු "To rate." Taxar. karanavá, කරනවා

339 Tamboruva, තම්බෝරුව "Tambour." Tambor.

1812 "Wattala Appu attends and informs that a man....came from Pusweylle Dissava....with Skin Strings for *Tamboors* (Drums), [D'Oyly, 156].

340 Tappe, නාජ්ප "Mud wall." *Taipa*, from Arabic *tapia*.

Ribeiro (ch. x. II) said that the ramparts of Colombo were for a long time "Taipa singella," which baffled Le Grand (86) and Lee (45); Pieris translated it "a single line of taipa," and Nell (53) "Sinhalese walls." As Ferguson pointed out (C.L.R. iv 165), taipa singella means "simple mud." Singelo, "that which is not properly and decently dressed." Valentyn (197) called it Typ. (C.L.R. iii 233).

" Door-bar." 341 Tarankiya, තරන්කිය Tranca. Taberna, "pub-342 Teberuma, තැබෑරුම "Tavern." lic house." 343 Temparadu,තැම්පරාදු "" A process in Temperado. cooking. It is the last process, and requires butter or ghee." " Post."

344 Tepela, නැපෑල C.P. Tapal, Tap-

Anglo Indian Tappaul. The origin is obscure.

(1803) Percival: "The distance from Colombo to Madras is upwards of five hundred miles, and yet the tappals are conveyed between these places in ten days by the peons, a cast of people employed for this purpose." (53).

One of the objects of Macdowal's embassy to Kandy, in 1800. was to obtain permission to open a road from Colombo to Trincomalee as hitherto the tapals or letter-bags had to be conveyed by a circuitous route." (1b. 409).

345 Testamen- තැස්තමේන් " Testament." Testamento.

tuva. තුව

" Paint, ink." Tinta, "ink, co-346 Tinta, තින්ත lours."

347 Tiraya, "Strip." Tira, "Strip of තීරග cloth."

"Curtain." Tirar, "to draw." 348 Tire. නිරේ

"I have heard this used by an Interpreter of the Supreme Court....to signify the wick of a lamp, and the witness under examination seemed to understand the term." (Nell).

"Wheat." තිරිත Trigo. 349 Tiringu.

"Custom duty." Tiro, (?) "shot." නීරුව 350 Tiruva,

"Register." Tombo. 351 Tombu, තෝම්බ

"Tombuva is now applied to Registers of marriages as well as Tombus or Registers of Lands" (Nell, 54).

352 Toranke, තොරන්කෙ "Stocks." Tronco.

353 Tuppahi, තුප්පති "Interpreter." Topaz.

354 Turumpu, කුරුම්පු "Trumps." Trunfo.

"Towel." නුවාග Toalha. 355 Tuvaya,

" Auction." C.P. Vendas, from 356 Vendesi. වෙන්දේසි Dutch.

357 Véspara, ව,ස්පර "Vespers." Vesperas. 358 Viduru, Glass." විදුරු Vidro. 359 Villuda, විල්ලිද "Velvet." Veludo. 360 Vinákiri, විතාකිරි "Vinegar," Vinacre. 361 Viskotu, විස්කෝ ආ "Biscuit." Biscouto. 362 Visure, විසුරේ "Viceroy." Visorey. Raj. (56) refers to a "nephew of the Viceroy" (විසුරේගේ බෑනා,) 363 Viyóle, විගෝලෙ " Violin." Viola.



THE PETA-VATTHU.

By DR. HENRY SNYDEB GEHMAN, PH. D.

BOOK III.

(Continued from Vol. VII, Page 204).

The Peta Story of the Unbroken (Surface of the Waters)

WHILE the Teacher was dwelling in the Bamboo Forest, he told this story concerning a certain Peta who had been a huntsman.

On the west side of Benares, they say, beyond the Ganges as you pass Vásabhagáma, in a village called Cundatthilá, there lived a hunter. He killed deer in the forest, cooked the best meat on the embers, and ate it. The rest he bound in a basket of leaves which he carried on a pole to the village.

When the children saw him at the town gate, they stretched out their hands and ran up to him, crying, "Give me meat, give me meat." He gave them meat, to each one a little piece. Then one day he took no meat, but tied on the pole an uddálaka ¹ flower and, with a large quantity of them in his hand, he went to the hamlet. When the children saw him at the village gate, they extended their hands and ran up to him, shouting, "Give me meat, give me meat." He gave each one of them a cluster of flowers.

Then, at a subsequent time, he died and was reborn among the Petas. He was naked and had a hideous form and a terrible appearance. He did not know food or drink even in a dream and had a bundle of *uddálaka* flowers tied to his head. He was walking upstream on the Ganges without breaking down on the water, for he thought: "At Cundatthilá, where my kinsmen live, I shall get something."

At that time King Bimbisára's minister named Koliya, was coming back after subduing the rebellious border countries. He

^{1. (}L. Cassia Fistula; Sinh. Esala, Ehela; Tam. Tirukkontai, Kavani.—Ed. C.A. & L.R.)

sent home by land his elephants, horses, and other animals, his followers, and forces, and as he himself went down stream in a boat on the Ganges river, he saw the Peta who was going in the manner described, and asked him:

1. "Without cutting the surface of the waters, here upon the Ganges you go; you are naked, yet on the other hand, as though free from your former lot, you wear garlands and are adorned. Whither may you be going, Peta? Where might be your dwelling?"

Now, what was then spoken by the Peta and Koliya is narrated in the following stanzas by the redactors of the Holy Scriptures:

- 2. The Peta said: "I am going to Cundatthilá which lies between here and Vásabhagáma and near Benares."
- 3. And when the minister known as Koliya had seen him, he gave the Peta barley meal and boiled rice and two yellow cloaks.
- 4. Then he stopped his boat and caused a present to be given to a barber; and after the donation was made to the barber, the result for the Peta was seen on the spot.
- 5. Then he was clad in fine garments and wore wreaths and was embellished. On the spot, as the Peta stood there, the alms became effective for him; for this reason one should repeatedly bestow gifts on the Petas out of sympathy.

So Koliya, the minister, felt sorry for the Peta and gave him a gift in the prescribed fashion. He continued his course downstream and arrived at Benares at sunrise. The Blessed One came through the air to bless them and stood on the bank of the Ganges. Koliya, the minister, disembarked from his boat, and, pleased and delighted, invited the Holy One, saying:

"Reverend Lord, do me this honour, consent to dine with me to-day."

The Blessed One in silence accepted the invitation. Perceiving that the Buddha had accepted, immediately in a beautiful spot he caused to be built a pavilion of branches, adorned on the four sides with manifold huts variegated with many different kinds of colours. In that place he prepared and gave a seat to the Blessed One.

The Buddha sat down in the seat arranged for him. Then the minister approached the Holy One, made obeisance, and rendered him homage with perfumes, flowers and other offerings, and sat down at one side. Then he related to the Buddha the words previously spoken by himself and the reply by the Peta. The Blessed One thought: "Let the Chapter of the monks come hither."

He had no sooner thought this than, impelled by the power of the Buddha, the Chapter of priests surrounded the King of Righteousness as a flock of golden swans surrounds Dhatarattha, king of the swans.

Straightway a multitude came together, saying, "There will be a great sermon." When he saw this, the minister with a serene mind entertained with savoury, hard and soft food the Buddha and the Chapter of monks. After the Blessed One had finished his meal, out of compassion for the multitude he commanded: "Let those who dwell in the neighbourhood of Benares come hither."

All of them, a large crowd, congregated because of his supernatural power. He made eminent Petas appear to them. Among these some were wearing torn and rent cloths and rags, others had their secrets covered with nothing but their hair; some others, nude as they appeared at birth, covered with nothing but the skin, overcome with hunger and thirst, with bodies consisting only of bones, were walking hither and thither and appeared before the eyes of the great throng.

Then the Buddha effected such an exercise of supernatural power that, having assembled at that same place, they told the people the evil deeds which they had done. In the following verses the redactors of the Holy Scriptures set forth this incident:

- 6. Some dressed in ragged strips of cloth, others covered with their hair, the Petas go for food and roam from region to region.
- 7. Some set out for a far country and, without having received anything, return hungry, faint, confused, and crushed to earth.
- 8. And some, who had not done virtuous deeds in their previous existence, fall down there on the earth dejected; as though consumed by fire are they in the sunshine, saying:
- 9. "Formerly we were sinful wives and mothers of households. Although there are commandments for bestowing gifts, we did not provide a refuge for ourselves.
- 10. "For verily, though much food and drink were thrown away, we did not give anything to the assembled 2 ascetics.
- 11. "While we, delighting in misdeeds, lazy, fond of festivities, and eating much, were the bestowers of bits and morsels, we abused the recipients.
- 12. "Those houses and those hand-maidens, even those ornaments of ours, now are at the service of others; we have trouble as our portion.

^{2.} Samaggate; read samagate, 81. 82.

- 13. "The basket makers' wives are to be despised and the women of the caste of the wheelwrights are perfidious; the female candálas and the barbers' wives 3 · become miserable again and again.
- 14. "Among whatever families that are base and poor, just among those are they born. Such is the rebirth of the niggardly one."
- 15. They who in their previous existence performed good deeds, were benefactors, and free from avarice, shall fill heaven completely and illuminate the Nandana Grove.4
- 16. Rejoicing and delighting in pleasures, they shall know 5 the palaces; then when they die, they are born in high and wealthy families.
- 17. In an upper room, in a palace, upon a couch overlaid with a woollen coverlet,6 illustrious in a good family, they who have subdued their bodies are born, having in their hands fans adorned with peacock feathers.
- 18. From place to place they go, wearing garlands and adorned; the rebirths are a service to those who desire pleasure both evening and morning.
- 19. Not to those that left meritorious works undone, but only to the performers of worthy acts belongs the sorrowless and beautiful Nandana Grove, the great forest of the Tavatimsa angels.
- 20. For those who have not executed good deeds, there is joy neither in this world nor in the next; but for those that have achieved righteousness, there is happiness both even in this world and in that to come.
- 21. Much good can be accomplished by those desiring companionship; for they who performed good deeds are happy in heaven, enjoying treasures.

