



The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

CONTENTS:

Vol. VI, PART I, JULY, 1920.

ARTICLES.

	PAGE
I.—GENERAL HAY MACDOWALL, BY J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired) ...	1
II.—KINDNESS TO BIRDS AND BEASTS IN ANCIENT INDIA AND CEYLON: BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA	7
III.—THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON. 1798—1805: GENERAL HISTORY OF THE HON. FREDERIC NORTH'S ADMINISTRATION. BY L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.	18
IV.—POPE GREGORY XIII AND DON JUAN DHARMAPÁLA. BY S. G. P. ...	27
V.—THE JESUITS IN CEYLON IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES, (Concluded). BY REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.	33
VI.—ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE: DIARY OF THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON (ARCHÆOLOGICAL COMMISSIONER OF CEYLON.) WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA	39

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. USES OF ROSARIES AND COMBS. BY G. HUNTLEY	48
2. QUERIES ABOUT THE PEARL. BY S. G. P.	48
3. DUTCH CANNON IN CEYLON. BY J. P. LEWIS, C. M. G., C. C. S. (Retired) ...	49
4. EARLY BRITISH TIMES. BY HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.	50
5. MR. A. O. BRODIE. BY J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)	52

LITERARY REGISTER.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS: OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY. (Continued)	54
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GENERAL HAY MACDOWALL.



(From the Portrait by Sir H. Raeburn, R.A.)

General Macdowall is depicted in scarlet military coat, with gold epaulettes and yellow facings, white vest and breeches, with red sash tied round the waist, black band round the neck, and white fichu; tall boots; standing in a landscape, his right hand outstretched and holding his plumed hat and sword; behind him is seen a wheel and barrel of a destroyed cannon.

The Ceylon Antiquary

and

Literary Register.

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Vol. VI.

July, 1920.

Part I.

GENERAL HAY MACDOWALL.

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

MR. JAMES RYAN¹ recently sent me the following extract from the *Daily Telegraph* of December 3rd last :

Raeburn's Tragic General. "A great Raeburn full-length of a Scottish general is shortly to appear at Christie's. It is a portrait of that Lieut.-General Hay Macdowall, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, who, when returning from India, went down with the transport and all hands. Raeburn succeeded in imparting an extraordinary dignity of pose to this soldierly figure, and the arbitrary scheme of lighting is a *tour de force* of painting.² The sale, on Dec, 12."

I immediately wrote to Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods and asked whether it would be possible for me to communicate with the owners of the picture with a view to getting permission to reproduce a photograph of it in the *Ceylon Antiquary*. They suggested that I should wait until the sale and then apply to the purchaser. This I did; the purchasers were Messrs. Sulley & Co. of 159, New Bond Street, who readily gave me the required permission. Messrs. Christie then very kindly furnished me with three copies of an excellent photogravure of the picture, which is here reproduced.²

In the history of Ceylon under British rule General H. Macdowall played a conspicuous part. We first hear of him in connection with the Island in 1782, after the capture of the Trincomalee forts by the British, which had taken place in January. "The small garrison," says the Rev. F. Penny,³ "was further strengthened in July by the arrival from Madras of 200 men of the 78th Regiment, under Captain Hay Macdowall." This officer was

1. [Whose death occurred in Ceylon a few weeks ago. Ed. C.A.]

2. [See Plate I. *Frontispiece*. Ed., C.A.]

3. *Notes and Queries* II. S. XII, p 76.

the future General, and it may be inferred that he was an officer of the 78th, which, as he was a Highlander, is not unlikely.

But this small reinforcement was of no use, for it was followed shortly afterwards by the appearance in the harbour of Admiral Suffrein with two French line of battleships. "The siege was commenced at once, and Captain Macdowall was obliged to capitulate." So says Wilson in his *History of the Madras Army*,⁴ and he recognises the fact that Suffrein had the stronger force and the larger naval guns, and that Macdowall could have no chance against the superior force. So that as regards the fortune of war, the bad luck which overtook him at Kandy had begun early in his military career.

He had bad luck, too, in other ways, as will presently appear.

For some years after this, Macdowall's service must have been out of India. For in a letter to the Marquis of Wellesley, written apparently in 1800,⁵ the General says that he had served his King "twenty-seven years, fifteen years in India." If then this service was consecutive he cannot have arrived in India until 1785. But Captain Hay Macdowall arrived at Trincomalee from Madras in 1782, and must therefore have already had some service in India.

It is clear from this statement of the General's that he joined the army in 1773. Assuming that he was fifteen years when he joined, this would make him 24 years of age when at Trincomalee—a very likely age for a Captain—42 when he went on embassy to Kandy, 45 at the time of the Kandy *debâcle*, and 51 when he perished at sea.

It is unnecessary here to give an account of the General's doings in Ceylon, whether as ambassador to Kandy in 1800, or as Commander of the expedition against Kandy in 1803, as they are fully detailed by Cordiner, Marshall and other writers on Ceylon, whose works are accessible. He seems to have had the full confidence of Governor North, who described him as "intelligent, firm, and zealous." Incidentally, it appears that his pay and allowances amounted to 11,000 pagodas a year, but that he wrote to the Marquis Wellesley in 1800 that he "had not saved one single pagoda notwithstanding the strictest attention to economy" and that his "fitting-out debts remained unpaid."⁶

In one respect he certainly was in advance of his age. He was resolute to stop duelling in the army, as the Court-Martial on Ensign John Grant and his General Order on the subject, read to the officers of the Malay Regiment in May 1802, clearly show.

I gave some account of General Macdowall as one of the "Pioneers of Natural History in Ceylon" in *Spoilia Zeylanica*,⁷ to which periodical as well as Cordiner's *Ceylon*,⁸ reference might be made.

His son, Captain Macdowall, accompanied him to Kandy in 1800 as A.D.C. In January, 1809, he was selected by his father, then Commander-in-Chief, for special duty in Travancore, but the appointment was not approved by the Madras Government which appointed Major Blacker instead, notwithstanding the General's opinion that his son was "equal to Major Blacker in point of ability,—while he was superior to that officer in the knowledge of the people and country of Travancore." Captain Macdowall died in India, a Major-General, 15th May, 1834. What his regiment was I have not been able to discover.

4. Vol. II, p. 63. [See also *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp. 180-188—Ed., C.A.]

5. Reproduced in *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II, from the Wellesley MSS.

6. Wellesley MSS in British Museum, quoted in *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II, pp. 262, 501; *List of Inscriptions in Ceylon* p. 398.

7. Vol. IX, pp. 41-4.

8. Vol. I, pp. 386, 46.

A nephew of the General's, John Macdowall, entered the Ceylon Civil Service as a writer, 22nd March, 1802; accompanied Governor North to the Pearl Fishery, and Jaffna in the same year; became 2nd Assistant at the Jaffna Kachcheri in April and 1st Assistant and Customs Master, 29th June, 1803; "Sea Customer" at Jaffna in succession to Ensign John Spence, 19th July, 1803; Assistant to the Agent of Revenue, Colombo, 18th August, 1803; Assistant Paymaster General, 16th May, 1804; and acting Paymaster General during the absence of Alexander Wood on special duty, 16th Oct., 1805. He died at Calcutta, 14th January, 1806.

The General, whose Indian service was chiefly in Mysore and the Mahratta country, had in March, 1804, received an appointment on the staff of the Army at Madras. In September, 1807, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army in succession to General Sir John Craddock. "He would never have been advanced to this important position if he had not been a good soldier and fighting man," says the Rev. Frank Penny, late Chaplain at Madras. "It was too risky to appoint any other kind of man." But as it turned out, this appointment led to his undoing.

The Governor of Fort St. George, Sir George Barlow, had just taken steps for the abolition of the "tent contract" allowance to officers and commanding officers which enabled them to provide camp equipage. The Governor had been induced to take this step in consequence of a report made at the instance of General Macdowall's predecessor, by Colonel Munro, the Deputy Quarter-Master General, and published by order of the Governor. The latter's action was throughout most tactless and tyrannical, and the result was a dispute between him and General Macdowall which ended disastrously for the General, and among other things aroused the indignation of Sydney Smith, who wrote a very caustic article on the subject of the "Disturbances at Madras" in the *Edinburgh Review* the following year, exposing the methods of Sir George Barlow, whom he would have been "alarmed to have seen as Junior Churchwarden of St. George's, Hanover Square," much less as "head of the Indian Empire," and denouncing the unfair treatment meted out to General Macdowall and more especially his two immediately subordinate officers by the Governor,

He says of the report that, besides containing a proposal "for the reduction of the emoluments of the principal officers of the Madras Army," it was characterised by "severe and unjust invective . . . stigmatising the honour and wounding the feelings of the officers."

"The whole transaction appears to have been gone into with a disregard to the common professional feelings of an army. The opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, General Macdowall, was never asked upon the subject; not a single witness was examined; the whole seems to have depended on the report of Colonel Munro, the youngest Staff-Officer in the army, published in spite of the army."

The immediate result of the publication of this "very indiscreet paper" was that nearly all the officers commanding native regiments appealed to General Macdowall for redress. He replied that the order had been issued without any reference to him for his opinion, and he therefore deemed it inexpedient to interfere. The officers then prepared charges against Colonel Munro and sent them to the General.

Here General Macdowall, being called upon to take decisive action one way or the other, exhibited symptoms of that want of decision which perhaps explains in some measure the disastrous conclusion of the Kandyan campaign six years earlier. For two months he did nothing and then, "urged by the discontents of the army," he decided to try Colonel Munro by Court-martial and put him under arrest. Colonel Munro appealed to the

Governor, who promptly released him and put an end to the Court-martial project. The appeal did not go, as it should have done, through the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and this was considered by the General later to be a breach of military discipline.

So the affair stood when at this juncture General Macdowall sailed ⁹ for England accompanied by Colonel Capper. But he left behind him a General Order for publication, stating that, owing to his immediate departure from Madras, he was unable to proceed with his design of trying Colonel Munro by Court-martial, but reprimanding him for "conduct destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-Chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service." In consequence of the publication of this order, Sir George Barlow deprived General Macdowall of his command,—which he had not yet resigned, though he had left Madras,—and suspended and eventually imprisoned the two Officers who had carried out their Commander's instructions—a duty which they were bound to perform.