So to the excited minister Koliya and to the people who had assembled there, according to his intention the Buddha explained the Law in detail by making known the consummation of meritorious acts and the results of the deeds committed in common and individually by these Petas.

When the sermon was ended, the conversion of eighty-four thousand beings took place.

^{3.} Nahamini; cf. kappaka, M. C. D. B.

A garden in Heaven.
 Vejayante; read vedayanti, S1, S2, B.
 Gonasanthite; read gonakatthate, M. C. D. B.

The Peta Story of Sanuvasi.

Now while the Teacher was living in the Bamboo Forest, he told the story of the Peta kinsmen of the Elder of Sánuvási.

Once upon a time, they say, at Benares, the son of a king called Kitava, while returning from his enjoyment in the park, saw a Pratyeka-buddha, Sunetta by name, who was leaving a house in making his rounds for alms. Since the prince was intoxicated with the pride of his own importance, he entertained an evil thought:

"How then does this shaveling go about without making a respectful salutation?"

Accordingly, he descended from the back of his elephant and, with the words, "You have obtained some alms, have you?" he took the bowl from his hand and broke it by dashing it on the ground. Now the monk, through the possession of such a nature as his, was unchanged and gazed in all the directions, since he had, as we must know, his thoughts subdued and serene with the feeling of compassion and joy. The prince's mind, however, was corrupted with an inopportune malice, and he addressed him:

"Why do you not know me, the son of Kitava the king? Such a fellow as you, staring around, what will you do to me?"

Having thus derided him, he departed. He had hardly gone on his way when he was afflicted with an intense burning of his body like the pain caused by hell fire. His body was overpowered by this great torture; and overcome by the sensation of the very severe suffering, he died and was born in the great hell, Avíci. There he lay, now on his right, then on his left, side, drawn together on a heap as we might say, turning about in various ways, and after he had spent eighty-four thousand years in that condition, he died and was reborn among the Petas.

For an undefined period of time he endured the pangs of hunger and thirst, after which he passed away and, during the present Buddha-period, was reborn in the neighbourhood of Kundinagara in a fishermen's village. There came to him a knowledge of his previous existences. Accordingly, he remembered the misery which he had deservedly suffered before, and, although he was grown up, on account of his fear of evil he did not go even with his kinsmen to catch fish. While they were going to kill the fish, he was unwilling to accompany them and hid. Then he also broke their net, took the live fish, and threw them into the water. His relatives

declared it was his doing and expelled him from the house; one brother of his, however, cherished a real affection for him.

At that time the venerable Ánanda lived upon Mount Sánuvási, near Kuṇḍinagara. Then this fisherman's son, who was rejected by his kinsmen and wandering hither and hither, reached this place, and at meal-time came into the presence of the Elder. Upon questioning him the Elder learned that he wanted food, and so he gave him something to eat. At the end of the repast, when he found out all his experiences and, through a religious discourse, discerned that he had a believing heart, he induced him to become a monk by saying, "Brother, you should embrace the ascetic life." He assented with the words, "Indeed, reverend sir, I shall renounce the world."

After having ordained him, the Elder went with him into the presence of the Blessed One. Then the Teacher said to him, "Ananda, you should pity this novice." For on account of his undeveloped eleverness he was receiving little alms. Now the Teacher treated him kindly and appointed him to fill the water-jars for the priests' meal. When the pious laymen saw him, they gave him many portions of food for a long time. At a subsequent time he received his priest's orders, and having attained saintship, he dwelt upon Mount Sánuvási with twelve monks.

His kinsmen, however, who had not heaped up meritorious virtues, but had accumulated wicked qualities consisting of avarice and other sins, at their death were reborn among the Petas. Now his father and mother feeling ashamed at the idea, "In a previous existence we cast him out of the house," did not approach him, but sent his brother who had cherished an affection for him. When this man had entered the village of the Elder for alms, he knelt on the earth with his right knee, made himself manifest with a respectful salutation, and spoke the stanzas, "Reverend sir, your mother and father etc." But the five stanzas beginning with "An Elder of Kuṇḍinagara" were placed first in the recension of the Scriptures in order to make clear the connexion.

- There was an Elder of Kundinagara, dwelling on Sánuvási;
 he was an ascetic with purified senses, known by the name of Potthapáda.
- 2. His mother, father, and brother became miserable denizers of Yama's world. Since they had committed evil deeds, they went from here to the region of the Petas.

- 3. They were unfortunate, their bones stood out like needles, they were weary, naked, and emaciated. They were alarmed and in great anxiety; nor did they appear formidable.
- 4. His brother came quickly, nude, alone on a solitary way. On all fours like a four-footed waterpot he showed himself to the sage.

5. Now the venerable man, without taking notice of him, silently departed; he however addressed the Elder: "I am your brother who has gone to the Petas.

- 6. "Reverend sir, your mother and father are miserable members of Yama's world. Since they had done wicked deeds, they have gone from here to the world of the Petas.
- 7. "They are unfortunate, their bones stand out like needles, they are weary, naked and emaciated. They are alarmed and in great anxiety; nor do they appear formidable.
- 8. "Be merciful and compassionate; give a gift and ascribe to us the credit. By your gift which is bestowed, the cruel ones will maintain themselves."
- 9. When the Elder and the twelve other monks had gone their rounds, they assembled at the same place, having performed everything legitimate for the sake of obtaining food.
- 10. The venerable one addressed them all together: "Give me whatever you receive; I shall make a dinner for the Fraternity out of kindness for my kinsmen."
- 11. They committed it to his care; the sage invited the Chapter; as the venerable one served the meal, he ascribed the virtue of the gift to his mother, father, and brother, saying: "Let this be for my kinsmen; let my relatives be blessed."
- 12. Immediately after this was beheld, food was produced, clean, savoury, well prepared, richly supplied with flavours and condiments. Then declared his brother who had become handsome, strong, and happy:
- 13. "There is abundant food, reverend sir, but look, we are nude; so, Lord, put forth your power that we may obtain clothes."
- 14. After the Elder had picked up some rags from a rubbish heap, he converted the cloths into garments and gave them to the Church of the four regions.
- 15. As he gave his offering, the venerable monk transferred the virtue of the gift to his mother, father, and brother, saying: "Let this be for my kinsmen; let my relatives be blessed."

- 16. Immediately after this was beheld, clothes were produced; then dressed in fine raiment, he showed himself to the sage with the words:
- 17. "As many coverings as are in the kingdom of Nandarája, yea, reverend sir, we have more than that number of garments and mantles.
- 18. "They are of silk and of wool, of flax and of cotton; many and precious are they; moreover they are hanging in the sky.
- 19. "We, let me assure you, wear whichever one strikes our fancy. Also, Lord, put forth your power that we may obtain a house."
- 20. The Elder built a hut of leaves and presented it to the Church of the four regions. As he made his donation, the venerable monk ascribed the virtue of the gift to his mother, father, and brother, saying: "Let this be for my kinsmen; let my relatives be blessed."
- 21. No sooner was this beheld, than houses were produced. There were buildings with upper rooms and mansions which were divided and measured out into parts.
- Peta.—22. "Not among mortals are such dwellings as we have here. Whatever habitations even the gods have, such ones we have here.
- 23. "Blazing brightly, on all sides the four regions are shining; so, Lord, exert your might that we may obtain a drink of water."
- 24. Then the sage filled a water-pot and gave it to the Church of the four regions. As he handed it over, the venerable one ascribed the credit of the gift to his mother, father and brother adding: "May this be for my kinsmen; may my relatives be blessed."
- 25. Immediately after this was beheld, drinking water was produced; there were four deep well-laid-out? lotus-ponds.
- 26. They had clear waters and beautiful banks; they were cool and free from unpleasant odours; they were covered with the pink lotus and the blue lotus and full of the filaments of the water-lily.
- 27. Then after they had bathed and drunk, they brought the following to the Elder's notice: "Reverend sir, we have abundant water, but our feet are painfully chapped.

^{7.} Sanimmita; read suni with B; cf. P.V. II, 1, 19 sunimmita.

- 28. "As we roam about, we limp upon the gravel, the grass, and the thorns. So, Lord, use your power that we may obtain a carriage."
- 29. The sage took a shoe and presented it to the Church of the four regions. As he gave it, the venerable one transferred the credit of the gift to his mother, father, and brother, with the words: "May this be for my kinsmen; may my relatives be blessed."
- 30. No sooner was this beheld, than the Petas approached in a chariot, saying: "Your reverence, out of sympathy we were furnished with food and clothes,
- 31. "With a house and with drinking water and a vehicle as gifts, Lord, we have come hither to pay homage to you, the compassionate one among the seers in the world."

The Elder told this incident to the Blessed One. The Buddha made this story his theme, saying: "Just as these now, so will you also endure great misfortune as soon as your existence has passed from this world and you have become a Peta."

At the request of the Elder he narrated the Suttapetavathu (the Peta story of the thread, P.V. II, 11) and preached a sermon to the assembled folk. When the people heard him, there was a great conversion and they found joy in performing meritorious deeds consisting of charity, good conduct and other virtues.



Notes & Queries.

"POPULAR CULTS OF THE JAFFNA DISTRICT."1

By J. P. Lewis, c.m.g., c.c.s. (Retired).

AM obliged to Father Gnana Prakasar for kindly correcting certain misspellings in my paper on this subject. I was doubtful whether my spellings of Tamil proper names were in all cases correct, and thought quite likely that some were not; but sixteen years' absence and six thousand miles' distance from Jaffna made it difficult for me to correct them, and I am glad that a competent Tamil scholar has taken the trouble to do it.

But is it not a slight exaggeration to say that "a number.... have unfortunately been misspelt almost beyond recognition"? The Father quotes seven (I wish he had quoted all) and in five of these the only mistakes are:—

u for a in two

i for a in one

r for n in one

b for p in one (represented in Tamil by the same letter)

b for k in one.

All of these are easily accounted for when it is considered that they were copied from pencil MS. notes, in which as might easily be mistaken for us, and n for r. In none of these instances can it be said that they made the name "almost beyond recognition." But there remain "Koli" for "Kotti," and "Kadumba" for "Idumpan" of which this perhaps might be said. The former word was not in my handwriting and it was spelt with but one t. I supposed that I had written 'koti,' and not "koli," but I have not my paper here.

Further on Father Gnana Prakasar refers to my "equation of Mari-amman," and says that "no one..ever calls Our Lady Mari-amman.. no native will ever confound it with Mári-amman." But as what I wrote was "Mári-amman" (a long), he is denying what I never said. Possibly the long mark was in the printed

^{1.} Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. VII, p. 148.

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article omitted. And Father Gnana Prakasar himself has in his "Note" both 'Chunnakam' and 'Chunnakam,' and in 'Navatkuly' the long mark is omitted.

Mr. Petch, in his paper published in the same number of the Ceylon Antiquary, with apt alliteration refers to many of the traps of transliteration. It seems to me that Father Gnana Prakasar has not escaped some of them. There are certain well-known systems used, one for both Sinhalese and Tamil, which was adopted by the Ceylon Government; another by the late Mr. William Goonetilleke, when editor of the Orientalist; a third by the Indian Antiquary and, I believe, by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson. But Father Gnana Prakasar uses none of these, his method is either phonetic or none at all. For instance, he represents the u in 'Puttoor' in two different ways, when all that was necessary was to use the u in both places where it occurs; in one case with the addition of the long mark. So with 'Poojari' which, in my opinion, would be much better written 'Pusari.' Why too does he introduce the superfluous letter y to represent the final i, as in 'Mahiyappiddy,' 'Návatkuly,' etc.? Here too he is not consistent, for he writes at the same time 'Cheddi,' Poojari,' etc.

To write 'Atchuvely' for 'Achchuveli' seems to me next door to misspelling the word. And is 'Vannarponne' the correct way to spell the name of the Jaffna suburb? I thought it was 'Vannarponnai' but I may have forgotten.

The translation 'Guardian Kali' was given me by a Hindu religionist.

THE "KORONCHI" CEREMONY.

By ROBERT J. PEREIRA.

THE Western custom requiring the presence of the flower-girls at weddings approximates to the *Koronchi* ceremony; possibly also the attendant ceremonies in connection with Tamil weddings bear a family resemblance to both these customs.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the Koronchi ceremony, that the common belief is that if the Koronchi, after being fastened to the hair, comes off, the incident is looked upon as a bad omen for the bride; it is also significant that the good girl who has the pleasant function of placing the Koronchi in the

bride's hair is in the vicarious position of attracting to herself the effects of "the evil eye" in the bride.

The word is a corruption of the Dutch word *Kroontje*. The custom of placing a circlet or coronet on the bride's head at a certain part of the wedding ceremony existed among the Dutch descendants in Jaffina and continued to do so up to so late as the year 1856. The custom is briefly described in the *Journal* of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon (Vol. 1, 1908, pages 216-217) thus:—

"On the return of the bridal pair from the church, they were met at the entrance of the house, either by the bride's parents or by a married couple of their intimate acquaintance. In the latter case the choice was made of a couple blessed with a quiver full of clive branches, to ensure, it was said, that the same pleasure of blessing would attend the newly married pair.

"The bride was then conducted to a seat under a prettily decorated canopy, from which was suspended a coronet which was made to descend on the head of the bride, while the musicians (violinists usually) played a soft and suitable air. With the coronet was a tiny jewel in the shape of a dove, the emblem of purity: this was surrounded by a mass of delicate filigree work with a tremulous motion, called 'trimiduros.'

"The Kroonjonker, or bestman, had now to detach the jewel and place it with a rosette on a small silver salver, which he handed to the Kroon-nooi, or chief bridesmaid. She in turn presented the salver to the bridegroom, who had to take the jewel and pin it on the dress of the bride, and then the bride pinned the rosette on the breast of the bridegroom. While this was going on the music became very spirited and lively.

"The next thing was for the strooi-jonkers, or groomsmen, to present each of the strooi-noois, as the bridesmaids were called, with a salver containing strooisel, or confetti, which they had to strew on the bride and bridegroom. Then each strooi-nooi pinned a rosette or favour on the breast of her strooi-jonker. This part of the ceremony over, the bride was conducted by the bridegroom into the audience hall or drawing room, where a raised seat, called the istarada, was ready for her, and there she received the congratulations of the wedding guests."

SINHALESE PLANT NAMES.

By T. PETCH.

THE following notes may afford some information on the questions raised by Mr. J. P. Lewis in the Ceylon Antiquary, (Vol. VIII, pp. 64, 65).

"Hinguru" for Lantana is a transference from Acacia caesia, the resemblance being the prickly nature of both plants. The prefix "Rata" distinguishes between the two.

The Tamil "Savakku maram" (Chavukku), whip tree, for Casuarina, has the Sinhalese equivalent "Kasa." There does not appear to be any parallel to this name in other countries. It is known elsewhere as the Horse-tail tree, which seems a rather better comparison.

We have no recorded Sinhalese or Tamil names for most of the other introduced trees mentioned, viz.: "Flamboyante," Grevillea, Eucalyptus (Red Gum), Amherstia, "Inga Saman," and Spathodea; but the Baobabs of Mannar and Delft are known as "Papparappuli" and "Perukka."

With regard to "Inga Saman," it may be noted that people frequently mistake this for a Tamil name. I hasten to add that I do not suspect Mr. Lewis of that error. It hails really from South America. "Inga" is a common name there for leguminous trees, and one of these is known by the native name, "Inga Saman," "Saman Inga," or in one spelling, "zamang." When this tree was first christened botanically, "Inga" was taken as the generic name and "Saman" as the specific, so that the name became Inga Saman in botanical "Latin." Subsequent generic transfers have made it Pithecolobium Saman. The name gave occasion for an amusing misunderstanding of another order on the part of a late Ceylon official. After he had been some months in the island, he enquired with an air of bewilderment: "But why do you call that tree the English Almond."?

As for the English names bestowed on trees in India, these do not appear to have very much greater stability than vernacular names in general. The name "Railway Creeper" is apparently applied to one plant only, viz., Ipomaea pulchella Roth., the Ipomaea palmata of the Flora of British India and Trimen's Flora of Ceylon; we have no recorded Sinhalese name for this. The "Gold Mohur" is usually Poinciana regia, the "Flamboyante," but it is also applied to Caesalpinia pulcherrima. The "Pride of India" is Lagerstroemia Flos-Reginae, or the Bead Tree, Melia Azedarach. According to the Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, Stereospermum chelonioides is "Padri" (Bomb.), "Padri" (Mar.), "Padri" (Tam.) and "Pader" (Hind.), but Stereospermum suaveolens is also "Padri" in Tamil. Trimen gives "Padri" as the Tamil name of Stereospermum chelonioides in Ceylon.

"Flame of the Forest" I have not met with. The Flamma sylvarum of Rumphius is Ixora coccinea, but the name is usually translated "Flame of the Woods." Perhaps some author has adopted a more alliterative translation. As for Flame trees in general, the name may be given to any tree which is especially conspicuous when in flower, more particularly if the flowers are some shade of red. The editor of the Dictionary of the Economic Products of India lists as Flame trees: Amherstia, Bombax malabaricum, Butea frondosa, Butea superba, Caesalpinia pulcherrima, Cochlospermum Gossypium, Lagerstroemia Flos-Reginae, Poinciana regia, Rhododendron arboreum, and adds "etc., etc."

The "Neem" of India is the "Margosa" of Ceylon, Azadirachta indica. The "Peepul" is the "Bo," Ficus religiosa. The "Babool" is Acacia arabica. The "Dhak" is Butea frondosa, the Sinhalese "Gas-kela" and the Tamil "Parasu;" it occurs in the dry region of Ceylon, but is rather rare, though locally abundant; it is one of the trees which attract the attention of Government Agents.

The scientific name of the Sinhalese "Halmilla" is, as Mr. Lewis states, Berrya Ammonilla. When Roxburgh named this species, he believed that the Sinhalese name was "Ammonilla,"—hence the specific name.

As far as I am aware, there is only one species of "Caju" in Ceylon, and it is not known what constitutes the alleged difference between "Caju" and "Rata-caju." All "Caju" trees in Ceylon are descended from introduced stock. Similarly, the foreign species of "Jak" (Artocarpus integrifolia) in the Matara district is unknown to me, except in so far as all "jaks" in Ceylon are foreign. There are numerous varieties of the "jak," and of recent years some other species of Artocarpus have been introduced, but the latter have not become generally distributed. On the other hand, "Del" and "Rata-del" are two different species, the former being the wild Artocarpus nobilis, and the latter, the introduced Bread-fruit (Artocarpus incisa). Thunberg, who travelled round the coast from Colombo to Matara (1777), referred to both the Jak and the Bread-fruit as Bread-fruit, and he stated that the smaller one without seeds (i.e., the true Bread-fruit) was properly known in Ceylon as the "Maldivian Sour Jak."