Sydney Smith's conclusion was that the results of these measures on the part of the Madras Government were that "the disaffection of the troops rapidly increased; absurd and violent manifestoes were published by the general officers; Government was insulted; and the Army soon broke out into open mutiny."

It was an unfortunate time, for disturbances had begun in Travancore, and to help in quelling them the 19th Foot and the 3rd and 4th Ceylon Regiments had to be sent over from Ceylon. They were under the command of Major Charles Morrice, of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment, who had come from the 13th Foot to join the 3rd Ceylon Regiment and had been Commandant at Jaffna. He was killed at Waterloo.

The Travancore campaign lost the lives of Major Herbert Beaver, whose letters describing his doings at Mugurugampola in 1803 were recently published in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, ¹⁰ and Lieutenant Thomas James Rodney,—son of the Chief Secretary; the former of whom died of wounds and the latter from the ill effects of the campaign—and also of Lieutenant Thomas Castle of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment who was killed in action. It was during this expedition that the 3rd Ceylon Regiment was in action for the first time on February 28th 1809, and behaved so well that the men were given an extra allowance of arrack after the fight.

While Sydney Smith's opinion of the Governor's proceedings was entirely adverse, his judgment of General Macdowall is also severe. "That the late General Macdowall was a weak man is unquestionable. He was also irritated (and not without reason) because he was deprived of a seat in Council, which the Commanders before him had commonly enjoyed. A little attention, however, on the part of the Government—the compliment of consulting him upon subjects connected with his profession—any of those little arts which are taught, not by a consummate political skill, but dictated by common good nature, and by the habit of mingling with the world, would have produced the effects of conciliation and employed the force of General Macdowall's authority in bringing the Army into a better temper. Instead of this, it appears to have almost been the object,—and if not the object, certainly the practice of the Madras Government—to neglect and insult this officer. Changes of the greatest importance were made without his advice, and even without any communication with him; and it was too visible to those whom he was to command, that he himself possessed no sort of credit with his superiors. General Macdowall appears to us to have been a weak, pompous man, extremely out of humour; offended with the slights he had experienced and whom any man of common address might have managed with the

9. On leaving Madras in 1809 he was presented by Lt. Colonel Hare, commanding the 22nd Dryoons, with a sword from the officers of that Regiment. There are at the Royal United Service Institution a copy of a letter from Lt.-Col. Hare asking acceptance of the sword and from General Macdowall in reply to this letter, both in the General's handwriting.

10. Vol. IV. pp. 65-75.

greatest ease ; but we do not see in any part of his conduct the shadow of disloyalty and disaffection ; and we are persuaded that the assertion would never have been made if he himself had been alive to prove its injustice."

For this "tragic General," as the *Daily Telegraph* truly calls him, was lost at sea on the voyage home. He appears to have embarked at Madras on either the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*¹¹ or the *Lady Jane Dundas*, East Indiaman, which, with another East Indiaman, the *William Pitt*, arrived at Colombo on February 15th. He remained there a few days visiting his old friend, Major-General Charles Baillie, and entertained by Governor Sir Thomas Maitland.

The fleet carried as passengers from Ceylon Major General Charles Baillie,¹² formerly of the 51st Foot, the first Commandant of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment, which derived its first title of "Baillie's Regiment" from this circumstance. He had served under Macdowall in the Kandyan War of 1803, having been in command of the line of the army. The fleet also took away the Revd. William Hamlyn Heywood, Chaplain of Brigade to the Forces in Ceylon, who had been officiating at the Fort Church for the last five years, and who carried with him the Register of Marriages in order to have it entered in the Registry of the Bishop of London. They both perished with General Macdowall.

For the *Lady Jane Dundas* and the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* were both wrecked in the great storm which destroyed nearly a whole squadron off the Cape, the date of this catastrophe being given, on a tablet erected at Madras to some other passengers, as "on or about the 16th of March, 1809." Possibly the *William Pitt* escaped or some of the vessels in the Convoy had this good fortune, for other Ceylon passengers who left by it were the Hon'ble (afterwards Sir) Alexander Johnstone, Chief Justice, Mrs. Johnstone and family who were certainly not drowned.

The only other representation of General Hay Macdowall is to be seen in a picture from the Jonville MS (reproduced in Vol. II. of Tennent's *Ceylon*, p. 80) of the interview between him and Pilima Talauwe. He is remarkable in it for his tall stature. The original sketch was made probably by Jonville himself or by Lieut. Charles Moreau.

With regard to the form of the name, the family spell it "Macdowall." Tennent has "MacDowall" and Marshall "Macdowal."

I may add that no further information about the General or his son or nephew can be obtained from the few papers in possession of the present head of the family.

The following are extracts from Wilson's *History of the Madras Army* :—

A. "Government having determined to employ Major Blacker, then Deputy Quarter-master-General, on special duty in Travancore, acquainted the Commander-in-Chief with their intention on the 15th January. General Macdowall, in reply, requested that the subject might be reconsidered, because the selection of an officer from the general staff ought to have been left to his judgment, and he therefore recommended Captain Macdowall for the situation as being equal to Major Blacker in point of ability, while he was superior to that officer in the knowledge of the people and country of Travancore. On the 16th, Government wrote to the General

11. This I think, and so does the Revd. Penny, was the ship he sailed in, as the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* undoubtedly called at Madras, while it is not certain that the other did. But the present head of the family, H. Macdowall, Esq. Garthland Lochwinnoch, N.B., informs me by letter dated January 10th, 1920, that it was the *Lady Jane Dundas*.

See *Notes and Queries*. II. S. VII. pp. 447, 496; Cotton's *Madras Inscriptions*, p. 43.

12. Colonel Baillie arrived in Ceylon with the 51st Foot in March, 1809, and became Commandant of Galle, and then, in the same year, of his regiment at Colombo. He accompanied the Hon'ble F. North to Weligama in August—In the same year he succeeded to the command of his own regiment at Colombo—In April 1802 he presided at the Court-martial which tried Ensign John Grant of the Malay Regiment (who subsequently distinguished himself by his successful defence of Dam'adeniya) for having challenged Captain Paul Carrington to fight a duel. He commanded the line of the Army in the Kandyan War of 1803 and the expedition against Hangurankette in March of that year. He returned with the army to Colombo in April. "Baillie Street," Fort, is called after him. He probably lived in it.

declining to accept his nomination of Captain Macdowall, and, on the 20th, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro was placed under arrest, by which measure the employment of his Deputy in Travancore was necessarily precluded. It is possible that the proposed employment of Major Blacker may have been unconnected with the arrest of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, but the circumstances have a suspicious appearance, especially when it is remembered that the charges had been shelved, and that no satisfactory reason was assigned for their sudden revival."

B. "The General, who a few days previously, had announced his intention to resign, and who sailed from Madras to Negapatam on the 30th January on his voyage to England, was so much annoyed at having been overruled by Government, that he left, for publication to the Army, an Order dated the 28th *idem*, in which Colonel Munro was severely reprimanded for having appealed to the civil power, 'an act of disrespect for which he would have been brought to trial had General Macdowall remained in India.'

"Government, on becoming acquainted with this Order, directed that it should be expunged from the public records; but not contented with this, they anticipated the expected receipt, from Negapatam, of the Commander-in-Chief's official resignation, and publicly dismissed him, on the ground that the Order of the 28th January contained 'insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of military discipline, and of the foundation of public authority.'

"Major Boles, Deputy Adjutant-General, who had signed the Order in the absence of his principal, Lieut-Colonel Capper, who had accompanied General Macdowall on board ship, was suspended from the service for having knowingly acted in direct violation of his duty to the Government, by giving currency to an Order of so offensive a character. Colonel Capper,¹³ who, on his return, had immediately avowed himself to be responsible for the circulation of the Order, was suspended on the 1st February."

13. Colonel Capper and General Macdowall were both lost at sea in March, 1809, when on the voyage to England.



KINDNESS TO BIRDS AND BEASTS

IN ANCIENT INDIA AND CEYLON.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

I. RELIGION.

ON things that crawl my love is shed,
 ON biped and on quadruped,
 ON those with many feet !
 May crawling things do me no wrong,
 May those that run on feet along
 Do no offence to me !
 All creatures that have life within,
 And all our sentient kith and kin,
 May ye from every hurt be free
 And live beside us peacefully !¹

"Once on time long, long ago," as the old chronicles have it, a certain priest happened to be killed by the bite of a snake, and the Buddha taught that it was probably due to the fault of the dead man for not exercising compassionate thoughts towards "our little brothers" the snakes. He then enjoined upon his audience the duty of cultivating such thoughts, and taught them a song or "charm" to sing for their protection. It begins with a profession of love for the four "royal families" of snakes and ends with the lines quoted above.

This quaint little "charm," which reminds Mr. Saunders of the Fairies' Song in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, may well be, as he imagines, a bit of pre-Buddhistic folk-lore incorporated into the Buddhist books.² But it may also equally well be regarded as indicating a point of view and expressing a feeling to which every Buddhist, worthy of the name, whether in Ceylon or outside it, will readily subscribe and conform in practical life, to-day no less sincerely than in the ancient and more religious past.

For, as Mr. Saunders adds in a note³ in which there is no trace of any exaggeration, "*Not Killing* is the chief, often the only topic, of Buddhist preaching; and frescoes on the Temple walls warn Buddhists of the punishment that will follow in the next world. It is usually regarded in Buddhist lands as more heinous to kill a flea than to tell a lie."

How true this is may will be illustrated by the following characteristic Játaka story:—

Matakabhatta Játaka,—or the Feast for the Dead.⁴

Once on a time when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares, a Brahmin, who was versed in the three Vedas and world-famed as a teacher, being minded to offer a Feast for the Dead, had a goat fetched and said to his pupils:—

"My sons, take this goat down to the river and bathe it; then hang a wreath round its neck, adorn it with a five-sprayed garland, and bring it back."