The "Four o'clock flower" is *Mirabilis Jalapa*, also known as "Marvel of Peru," "Afternoon Ladies," etc.,: its Sinhalese name is "Sendrikka." Holsinger gives the Tamil name, "Nalu-

manee-poo," which is merely a translation of the English one. The Indian Tamil name is "Patharachi."

"Kobo-neela" (p. 61) was given by Moon for Bauhinia purpurea; it has not been recorded since.

My attempts to solve Mr. Lewis' final query have not been altogether successful, but from the botanical standpoint the following facts appear to be correct. The "Ti" plant (not tree) of New Zealand was originally described as Cordyline Ti, and is now considered identical with Cordyline terminalis. The latter is generally grown in gardens throughout the tropics, and it is the common Ceylon "Dracaena" which so often serves to indicate the way to an estate bungalow, but except that in such cases it provides evidence of a long chair and a long drink not far off, it is nothing to grow enthusiastic over. In Australia, however, trees of the genus Melaleuca are known as "Tea trees," and there is a Broadleaved Tea Tree, a Narrow-leaved Tea Tree, etc. But according to all botanical writers, the latter are "Tea" trees, and the name "Ti" is applied only to Cordyline terminalis.

NORTHERN PROVINCE FOLKLORE.

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

I. How certain Tutelary Gods came to be adopted by certain Castes.

ONCE upon a time a wicked giant waged a terrible war against all the gods. As he advanced to capture and destroy them, they all took to their heels and dispersed in various directions to find hiding places for the safety of their lives. Mudimannan (i.e., crowned king) betook himself to the dwelling of a Pariah chief called Valliyakkan and hid himself in the weaver's pit. He then became the god of the Pariah clans, together with Valliyakkan himself.

The god **Periyatambirán** ran to find shelter with a washerman who hid him under his wide-mouthed water-pot (called Sál). Hence this god became the tutelary deity for all washermen.

[Note:—His worship consists chiefly in tying the mouth of the Sál with a white cloth, taking it in procession to the sound of paras, &c., and then ceremoniously boiling rice before it as an oblation.]

The god lyan sought sanctuary with a Kóviyan who protected him against the onslaught of the wicked giant and made him the god of his caste.

Kotti hid herself in a pregnant woman's house and became the goddess of the lying-in-women.

[Note:—She is a dwarf creature, about a cubit in height, and is fond of betel and cigars! She is worshipped on the fifth day after confinement by a ceremony known as "the dismissal of Kotti," when the midwife carries away the mat on which the woman lay, with a little of each kind of food she had eaten, to some open place or jungle. Omission of this rite is supposed to result in some misfortune or other to the newborn babe.]

Lastly, the Annamar (lit. the elder brothers) took refuge with the Pallar whose gods they have ever remained.

[Note:—For another account of Annamár see the Ceylon Antiquary, VII, 149.]

11. Origin of the temples to Pattini in the North.

Kóvalan, the husband of Kannakai (or Pattini), had been cut to pieces by the unreflecting Pandiyan. Kannakai, going out in search of her murdered husband, and finding his body in pieces, stitched them together with thread and needle and gave him life by her eminent virtue. But when Kóvalan awoke as if from a slumber, he queried: "Is it Matavy (i.e., his concubine) or Kannakai who stands by ?" Kannakai became indignant, seeing that even after receiving his life from her hands Kóvalan put the concubine's name in the first place; and forthwith she was changed into a five-headed serpent (Aintalai-nákam)—some say she rode a five-headed serpent—and crept away in a southerly direction from Madura. She made a first halt at Nainá-tívu; then passing through Suradduppanai (near Vaddukkóddai) she stopped at the following places: Sírany, Ankanákkadavai, Muttumáriyamman-kóil, Alaveddy South and Suluvil. Her passage was marked by a depression in the soil—what is now the bed of Valukkai-Aru (a river formed in the rainy season.)

[Note:—All the places in the story have either Naga temples or Naga shrines together with temples to Amman under one of her many names. The temple at Sírany is known as that of Náka-ammál (female); those of Alaveddy S. and Suluvil as of Náka-tambirán (male).]

The above is the story as told in Valikamam West. In Tenmaradchy there is a variant: Kaṇṇakai travelled from Náka-tívu through Kóppay, Maḍḍuvil Vélampiráy and Kachcháy (Note:—There are temples to Kaṇṇakai in all these places) and went to

Nákar-kóil. From here she passed to Puliyam-pokkaṇai in Karachchi and thence to Vattuppalai near Mullaitivu.

[Note:—At Nakar-kóil snake worship is rife to the present day. Vattuppalai is called Kannakai-amman-kóil and attracts several hundreds of people from all parts of the North on the annual feast day. Possibly what had been originally snake-temples were later converted into Pattini temples. Other stories relating to the Madduvil Kannakai-kóil called Panrit-talaichchy Amman and to Puliyam-pokkanai are given below.]

III. Panrit-talaichchy Amman.

Once upon a time a Pariah had killed a stolen bull for beef, and when the owners were about to catch him red-handed with the bull's head in his hands, he prayed to Amman to save him from the mishap. And lo! the bull's head was changed into that of a pig (panry). From that day they began to worship Panrittalaichehy Amman.

[Note:—Perhaps Panrit-talaichchy stands for Táyumánavar i.e. Siva who once took the form of a sow for suckling some mother-less young pigs.]

IV. How the snakes left Puliyam-pokkanai.

There is a snake-temple at Puliyam-pokkaṇai to the present day. Formerly snakes used to swarm about the courtyard and compound of the poosári (or temple-priest). Once the wife of the poosári was so much annoyed at their entwining with one another and encumbering the courtyard which she was engaged in sweeping, that she hit some of them with her broom-stick. And lo! they all began to creep away in all haste. The path they traversed is still called Nákam-sarinta-sólai. i.e., the grove through which the snakes filed past. The poosári seeing this sad happening ran after them to coax them to return. Meanwhile all had disappeared save and except a blind snake which he was able to capture. This he brought to his temple for receiving his daily adorations. This snake is invisible to ordinary mortals. Privileged ones alone are able to see it on rare occasions.

V. Snake-story connected with Nakar-koil.

The Naga-temple of Nákar-kóil is a miraculous shrine. If any injury is done to snakes there, the god Náka-tambirán is sure to cut them to pieces that very midnight. Near Nákar-kóil is to be found a spot covered with Náka-pirandai or Perum-pirandai (a large species of *Vivitis quadrangularia*). If with the stalks of this pirandai you strike the palm-leaf gate of your enemy some

calamity is sure to befall him, if he does not die at once. But to pluck stalks from the shrub is no easy matter. The operation has to be performed by night. From a distance the hissing of the "snake-shrub" can be heard. One has to go naked and with one's head covered with a new pan. If you fail to take this precaution, you will be bitten by the snakes.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE incident mentioned in the following extract from the columns of a Ceylon Observer of some two or three years ago, should have been included in my account of Sir Hardinge Giffard which appeared in the last number of the Ceylon Antiquary:—

"A chatty contributor to the Morning Post, writing about 'Links with the Past,' mentions one afforded by the Earl of Halsbury, the nonogenarian ex-Chancellor. His uncle, Sir Hardinge Giffard, once Chief Justice of Ceylon, as a young man at the Irish Bar fought a duel with Napper Tandy, whom he severely wounded (says the contributor.) Before going to Ceylon, Giffard lived in a house in Lower Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin, owned by Benjamin Disraeli, the uncle of Lord Beaconsfield, who (that is the uncle) was a working jeweller in the Irish capital. When Disraeli died in 1805, he left to his friend, Mr. Hume, M.P., the house of which Sir Hardinge Giffard was the tenant."

A SINHALESE WINNOWER'S SONG.

By H. DON CLEMENT.

1.

The hill-sides are bathed in the golden sunshine,
The winnowing scaffold is up,
I stand on the pole with the grain-filled basket,
The grain that shall fill the God's cup.
Now blow, blow, you wind, from the distant ocean,
The chaff from the good grain to part.
Now, a strong steady blast, Oh, hasten, hasten;
Prepare the good grain for the cart.

Now the wind is erratic; now it is firm, Now the grain shall pour out right fast, And now the basket that first is parted; There too's room for another cast; So hasten; and hand up another basket, You dear, dear child of my heart. I thank you, it is truly, truly well done. Go, grain divide now, for the mart.

3.

And now the wind has stopped, and the sun has set, The West is bathed in purple-gold,
The zephyrs bear the jasmine, the iron-wood scent.
And the kine walk to the fold.
The winnowing too has now come to a stop,
The good grain has filled full the cart.
Now, o'er hill, o'er dale, home we will go
Jak! mak! pita! pita! —Bulls start.

MORE ABOUT MAJOR DAVIE.

By D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

THE recent articles which appeared in the Ceylon Antiquary testify to the interest revived in Major Adam Davie through the patient researches of Miss. V.M. Methley, F.R. Hist.S.,—a great-grand-daughter of one of Davie's sisters. One of her discoveries is the report made about Major Davie by Major Donald Mackey of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment, on the orders of His Excellency Sir Robert Brownrigg.

The information for this report appears to have been received from one Krishnania, a native of Tanjore, who attended Davie in his last illness. To one of the questions of Major Mackey, Krishnania has replied that Major Davie had no servant of his own. Sir John D'Oyly's diary entry for November 13, 1811, shows that Davie "suffered insult from his Malabar servant," but it is difficult to say whether it refers to a servant of his own. However, Davie

^{1.} Coylon Antiquary, Vol. V, Part IV. p. 169.