1. K. J. Saunders. *The Heart of Buddhism*, p 47.

4. Francis and Thomas, *Játaka Tales*, pp 20-22.

2. Cf. the *Atharva-Veda*.

3. *Loc. cit*

"Very good" said they, and down to the river they took the goat, where they bathed and adorned the creature and set it on the bank. The goat, becoming conscious of the deeds of its past lives, was overjoyed at the thought that on this very day it would be freed from all its misery, and laughed aloud like the smashing of a pot. Then at the thought that the Brahmin, by slaying it, would bear the misery which it had borne, the goat felt a great compassion for the Brahmin, and wept with a loud voice.

"Friend goat," said the young Brahmins, "your voice has been loud both in laughter and in weeping; what made you laugh and what made you weep?"

"Ask me your question before your master."

So with the goat they came to their master and told him of the matter. After hearing their story, the master asked the goat why it laughed and why it wept. Hereupon the animal, recalling its past deeds by its power of remembering its former existence, spoke thus to the Brahmin:

"In times past, Brahmin, I, like you, was a Brahmin versed in the mystic texts of the Vedas, and I, to offer a Feast for the Dead, killed a goat for my offering. All through killing that single goat, I have had my head cut off 500 times all but one. This is my 500th and last birth; and I laughed aloud when I thought that this very day I should be freed from my misery. On the other hand, I wept when I thought how, whilst I, who for killing a goat had been doomed to lose my head 500 times, was to-day being freed from my misery, you, as a penalty for killing me, would be doomed to lose your head, like me, 500 times. Thus it was out of compassion for you that I wept."

"Fear not, goat," said the Brahmin, "I will not kill you."

"What is this you say, Brahmin?" said the goat. "Whether you kill me or not, I cannot escape death to-day."

"Fear not, goat; I will go about with you to guard you."

"Weak is your protection, Brahmin, and strong is the force of my evil-doing."

Setting the goat at liberty, the Brahmin said to his disciples: "Let us not allow anyone to kill this goat"; and, accompanied by the young men, he followed the animal closely about. The moment the goat was set free, it reached out its neck to browse on the leaves of a bush growing near the top of a rock. And that very instant a thunderbolt struck the rock, rending off a mass which hit the goat on the outstretched neck and tore off its head. And people came crowding round.

In those days the Bodhisatta had been born a tree divinity in that self-same spot. By his supernatural powers he now seated himself cross-legged in mid-air while all the crowd looked on. Thinking to himself: "If these creatures only knew the fruit of evil-doing, perhaps they would desist from killing," in his sweet voice he taught them the Truth in this stanza:—

If folk but knew the truth that their existence
Is pain, then living things would cease
From taking life. Stern is the slayer's doom.

Thus did the Great Being preach the Truth, scaring his hearers with the fear of hell; and the people, hearing him, were so terrified at the fear of hell that they left off taking life. And the Bodhisatta, after establishing the multitude in the Commandments by preaching the Truth to them, passed away to fare according to his deserts. The people, too, remained steadfast in the teaching of the Bodhisatta and spent their lives in charity and other good works, so that in the end they attained to the City of the Gods.

But Buddhism, as well as Hinduism, not only forbade *killing*, but even the causing hurt or pain unnecessarily to any living creature—man, or bird or beast—was declared to be a sinful act, for which there would be eventual "retribution." Compassion, even in thought, was productive of "merit," and it was easier for the camel to pass through the eye of the needle than for the uncompassionate man to reach that final blessedness or emancipation which we call "heaven." Hence declares the *Hitopadesa*:

"Good men show *compassion even to beings that are worthless*. The moon does not refuse her light to the house of a Chandála (I. v. 63.)

"Men who refrain from *injury to others*: men who bear all things with patience; men who are a refuge for *all creatures*: these are on the road to heaven." (I. v. 66.)

Likewise did the Buddha teach. Here's one instance out of many :

“ Whoso here causeth fellow-creatures pain,
From this and from the other-world, from both
This man may forfeit all they yield of good.⁵
Whoso with loving heart compassion takes
On every fellow-creature, such a man
Doth generate of merit ample store”⁶

The occasion for the above has reference to a Brahmin's son, Varana, who was born in Kosala. Come of age, he heard a Thera preach the Norm in a forest, and believing, entered the Order. One day going to wait upon the Buddha he saw, on the way, a family quarrel, through which some were slain. Distressed, he hastened to the Buddha, and told him. And the latter, discerning the progress of his mind, exhorted him in the words quoted above.

But perhaps the following, from the *Sutta Nipáta* (148-9), will give a fairer idea of what Buddhism really means by “love” or “compassion” :—

“ As, recking nought of self, a mother's love
Enfolds and cherishes her only son,
So through the world let thy compassion move
And compass living creatures every one,
Soaring and sinking in unfettered liberty,
Free from ill-will, purged of all enmity !”⁷

It may prove of interest to add that Buddhaghósa, the great Commentator of the 4th century A.D., commenting upon this passage, gives the following beautiful analysis of a mother's love for her son :

“ Her yearning over the infant is *Mettá*, benevolence : her longing for his recovery from sickness is *Karuná*, pity : her joy at his growing powers is *Muditá*, sympathy : and her attitude of detachment when he is married and has a home of his own is *Upekhá*, non-interference.”⁸

II. LAWS OF THE STATE.

That which Religion sternly forbade, the State naturally penalised : in other words, the State, by enacting certain laws and penalties, sought to prevent in this life what Religion taught would be severely punished in the next. This was especially true of the Ancient East and nowhere more so than in India which has given us some of the most celebrated legal treatises or Codes of Laws extant. Of these one of the most noteworthy, and certainly the most comprehensive, is the *Arthasástra* of Kautilya, the famous Brahmin who lived in the 4th century B.C., and who was renowned, not only as a king-maker, but also as being the greatest Indian exponent of the art of government, of the duties of kings, ministers and officials, and the methods of diplomacy.

A study of this celebrated work discloses how serious and how anxious were the attempts made, in those early ages, not only to prevent cruelty or even unkindness to bird as well as fish and beast, but also to ensure their comfort and security during the natural period of their respective lives.

Let us note first the general regulations in regard to

5. “The good happiness comprised in both worlds.”

6. Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Brethren*, C.L. XXV., p. 164.

7. Saunders, *op. cit.* p. 48.

8. *Ibid.*

Birds, Beasts and Fishes.

The duties of the SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SLAUGHTER-HOUSE included *inter alia* the enforcement of punishment, in the manner indicated below, in the case of the following offences:—

“When a person entraps, kills or molests deer, bison, birds, and fish which are declared to be under State protection or which live in forests under State protection (*abhayāranya*), he shall be punished with the highest amercement, (*i.e.* a fine of 500 to 1000 *panas*.)

“When a person entraps, kills or molests either fish or birds that do not prey upon other animals, he shall be fined 26½ *panas*; and when he does the same to deer and other beasts, he shall be fined twice as much.

“Elephants, horses or animals having the form of a man, bull or an ass living in oceans as well as fish in tanks, lakes, channels and rivers; and such game-birds as *krauncha* (a kind of heron), *utkrosaka* (osprey), *dātyūha* (a sort of cuckoo), *hamsa* (flamingo), *chakravāka* (a brahmany duck), *jīvanjivaka* (a kind of pheasant), *bhringarāja* (*Lanius Malabaricus*), *chakora* (partridge), *mattakokila* (cuckoo), peacock, parrot, and maina (*madanāsārika*) as well as other auspicious animals, whether birds or beasts, shall be protected from all kinds of molestations.

“Those who violate the above rule shall be punished with the first amercement, (*i.e.* a fine of 12 to 96 *panas*.)

“Cattle such as a calf, a bull or a milch cow shall not be slaughtered. He who slaughters or tortures them to death shall be fined 50 *panas*.

“Cattle, wild beasts, elephants (*vyāla*), and fish living in forests under State protection shall, if they become of vicious nature, be entrapped and killed outside the forest preserve.”

Cattle.

The SUPERINTENDENT OF COWS had to deal with the following cases, among others:—

“Whoever hurts or causes another to hurt, or steals or causes another to steal, a cow, should be slain.

“Cowherds shall apply remedies to calves or aged cows or cows suffering from diseases.

“They shall graze the herds in forests which are severally allotted as pasture-grounds for various seasons and from which thieves, tigers and other molesting beasts are driven away by hunters aided by their hounds.

“With a view to scare out snakes and tigers and as a definite means of knowing the whereabouts of herds, sounding bells shall be attached to (the neck of) timid cattle.

“During the rainy, autumnal and the first part of winter (*hemanta*) seasons, they shall milk the cattle both the times (morning and evening); and during the latter part of winter and the whole of the spring and summer seasons, they shall milk only once (*i.e.* only in the morning). The cowherd who milks a cow a second time during these seasons shall have his thumb cut off.

“If he allows the time of milking to lapse, he shall forfeit the profit thereof (*i.e.* the milk.)

“The same rule shall hold good in case of negligence of the opportune moment for putting a string through the nose of a bull and other animals, and for taming or training them to the yoke.

“When a person causes a bull attached to a herd to fight with another, he shall be punished with the first amercement (*i.e.* a fine of 12 to 96 *panas*); when a bull is injured under such circumstances, he shall be punished with the highest amercement (*i.e.* a fine of 500 to 1000 *panas*.)

“According to the protective strength of the cowherds and the capacity of the cattle to go far and wide to graze, cowherds shall take their cattle either far or near.

“Once in six months, sheep and other animals shall be shorn of their wool.

“The same rules shall apply to herds of horses, asses, camels, and hogs.

“For bulls which are provided with nose-strings, and which equal horses in speed and in carrying loads, half a *bhāra* (2000 *palas*) of meadow grass (*yavasa*), twice the above quantity of ordinary grass (*trina*), one *tulā* (100 *palas*) of oil cakes, 10 *ādhakas* of bran, 5 *palas* of salt (*mukhalavanam*), one *kudumba* of oil for rubbing over the nose (*nasya*), one *prastha* of drink (*pāna*), one *tulā* of flesh, one *ādhaka* of curds, one *drona* of barley or of cooked *māsha* (*Phraseolus Radiatus*), one *drona* of milk; or half an *ādhaka* of *surā* (liquor), one *prastha* of

oil or ghee (*sneha*), 10 *palas* of sugar or jaggery, one *pala* of the fruit of *sringibera* (ginger) may be substituted for milk (*pratipāna*).