^{2.} C. B. R. A. S. Journal No. 69, p. 62.

writing from London on 9th July, 1801, wants R. Sullivan, Esqr., to obtain a passage to Ceylon for himself and servant, a native of India.³

I have traced with some labour an interesting communicated article on Major Davie, appearing in the *Colombo Observer* of 22nd April, 1844 (vide infra.). It speaks of one Ram Sing, a Marata man, who was Davie's dressing boy at the time of the massacre (1803). I suggest that Ram Sing is the servant referred to in that letter.

Be that as it may, there appears to be an error and some confusion as regards Ram Sing's details of the sad end of Major Davie. He says that Davie shot himself with a pistol, and that his remains lie in Uva covered with a carved slab. His statement that Davie lived in Uva has an air of truth. According to D'Oyly's Diary Major Davie lived at Badulla in 1812.4 Ram Sing also mentions that Davie was alive after the British occupation of the Kandyan provinces, and it is curious to find W. Knighton, in his Tropical Sketches or Reminiscences of an Indian Journalist, states that "it is related in Ceylon, although I cannot vouch for the truth of the report, that on the occupation of the interior in 1815, Davie was still alive, but, aware of the execrations heaped on his head by his fellow-countrymen in the island, dared not reveal himself, and lived with a Sinhalese wife in the savage style of a native in the remote part of the large tract to the east of Kandy, called Bintenna, where even at the present day the face of a white man is not seen once, perhaps, for many years."5

It may also be added that Lawrie in his Central Province Gazetteer records that some say Davie did not die until immediately before the entry of the English to Kandy in February, 1815.6

These conflicting details may be due to the fact that "the Kandyan Government, which demanded for the ransom of the captive a seaport, circulated false reports that he was alive." The probable date of Davie's death is *Medindina* of 1812.7

I shall here quote the Observer article above referred to:-

"On the top of the Yattewatta Pass, half way between Kurunegala and Matale, I, curiously enough, stumbled upon a character who related particulars of interest to the public, if made generally known.

"He says he was Major Davie's dressing boy at the time of the capitulation and massacre—is a Marata man—has been 40 years in this country—was 12 when he came—appears to be fully 52 years old, and hale and hearty—had a muffin, a tumbler, a brandy bottle, a long dress and dressing gown of his master's in a bundle

^{3.} Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. IV, Part IV, p. 181.

C. B. R. A. S. Journal No. 69, p. 93.
 Vol. II, p. 338. De Butt's Rambles in Ceylon (p. 168), says Davie managed to clude the strict search that was made for him. He died in 1816.

Vol. II. p. 565.
 C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Index, p. XVI.

at the time—master and he alone spared—all the rest who did not go over to the Kandyans were chopped down in pairs-some Malays and Kaffirs went over—a few Jemindars kept some days alive-Major Davie's clothes, plates, spoons, and European things taken away; and Sinhalese things, and clothes furnished—was well dressed, allowed a retinue of fan-bearers, &c., and ordered to have respect paid him—was sent to Uva lest he should escape—he let his beard grow, lived like a native—had children now alive in Badulla-this servant was with him all the time, more than 14 years-after the country was taken, Major Davie was ashamed and afraid to make himself known—he had forgotten English so as to be unable to speak fluently. He enjoyed very ill health, became latterly very despondent—at last his existence was discovered by the then Governor who sent for him-he was at the time sick in body and at heart, and loaded a pistol and shot himself under the chin-his remains lie in Uva covered with a carved slab of stone—he had children who are now alive in Badulla, and about whom the Governor interested himself and offered to educate and protect them, but their Sinhalese relatives would not allow their removal—Major Davie was very amiable in temper and disposition was idolized by Sinhalese and all who knew him. After his death his servant was ordered by Government to live at Kurunegala where he resided from 7 to 10 years—was 3 years thereafter, in charge of the Kawidapola tappal station—and has been 15 years at the place of his present residence. His name is Ram Sing-his parents came down from beyond Hyderabad in General Wellesley's time and settled about Poothocotta and Trichinapoly-he knew English, Tamil, Hindustani and his native Marata, but can speak none well now-is all but quite a Sinhalese-his father kept 4 horses—has been too long away to care for home—has never heard from home—has now a village wife, part of a paddy field, two or three gardens stocked with vegetables and fruits reared by his own hand—keeps a pony on which he occasionally goes to Kandy was well known and much noticed by gentlemen formerly, and mentioned Colonel Kelly, Colonel Fraser and others-he is a fine looking old man with a grey beard, a pleasing, contented countenance, and intelligent expression."

I shall conclude this note with the following reference to Davie found in MacFarlane's Indian Empire:-

"A story was circulated and for some time believed, that he had become enamoured of a Kandyan princess, that the King and the Chief Adigar had promised him the hand of this lady, together with rank of a Prince or Adigar, and an extensive territory, and the command of the troops. There was nothing of the sort: Davie was no traitor; he was only an ass or an old woman with a soldier's coat on his back and a Major's commission in his pocketbook. For some time he was detained a close prisoner at Kandy; but, it is said, under such strict surveillance that he could not make his escape. But it may be doubted whether he ever had the spirit to risk his skin in an attempt; and, if he had escaped from the Kandyans, he could scarcely have escaped a British Court-Martial."

Literary Register.

IN CEYLON A CENTURY AGO.

The Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society.

WITH NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. VIII., Page 91.)

A T a General Meeting held on Monday the 17th of September, 1821.

Present .-

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, President.

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice

The Hon'ble and Venerable the Archdeacon Vice-Presidents.

Doctor Farrell

Lieut.-Colonel Wright J. Deane, Esquire

A. H. Marshall, Esquire Captain Dawson

The Revd. J. Glenie A. Moon, Esquire

The Revd. A. Armour G. Turnour, Esquire

The Lieutenant Governor having been called to the Chair, the Secretary reads the proceedings of the last General Meeting of the Society, and the letters that he has dispatched in pursuance of the directions therein contained.

The Society proceed to ballot for the admission of J.W. Bennett, Esqr., as Member, proposed at the last Meeting.

He is elected accordingly, which the Secretary is ordered to signify to him.

Returns on Natural History.

The Secretary lays before the Meeting a Letter from the Modliar of the Hapitigam Corle, and the Forms of Returns on subjects of Natural History that had been sent to him, most of them filled up.

These Returns having been inspected, His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor moves that the thanks of the Meeting be

communicated to Don Samuel Ameresekere, Modliar of the Hapitigam Corle, for the promptitude and readiness with which he has complied with the wishes of the Society, and proposes that he should be admitted an Honorary Member thereof,—which motion and proposal being unanimously acceded to, the Secretary is ordered to write accordingly.

Observations on the Barometer.

A communication from Lieutenant-Colonel Wright giving cover to a paper containing observations on the Barometer as applicable to the Island of Ceylon, and to other intertropical situations, as well as to the Cape, are next read to the Meeting.

Thereupon the Chief Justice moves that the thanks of the Meeting be given to Lieut.-Colonel Wright for the valuable Information contained in the Paper just read, which is seconded by the President and unanimously voted.

The Secretary is ordered to refer Colonel Wright's Paper to the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography.

It is also proposed by the Chief Justice and carried that the Revd. Andrew Armour be elected a Member of the Sub-Committee of Natural History, which that Gentleman, who is present, accedes to.

Leaf Insect.

The Secretary is directed to communicate the thanks of the Meeting to William Gisborne, Esqr., for the very curious specimen of the *Mantis Urbana* or leaf insect sent by him from the Caltura District.

A Petition from a Mr. Philips soliciting the situation of Clerk to the Society having been presented to the Society, It is ordered that it be referred to the General Committee for Examination into his Qualification, and to report the salary that should be assigned him.

Adjourned to Monday, the 15th of October.

At a General Meeting held on Tuesday, the 16th of October, 1821.

Present .-

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice
The Hon'ble the Puisne Justice

The Hon'ble J. W. Carrington, Esqre.

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon

Dr. Farrell.

Vice-Presidents.

Lieut.-Col. Wright

The Revd. C. Lyon

Lieut. Gascoygne

The Revd. A. Armour

John Deane, Esqre.

Alex. Moon, Esqre.

J. W. Bennett, Esqre.

Geo. Turnour, Esqre, Secy.

Sir Hardinge Giffard in the Chair.

The Secretary reads the Proceedings of the last General Meeting of the Society.

Horticulture.

A Paper on the state of Horticulture in Ceylon and containing suggestions for its improvement transmitted to the Secretary under a Blank Cover, and bearing neither date or signature is next read.

Ordered that it be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture for its report thereon.

Observations on the Barometer.

The following report of the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy and Geography on Lt.-Col. Wright's observations on the Barometer having been read, that "The Letter from George Turnour Esqr., Secretary to the Ceylon Literary Society, conveying the paper of Lieut.-Col. Wright, Royal Engineers, on the subject of the Barometer, to the Sub-Committee of Geology, Mineralogy and Geography and requesting a Report thereon having been laid before the said Sub-Committee together with the Paper alluded to, the Gentlemen composing the same are of opinion that the paper of Lt.-Col. Wright should be recorded and printed."

The Paper above mentioned having already been printed in the Ceylon Gazette, it only remains to be entered in the Proceedings of the Society, which it is ordered be recorded accordingly.

[The paper was published in the Ceylon Gazette, Sept. 22, 1821.]

The Hon'ble the Puisne Justice proposes that the Revd. Bulkely Fox and the Revd. Benjamin Clough be admitted as Members of this Society.

Ordered that these Gentlemen be ballotted for at the next Meeting.

Leaf Insect.

A Letter from Henry Augustus Marshall, Esqre., descriptive of the *Mantis Urbana*, and accompanied by a Drawing of the Insect by Mrs. Marshall, from life, are laid before the Meeting.

Ordered on the motion of the Chief Justice that the thanks of the Society be given to H. A. Marshall, Esqre., for his Communication and for the drawing received therewith.