"The same commodities less by one quarter each will form the diet for mules, cows and asses; twice the quantity of the above things for buffaloes and camels.

"Draught oxen and cows, supplying milk (*payah*), shall be provided with subsistence in proportion to the duration of time the oxen are kept at work, and the quantity of milk which the cows supply.

"All cattle shall be supplied with abundance of fodder and water.

"A herd of 100 heads of asses and mules shall contain 5 male animals; that of goats and sheep, ten; and a herd of ten heads of either cows or buffaloes shall contain 4 male animals."

Horses.

The SUPERINTENDENT OF HORSES had to see that the following rules, among others, were duly enforced :—

"The Superintendent of Horses shall register the breed, age, colour, marks, group or classes, and the native place of horses, and classify as (1) those that are kept in sale-house for sale (*panyāgarikam*), (2) those that are recently purchased (*kṛayopāgatam*), (3) those that have been captured in wars (*āhavalabdham*), (4) those that are of local breed (*ājātam*), (5) those that are sent thither for help (*sāhāyākāgatam*), (6) those that are mortgaged (*panasthitam*), and (7) those that are temporarily kept in stables (*yāvatkālikam*).

"He shall make a report to the King of such animals as are inauspicious, crippled or diseased.

"The Superintendent shall have each stable constructed as spacious as required by the number of horses to be kept therein, twice as broad as the length of a horse, with four doors facing the four quarters, with its central floor suited for the rolling of horses, with projected front provided with wooden seats at the entrance, and containing monkeys, peacocks, red-spotted deer (*prishata*), mangoose, partridges (*chakora*), parrots, and maina birds (*sārika*).

"The room for every horse shall be four times as broad or long as the length of a horse, with its central floor paved with smoothed wooden planks, with separate compartments for fodder (*khādanakoshthakam*), with passages for the removal of urine and dung, and with a door facing either the north or the east. The distinction of quarters (*digvibhāga*) may be made as a matter of fact or relatively to the situation of the building.

"Steeds, stallions and colts shall be separately kept.

"A steed that has just given birth to a colt shall be provided for the first three days with a drink of one *prastha* of clarified butter; afterwards it shall be fed with a *prastha* of flour (*saktu*) and made to drink oil mixed with medicine for ten nights; after that time, it shall have cooked grains, meadow grass, and other things suited to the season of the day.

"A colt, ten days old, shall be given a *kudumba* of flour mixed with $\frac{1}{4}$ *kudumba* of clarified butter, and one *prastha* of milk till it becomes six months old; then the above rations shall be increased half as much during each succeeding month, with the addition of one *prastha* of barley till it becomes three years old, then one *drona* of barley till it grows four years old; at the age of four or five, it attains its full development and becomes serviceable.

"For the best horse the diet shall be 2 *dronas* of any one of the grains, rice (*sālī, vrīhi*), barley, panic seeds (*priyangu*) soaked or cooked, cooked *mudga* (*Phaseolus Munga*) or *māsha* (*Phaseolus Radiatus*); one *prastha* of oil, 5 *palas* of salt, 50 *palas* of flesh, 1 *ādhaba* of broth (*rasa*) or 2 *ādhabas* of curd, 5 *palas* of sugar (*kshāra*); to make their diet refreshing, 1 *prastha* of *surā* (liquor) or 2 *prasthas* of milk.

"The same quantity of drink shall be specially given to those horses which are tired of long journey or of carrying loads.

"One *prastha* of oil for giving enema (*anuvāsana*), one *kudumba* of oil for rubbing over the nose, 1000 *palas* of meadow-grass, twice as much of ordinary grass (*trīṇa*); and hay-stalk or grass shall be spread over an area of six *aratnis* (*i.e.* to form a bedding for the horse.)

"The same quantity of rations less by one-quarter for horses of medium and lower size.

"A draught horse or stallion of medium size shall be given the same quantity as the best horse; and similar horses of lower size shall receive the same quantity as a horse of medium size.

"Steeds and *pārasamas* (mules) shall have one quarter less of rations.

"Half of the rations given to steeds shall be given to colts.

"Thus is the distribution of ration dealt with.

"Those who cook the food of horses, grooms and veterinary surgeons shall have a share in the rations (*pratisvādabhajah*).

"Stallions which are incapacitated owing to old age, disease, or hardships of war, and, being therefore rendered unfit for use in war live only to consume food, shall in the interests of citizens and country people be allowed to cross steeds.

"Qualified teachers shall give instructions as to the manufacture of proper ropes with which to tether the horses.

"Veterinary surgeons shall apply requisite remedies against undue growth or diminution in the body of horses, and also change the diet of horses according to changes in seasons.

"Those who move the horses (*sūtragrahaka*), those whose business is to tether them in stables, those who supply meadow-grass, those who cook the grains for the horses, those who keep watch in the stables, those who groom them, and those who apply remedies against poison shall satisfactorily discharge their specified duties and shall, in default of it, forfeit their daily wages.