Snakes.

A Paper on the Snakes of Ceylon sent by J. G. Kriekenbeek, Esqre., is laid before the Meeting, for which the Secretary is instructed to communicate the thanks of the Meeting to that Gentleman.

A note from V. W. Vanderstraaten, Esqre., intimating the wish of Mr. Assist. Surgeon Bulkely to withdraw his Name, as a Member, from the Society, in consequence of his having been detached from Colombo, is communicated by the Secretary to the Meeting.

It is Resolved that all Returns that may be received on subjects of Natural History, be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture after they have been laid before a General Meeting of the Society.

Mr. Daviot's Letter soliciting the Office of Draftsman to the Society is read; and it is resolved that the Institution cannot afford to have a Draftsman attached to it at present on a fixed Salary, but that Mr. Daviot may be employed whenever drawings may be required.

It is resolved that the Salary of the Clerk be fixed at Rds. 20 per Mensem, and that Mr. Cecil Morgan be appointed thereto.

Two vacancies having occurred in the Two Sub-Committees of Geology, Mineralogy, and Geography, and of Civil History, Languages and Antiquities, It is resolved that George Lusignan Esqre., and Captain Schneider be nominated to the two former, and J. G. Kriekenbeek, Esqre., and J. W. Bennett, Esqre., to the latter.

Adjourned to Thursday, the 15th of November, 1821.

At a General Meeting held on Thursday, the 15th November, 1821.

Present .-

The Hon. The Chief Justice

The Hon. The Puisne Justice

The Hon. J. W. Carrington, Esqre.

The Hon. and Venerable The Archdeacon

Dr. Farrell

Vice-Presidents.

Lieut.-Col. Wright
Lieut. Gascoyne
Captain Schneider

John Deane, Esqr.
Lieut.-Col. Walker
Alexander Moon, Esqre.

J. G. Kriekenbeek, Esqr. Mr. Reckerman

The Revd. A. Armour Geo. Turnour, Esqre., Secretary

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard in the Chair.

The Proceedings of the last General Meeting are read.

The Society proceed to ballot for the admission of the Gentlemen proposed at the last Meeting.

The Revd. B. Fox and Revd. B. Clough are admitted in consequence, which the Secretary is instructed to intimate to those Gentlemen.

The Report of the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture on the Treatise on the State of Horticulture in Ceylon referred to it by order of the last Meeting of the Society is read,—of which the following is a copy.

Horticulture.

"The Committee of Agriculture and Natural History, at a Meeting held on the 3rd Nov., 1821, having taken into its consideration the anonymous Treatise on Horticulture transmitted with the Letter of the Secretary to the Society, find that the general purport of the Paper in question is confined to a statement of the principal and most obvious causes which have hitherto retarded the progress of gardening in Ceylon, but the Committee regrets to add that it does not comprehend any proposition for the improvement of the System of practical Horticulture or the removal of the deterring causes to which its imperfections are attributed.

"Of these causes the most material and the most insuperable would seem to be that of the poverty and natural sterility of the Soil with regard to exotic fruits and vegetables, but which in the opinion of the Committee is in the Treatise before it very much overrated.

"Although the limited experience of the Members of the Committee does not allow them to urge this opinion too decisively, they feel that it is in no small degree borne out by the admission of the Treatise itself that "many fine fruits" (and which in the Paper are imperfectly detailed) "have been brought to the Island by General Macdowal and Messrs. Kerr and Moon most of which are already naturalized."

"The acknowledged fertility of the Gardens at Galle when formerly cultivated by the Chinese, the flourishing state of some in Colombo and its vicinity, the plentiful supply of exotic Vegetables from others scattered through the Kandyan Provinces, are so many grounds on which the Committee are inclined to ground its dissent from the opinion expressed in the Treatise of the barrenness of the Soil, and the Committee has been induced to dwell more earnestly on this point from reflecting on the tendency

that such an opinion would have, if generally received, to blight the hopes and objects of the Society by paralysing all endeavours towards future improvement.

"The Committee having considered so much in detail that part of the Treatise which appeared of the greatest importance

must now close its report with a few general observations.

"With regard to the remarks contained in the Paper on the want of a supply of Seeds, the Committee beg to observe that this subject has not wholly escaped its attention, and it expects shortly to be enabled to lay before the Society some plan for obtain-

ing a more efficient and regular supply.

"The remaining causes to which the Paper now before the Committee would adduce the feeble progress of Horticultural improvement are too obvious, and too well known to require a particular comment in this place, especially as they are not combined with any observations likely to produce beneficial practical results, and for which Reason the Committee is of opinion that its further publication is not calculated to be of any general utility, or to advance in any manner the views of the Society."

(Signed) T. B. Gascoyne
A. Moon
A. Armour.

Ordered that the Treatise be inserted in the Proceedings of the Society, recording at the same time the recommendation of the Sub-Committee as to its not receiving any further publicity.

"Horticulture, 13 that branch of gardening which has for its object the cultivation of esculent Vegetables, has not until very lately attracted much of the observation of scientific persons even in Europe, though in England particularly it has been long practically pursued and with abundant success.

'In Ceylon it is in even in practice at a very low ebb.

"When it is considered how very natural is the pleasure which we take in gardening, and it is recollected that the former possessors of this Island were in their own country the most assiduous Gardeners in Europe, it would appear that Ceylon with its boasted Climate and Soil has been in this particular unaccountably

neglected.

"But on reflection the cause seems sufficiently obvious; the pleasure of gardening in this Country is much abridged to Europeans by the impossibility of their taking exercise in the open air for more than two or three hours in the twenty-four, immediately before and after the Sun Rise and Sun-Set,—this at once would put an end to all plans of ornamental gardening, even did not the expense and trouble of keeping any extent of ground in a state of neatness, in a Country where spontaneous vegetation is so rapid and vigorous, render the pleasure too costly for ordinary purses.

^{13.} Sir J. Barrow, in Ceylon, Past and Present (1857), reproduces this paper, and attributes it to Sir Hardinge Giffard. He does not state his authority, but as he supplies an evident omission, it is probable that he was able to consult the original MSS. This may explain why the paper, though condemned by the Sub-committee, was ordered to be entered in the Proceedings.

"Neither could the Hollander find in Ceylon that kind of gardening which though within a narrow limit could in Europe afford so much delight and excite so much enthusiasm; his favourite Tulips or Anemones or Auriculas would not exist in those parts of Ceylon to which he had access, and the Island offered little as a substitute,—a few balsams and Tuberoses, the four o'clock flower, 14 and one or two bulbous-rooted plants of the liliaceous tribe are perhaps all that can be called indigenous, applicable to the flower garden; diligent attention might add from European or Cape seeds, Amaranthus, French and African Marigold, Asters, Pinks, and under very favourable circumstances a few plants of Mignonette; but here the Catalogue ends, a poor display of flowers when set against the numberless products of an European garden.

"With respect to soil and climate, we must from deference to truth admit that much exaggeration and misrepresentation have prevailed on those points. The Climate of Ceylon generally, and that of Colombo most particularly is certainly the most favourable to human life of any in India,—but it is still a tropical Climate and subject to much of tropical inconvenience with respect to Health.

"But as affecting cultivation the different parts of Ceylon present striking differences. The Seasons and Climate of Jaffna, Trincomale, Matura, 15 Kandy and Colombo are all dissimilar. Many plants will thrive and fruits ripen in one which cannot be raised in the others. Grapes and oranges are cultivated in abundance and perfection at Jaffna, while at Colombo a Vine is kept alive with difficulty, and has very seldom been known to bear fruit. Our knowledge of these different Climates is yet very vague and general.

"We know however that in Jaffna the rains and droughts succeed each other with periodical regularity, but that in Colombo, at least as far as recollection unassisted by scientific observation goes, there is scarcely any rule by which to judge of the probability of either.

"In the interior, the elevation of the Country creates a diminnution of temperature more favourable to the product of Europe, and accordingly in the neighbourhood of Kandy esculent Vegetables, Peas and Cabbages particularly, have been cultivated by some of our Countrymen, so as to remind us of the products of an English Garden.

"As to soil we can boast little; that of Colombo and its neighbourhood is either largely mixed with what is called Cabook, a sort of indurated brick-coloured loam, or deep white sand. The Cabook is highly favourable to indigenous Vegetables, which flourish in it exceedingly, but it appears to be almost barren with exotics,—a profusion of animal manure only can force a crop of Cabbages, lettuces, or radishes, and beyond these we can scarcely aspire.

Mirabilis Jalapa L., Sendrikka, S.; neither this nor the Tuberose is indigenous, but both were introduced before 1678.

"The soil of Jaffna is however more productive; it is composed principally of minute Coral and silicious sand from which with the most patient and assiduous irrigation are raised very valuable Crops of Tobacco.

"At Trincomalie, the Soil is apparently very poor; indeed, an attempt at gardening seems scarcely to be thought of in that

District.

"The Soil of Matura is more favourable, but the intense heat of the Climate is injurious; attempts have however been made and with some slight success to raise esculent European Vegetables in this District.

"At Galle, there are many gardens cultivated by Chinese which were at one time rather productive,—so much so as to furnish the Fleets which rendezvouzed there in time of War with a favourable supply, They are now rather declining from the attention of the Chinese being turned to other modes of gain, and the Cingalese cannot be brought to understand the value of foreign Vegetables. The Climate of Galle is nearly that of Colombo, but the soil from a slight intermixture of Coral rock is more productive.

"The Kandyan District seems to offer the fairest opportunity for gardening to advantage; this appears to be entirely owing to the elevation. The Soil is probably not more productive naturally than that of Colombo,—the presence of limestone in which it abounds does not afford that promise of fertility which usually it does in England, since it is ascertained that Magnesian limestone which is the species found in Kandy does not possess any valuable Property as a Manure.

"Having thus sketched the causes which appear to have hitherto retarded the advancement of gardening in Ceylon, and taken a general view of its present condition, we cannot but feel that in the prosecution of this pursuit there are serious difficulties to be encountered. These difficulties in Colombo consist of an unascertained rather than uncertain Climate, and with respect to

exotic vegetables an unproductive Soil.

"To acquire some knowledge of the Climate would probably be the first step to be taken. This might be done by instituting a series of observations for the purpose at Colombo, and perhaps in no very long time, a sufficient body of information might be obtained to enable us to form some rules upon the subject. That nothing of this sort has hitherto been done may be accounted for by reflecting how very little our thoughts have reference to any permanent residence in Ceylon. We generally look upon the lapse of time merely as leading us to the period of our leaving the Island, and we have consequently little inducement to enter upon any pursuit which is connected with any length of stay. The Weather, therefore, passes by, Monsoon after Monsoons, without leaving any trace upon our Memory by which to direct us in our expectation of that which is to come.

"Accordingly, perhaps the only rule relating to the Choice of Seasons for Cultivation in Colombo and its neighbourhood is that which is almost forced upon us, 'that the best periods for sowing are after the heavy Rains which usually fall in the last days of June and October at the change of the respective Monsoons.

"The Chief dangers to be apprehended to the esculent Vegetables of Europe when cultivated here is from the heavy Rains. These not only wash the young Plants and Seeds out of the Ground, but by the violent change of temperature produced in the Plants when more matured by the intense heat of the Sun breaking upon them after heavy Showers, they are destroyed with a rapidity scarcely perceptible. A Cabbage exposed to heavy rain, and afterwards to four or five hours of burning Sun will become so rotten

as to fall down in mere Jelly.

"But the indigenous Plants of Ceylon seem not to be affected in this way; they endure these violent transitions of temperature without apparent injury; and were the number of esculent native vegetables greater than those we have, ameliorated so far by cultivation as to be capable of supplying the absence of those of Europe, We might perhaps as the easiest course direct our principal attention to them; but they afford little variety, and less in temptation to our taste. The place of greens from Cabbage or Spinach is ill supplied by the Basella (Country Greens), Rumex vesicanies16 (Country Sorrel), or Amaranthus (Tampali); Windsor beans by Phaseolus fabaeformis 17, or Convolvulus tuberosus 18; and here the comparative catalogue would terminate.

In addition to those we have as belonging to the Kitchen Garden, the produce of some of the larger trees, the Breadfruit in particular which affords an excellent and abundant Supply, the Jack Fruit, little used by us but largely consumed by the Natives, the unripe Papaw boiled, and the pods of the Murunga, so delicious when dressed with Curry,-to these may be added the Bandikoi and Brinjal. The European Vegetables which have been found to succeed near Colombo are principally Asparagus; Watercress; Cabbage of the Early York, Drumhead, Sugar Loaf, and Red Dutch Varieties; Turnips, Dutch and Purple; Knole Cole; Radishes, long white and Scarlet London, White and red Turnip, and Black Spanish; Celery, Solid and red stalked; Endive, green Curled, white Curled, and Batavian; Lettuce, Cabbage; Parsley, Curled and large rooted; Mint, spear and pepper; Peas, early Charlton, dwarf Spanish, and dwarf Marrowfat; French beans, negro, black, and Canterbury or white; Carrots, horn and orange; Beet, red and white.19

"The Cultivation of Potatoes in the Maritime Provinces has been often attempted, and, excepting perhaps in one experiment made in the highlands of the Morua Korle 20 about Six Years since, generally in vain. In the Kandyan districts, particularly at Maturate and Fort McDonald they have been cultivated more

20 By Mr. Lorenz, Sitting Magistrate of Morrua Corle, see Government Gazette, Sept. 30th, 1812.

^{16.} Rumex vesicarius L.

^{17.} Barrow (loc. cit.) supplies the missing words, "potatoes by yames."

^{18.} Sweet Potato, Ipomoea Batatas.

^{19.} This list suggests that either Sir Hardinge Giffard was drawing largely on his imagination, or that the varieties then in cultivation in Europe were better adapted to withstand the climate than their successors of the present day.

successfully, and there is no reason to suppose that they may not hereafter become a valuable source of supply from the higher districts of Kandy. Not many years have elapsed since they were first attempted in the High Lands of Hindostan, and they are now not only in very general use throughout that country, but a considerable Article of Export.

"The want of a supply of Garden Seeds is felt to be a great impediment to Horticulture, so far as relates to European esculent Vegetables. Formerly the regular Indiamen by which (we) were annually visited brought out English garden seeds as a part of their general investment, and from the Cape we have had sometimes an opportunity of obtaining Seeds still more suitable to the Climate of Ceylon. From some causes or other our intercourse with the Cape seems to be diminishing, and since the whole trade of Ceylon has fallen into the hands of those by whom it is found most advantageous to import Articles in demand among the Natives, we have been totally without supplies unless such as have casually arrived

from the Cape.

"It would probably be worth the consideration of this Society whether some means might not be adopted under its immediate patronage of procuring Supplies of Garden Seeds; those produced at Hyderabad might perhaps be obtained through Madras with more punctuality than we could expect them either from England or the Cape. Fruits are, notwithstanding the little care bestowed upon their cultivation, very abundant with us, but whether from want of care or from a prejudice in favour of the pleasures of our earlier life, they are not considered equal in flavour to those of Europe. The Pine Apple is even supposed to be more delicious when raised in an English hot-house than when produced in its native soil; for this there may be a sufficient cause in the total neglect with which it is treated; it is wholly abandoned to nature without any aid from care or manure or any kind of cultivation.

"But in spite of neglect the oranges of Ceylon are abundant and excellent. Limes are produced in profusion. The Papaw, often equal to the best Melon in flavour and remarkable for the Nasturtium taste of its seeds, grows spontaneously. The Guava, the basis of a delicious Jelly, the Goreka, the Jambos, Catappa (Country Almond), the Karambe, the Attike (a species of Fig), the Veralu, Carmbola, Bilim, Neli, Marmel, Custard Apple, and a long list deserving of attention and probably capable of great improvement by cultivation are to be found in our bazars, collected with little pains from the Jungle. The Cocoa Nut we leave to the

general husbandman.

"Of fruits known in Europe, the Grape and the Pomgranate only are cultivated with any success in Ceylon, and the former only in Jaffna. Apples, Pears, Plums, Cherries, Peaches, and the delightful Variety of small fruits which are found in an English Garden are unknown excepting by a few specimens of them lately imported; the two first have been planted of late at Kandy, but are not advanced enough to ascertain whether they will bear, and some Peach trees raised by the late General McDowal at Grand Pass have often blossomed but have never formed any fruit.

"Strawberries (The Alpine) have been cultivated successfully in the Kandyan districts, and in some degree at Colombo. A species of raspberry²¹ has been found wild in the higher parts of Kandy. Melons have been raised. Water Melons and Cucumbers are abundant.

"To General McDowal and to Messrs. Kerr and Moon, the Superintendents of the Botanic Garden, we owe the introduction of many fruits new to this Island, amongst, others the Persian Almond, the Lovi Lovi, Wampu, Lee-chee, Rambutan, the Loquat, most of which are already naturalised and increase the display of our des(s)erts. The Lemon has of late been introduced and appears to thrive well in the soil of Ceylon.

"In this neglected state of the cultivation of fruit trees it is not surprising that we hear nothing of the various modes of ameliorating and propagating them, so well known in Europe; grafting by approach (the uniting of two plants growing near each other) has indeed been practised in the Botanical Garden and with some success, but all other kinds of grafting or inoculation are totally unknown. The propagation of trees by the Chinese method of abscission has also been successfully attempted, but not very generally.

"In this short sketch of the present state of Horticulture in Ceylon but more particularly the neighbourhood of Colombo, it is not pretended that any new or valuable information is offered. The object with which it has been traced is to excite attention to the subject, and by opening the discussion to give an opportunity to others who are qualified, of aiding the laudable wishes of this Society, the improvement of Horticulture in Ceylon."

The suggestions promised in the above report as to the best means of obtaining regular supplies of seeds, being laid before the Society by the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, and read by the Secretary, of which proposal the following is a Copy.

Import of Seeds.

"The Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, having taken into its consideration the best means of extending and improving the practical Horticulture of the Island, is strongly impressed with the opinion that the first requisite towards that desirable object is, the establishment of some method, whereby the imported supply of vegetable seeds that are applicable to the Island may be rendered less defective and precarious than it is at present, to which end the Committee beg to recommend the following plan, by which it considers that the requisite proportion may be most readily and conveniently obtained.

"The Committee, in the first place, propose that under authority of the Society, commissions for seeds should be sent to England and the Cape of Good Hope, and the Committee has

^{21.} Four species of Rubus occur upcountry. Rubus lasiocarpus is known as the Wild Raspberry, but its fruit is not edible.

drawn out for greater convenience the lists A, B, annexed to this report, which contain the description of seeds likely to be obtained from those countries, assorted in parcels, of which the list marked A are calculated for large, and the list, B, for smaller gardens.

"2ndly—That Gentlemen desirous of obtaining seeds should be invited to notify their wishes to the Secretary of the Society, specifying whether they require one or more of these parcels and from which place, also whether yearly or half yearly supplies will be most desirable; and that on a certain day to be hereafter fixed, a list should be made out of the persons subscribing, and that the Commissions for the seeds should be then regulated by the quantity which the list may shew to have been subscribed for.

"A small list is also made out of seeds which are likely to be obtained from Bangalore, but the Committee having no experience of the success of the seeds which have already been brought to the Island from that station can only advance this plan of obtaining them as a suggestion to those who may desire to make

the Trial.

"A small list of common garden tools which may be obtained from the seedsman in England is also added for the benefit of

those who may desire them.

"The prime cost of the assortment A in England may be expected to be about 2£ and of the assortment B, half that sum. The cost of the large assortment of Tools may also be estimated at 3£, and the smaller at 1£, to which is to be added all incidental expenses of freight, etc., the Committee having no accurate criterion to guide its calculation. The prices of seeds at other places cannot at present be ascertained but will probably average the same.

"It being necessary to transmit an order for the payment with the Commissions, gentlemen sending in their names will at the same time be required to remit to the Secretary of the Society the sum of Twenty Rix Dollars in advance for the large collection of seeds, and Ten Rix Dollars for the smaller, the remainder of the

expenses of the articles to be paid on delivery.

"That on the payment of the first deposit by the gentlemen who desire to have seeds or tools, a ticket should be made out and transmitted to them authorizing the receipt of the parcels for which such deposit has been made on payment of the remainder of the charges annexed to it, and the articles will be issued unopened on arrival on the presentation of the ticket to the Agent appointed by the Society to receive and distribute the articles, the ticket being of course transferable at pleasure.

The Committee recommends the seeds to be packed in strong brown paper, and each collection to be put in a tin case or rolled in wax cloth, either of which should be sealed and numbered; and gentlemen in subscribing will specify which of the above methods of packing they prefer. The whole will then be closed in large boxes, a list of the contents being attached to each parcel.

"The Committee considering that the arrival of the seeds in good condition chiefly depends on the situation they are placed in during the voyage, also recommends that cabin room should be taken for the general assortment, and that the seedsman to

whom the commissions may be forwarded should be particularly directed not to alter the items and quantity ordered, and also to have the packages properly marked, and secured from damage on board ship."

A.

English Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

lb. Red Beet 1 lb. Red Turnip Radish 2 oz. Mangel Wurzel 1 lb. White turnip Radish l oz. Imperial Cabbage 1 lb. Black Spanish Radish l oz. Early York do. 1 qt. Finest Early Peas l oz. Large Scotch or 1 qt. Dwarf Marrow do. Drumhead 1 qt. Dwarf Spanish do. 1 oz. Red Dutch do. 1 oz. Green Curled Endive l oz. Sugar Loaf do. 1 oz. Dutch Cabbage Lettuce 2 oz. Nol-kol or Kol Rabi doz. Melons of sorts lb. Early horn Carrot 1 oz. Curled Parsley 1 lb. Long Orange Carrot l oz. Fennel 2 oz. London Leek l oz. Large rooted Parsley 1 lb. Early Dutch Turnip l qt. Negro Kidney Bean 1 lb. Early Stone Turnip ½ oz. Brown Cos Lettuce 2 oz. Solid Celery 1 qt. Canterbury Bean 2 oz. Red 1 oz. Mignonette 1 lb. Early Short top Radish oz. Pinks of sorts

B.

do.

Annual flowers of sorts

1 lb. Early Solmon

English Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

1 lb. Red Beet	1 lb. Black Spanish Radish
1 oz. Early York Cabbage	1 qt. Finest Early Peas
1 oz. Large Scotch or Drum- head Cabbage	1 qt. Dwarf Marrow do
2 oz. Nol-kol or Kol Rabi	1 qt. Dwarf Spanish do
1 lb. Early Horn Carrot	l oz. Green curled Endive
1/4 lb. Long Orange do.	½ oz. Dutch Cabbage Lettuce
2 oz. London Leek	d oz. Melons of sorts
½ lb. Early Dutch Turnip	doz. Cucumbers of sorts
1 oz. Celery	1 oz. Curled Parsley
½ lb. Radishes	1 pt. Negro Kidney Bean
½ lb. Turnips	1 pt. Canterbury Bean

A.

Cape Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

½ lb. Beet	1 lb. Turnip and Radish
½ oz. Boerkool	½ oz. Strawberry
1 oz. Cauliflowers best sorts	1 qt. Marrowfat Peas
l oz. Sugar Loaf Cabbage	1 qt. Blue Prussian
1 oz. Drumhead Cabbage	1 qt. Early Peas
2 oz. Nol Kol	½ qt. Long pod Bean
½ lb. Carrot	½ qt. Scarlet Runners
½ lb. Parsnip	1 qt. Broad Spotted
½ lb. Turnips of sorts	l qt. Yellow Bean
1 lb. Celery	1 qt. Round Scarlet Bean
½ lb. Endive	1 qt. Kidney Bean
4 oz. Lettuce of sorts	1 qt. French Kidney Bean
2 oz. Nasturtium	1 qt. Speckled Bean

B.

1 qt. Black Bean

1 lb. White Radish

1 lb. Black Radish

Cape Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

½ lb. Turnips and Radish
1 qt. Marrowfat Peas
1 qt. Early Peas
1 pt. Broad Spotted
1 pt. Yellow Bean
I pt. Round Scarlet Bean
1 pt. Kidney Bean
1 pt. French Kidney Bean
1 pt. Speckled Bean
1 pt. Black Bean

A.

Garden tools for the Literary Society.

2 Garden Scythes with Sneads,	1 Pruning Knife
etc., complete	1 Budding knife
6 Scythe Stones	2 Dutch Hoes & Handles
1 Pair Hedge Shears	2 Drill Hoes & Handles
1 Turfing Spade	2 Spades

B.

Garden Tools for the Literary Society.

1 Pruning Knife 2 Drill Hoes and Handles

2 Dutch Hoes and Handles 2 Spades

Bangalore Seeds for the Ceylon Literary Society.

1 oz. Cabbage1 oz. Lettuce4 oz. Turnips2 qts. Peas

1 oz. Endive 2 qts. Kidney Beans

4 lb. Carrots² 2 qts. Country Beans of sorts 1 oz. Parsley A small quantity of the best

sorts of Country Vegetables,

4 oz. Celery Herbs, and Fruits.

Resolved thereupon that the Plan be approved, and that the Secretary be directed to communicate with Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., as to the best and readiest means of procuring regular supplies of seeds from Bangalore and Hyderabad.

On the motion of John Deane, Esquire, It is ordered that the part of the report which relates to the mode of procuring seeds from England be printed in the Ceylon Gazette, with a notification that any person wishing to avail himself of the plan be requested to signify the same to the Secretary with the least possible delay in order that the Commission might be sent home by the Princess Charlotte.

Freshwater Mussel-Mantis.

A letter is read from Count Ranzow² transmitting two papers, one on the Sweet Water Muscle found in the Lake near Kandy, and the other on a species of the Mantis Tribe, which likewise having been read to the Meeting,

Ordered that they be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture, and that the Secretary do convey the thanks of the Society to Count Ranzow for his communications.

Snake.

It is ordered that the Secretary do communicate the thanks of the Society to William Gisborne, Esqre., for a large Snake of the Boa kind sent by him from the Caltura District.

^{22.} The advertisement has 1 oz.

^{28.} Daniel Ditloff, Count van Ranzow-see Ceylon Literary Register. II. (1887), p. 37.

Returns on Natural History.

The Archdeacon lays before the Meeting Papers on various subjects of Natural History drawn up by Gregory de Soyza, Mohandiram, according to the Form circulated by the Society.

Ordered that the thanks of the Meeting be communicated to the Mohandiram, and that the Papers be referred to the Sub-Committees to which they respectively relate.

On the Motion of Dr. Twiselton, it is resolved that Gregory de Soyza, Mohandiram, be elected an Honorary Member of this Society.

Bat.

A letter from the Reverend Mr. De Saram is read descriptive of a Red Bat sent by him.

Resolved that Mr. De Saram be thanked for his communication.

Returns on Natural History.

Sundry Reports in Cingalese, on subjects of Natural History furnished by the Modliar of Meddepattoa, are laid on the Table.

Ordered that Don Solomon Dias Bandaranaike be thanked for his communication, and that they be handed over to the Revd. A. Armour for translation.

Ordered that the Secretary be authorized to purchase Stationery for the Society, and the Clerk directed to attend the Sub-Committees at their pleasure.

Adjourned to Saturday, the 15th Decr., 1821 at 11 a.m.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary Society held on the 15th of December, 1821.

Present .-

The Hon'ble The Chief Justice

The Hon'ble The Puisne Justice

The Hon'ble and Ven'ble the Archdeacon

Doctor Farrell

H. A. Marshall, Esqr.

The Revd. B. Clough

Lt.-Col. Wright

Mr. Reckerman

The Revd. A. Armour

Geo. Turnour, Esqr., Secretary

The Chief Justice in the Chair.

The Secretary reads the Proceedings of the last General Meeting.

Cochineal.

Dr. Farrell lays before the Society a Manuscript in the Tamil and English Languages prepared by the late Dr. Reyne, on the culture of the Cochineal, with observations from himself on the Natural History of the Insect.

Ordered that it be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History and Agriculture.

Horticulture.

A letter sent by Lieut.-Col. Campbell is read, containing observations on practical Horticulture.

Ordered that it be communicated to the Sub-Committee of Agriculture for its assistance in forming any Report it may hereafter make on that subject.

On the Motion of Lieut.-Col. Wright, seconded by Hon. Sir R. Ottley, Mons. Rosk,²⁴ Professor of Languages to His Majesty the King of Denmark, is elected an Honorary Member.

Sundry Papers on subjects of Natural History from Major Martin are laid before the Meeting; ordered that they be referred to the Sub-Committee of Natural History.

Adjourned to Tuesday, the 15th January, 1822, at 11 a.m.

(To be continued).



^{24.} His name appears to have been Rask.

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