"Those who take out for the purpose of riding such horses as are kept inside the stables either for the purpose of waving lights (*nirājana*) or for medical treatment shall be fined 12 *panas*.

"When, owing to defects in medicine or carelessness in the treatment, the disease from which a horse is suffering becomes intense, a fine of twice the cost of the treatment shall be imposed; and when, owing to defects in medicine, or not administering it, the result becomes quite the reverse, a fine equal to the value of the animal (*patramūlya*) shall be imposed.

"The same rule shall apply to the treatment of cows, buffaloes, goats, and sheep.

"Horses shall be washed, bedaubed with sandal powder, and garlanded twice a day. On new moon days sacrifice to Bhūtas, and on full moon days the chanting of auspicious hymns, shall be performed. Not only on the ninth day of the month of Asvayuja, but also both at the commencement and close of journeys (*yātra*) as well as in the time of disease shall a priest wave lights invoking blessings on the horses."

Elephants.

The SUPERINTENDENT OF ELEPHANTS had the following among other regulations enacted for his guidance and due enforcement:—

"The Superintendent of Elephants shall take proper steps to protect elephant-forests and supervise the operations with regard to the standing or lying in stables of elephants, male, female, or young, when they are tired after training, and examine the proportional quantity of rations and grass, the extent of training given to them, their accoutrements and ornaments, as well as the work of elephant doctors, of trainers of elephants in warlike feats, and of grooms, such as drivers, binders and others.

"There shall be constructed an elephant stable twice as broad and twice as high as the length (*āyāma*) of an elephant, with separate apartments for female elephants, with projected entrance (*sapragrīvām*),⁹ with posts called *kumāri*,¹⁰ and with its door facing either the east or the north.

"The space in front of the smooth posts (to which elephants are tied) shall form a square, one side of which is equal to the length of an elephant and shall be paved with smooth wooden planks and provided with holes for the removal of urine and dung.

"The space where an elephant lies down shall be as broad as the length of an elephant and provided with a flat form raised to half the height of an elephant for leaning on.

"The 1st and the 7th of the eight divisions of the day are the two bathing times of elephants; the time subsequent to those two periods is for their food; forenoon is the time for their exercise; afternoon is the time for drink; two (out of eight) parts of the night are the time for sleep; one-third of the night is spent in taking wakeful rest.

9. According to the Commentator "with a room at the entrance measuring nine *haslas*."

10. A balance-like rod mounted on the post to which an elephant is tied is *Kumāri*.

"The summer is the season to capture elephants.

"That which is 20 years old shall be captured.

"Young elephants (*bikka*),¹¹ infatuated elephants (*mugdha*),¹² elephants without tusks, diseased elephants, elephants which suckle their young ones (*dhenuká*), and female elephants (*hastini*) shall not be captured.

"That which is seven *aratnis* in height, nine *aratnis* in length, ten *aratnis* in circumference and is (as can be inferred from such measurement), 40 years old, is the best.

"That which is 30 years old is of middle class; and that which is 25 years old is of the lowest class.

"The diet for the last two classes shall be lessened by one-quarter according to the class.

"The rations for an elephant of 7 *aratnis* in height shall be 1 *droṇa* of rice, $\frac{1}{2}$ *áḍhaka* of oil, 3 *prasthas* of ghee, 10 *palas* of salt, 50 *palas* of flesh, 1 *áḍhaka* of broth (*rasa*) or twice the quantity (i.e. 2 *áḍhakas*) of curd. In order to render the dish tasteful, 10 *palas* of sugar (*kshára*), 1 *áḍhaka* of liquor, or twice the quantity of milk (*payah*); 1 *prastha* of oil for smearing over the body, $\frac{1}{3}$ *prastha* of the same for the head and for keeping a light in the stables; 2 *bháras* (i.e. 2,000 *palas*) of meadow grass, 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *bháras* of ordinary grass (*sashpa*), and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bháras* of dry grass and any quantity of stalks of various pulses (*kaḍankara*).

"A young elephant (*bikka*) captured for the mere purpose of sporting with it shall be fed with milk and meadow grass.

"Suitably to the seasons as well as to their physical splendour, elephants of sharp or slow sense (*bhadra* and *mandra*) as well as elephants possessed of the characteristics of other beasts shall be trained and taught suitable work.

"Elephant doctors shall apply necessary medicines to elephants which, while making a journey, happen to suffer from disease, overwork, rut, or old age.

"Accumulation of dirt in stables, failure to supply grass, causing an elephant to lie down on hard and unprepared ground, striking on vital parts of its body, permission to a stranger to ride over it, untimely riding, leading it to water through impassable places, and allowing it to enter into thick forests are offences punishable with fines. Such fines shall be deducted from the rations and wages due to the offenders."

Other Regulations.

In regard to "stray cattle," we find the direction that they "shall be driven out by the use of ropes or whips," and that "persons hurting them in any way shall be liable to the punishment for assault or violence."

"For causing pain with sticks, etc. to minor quadrupeds one or two *panas* shall be levied; and for causing blood to the same, the fine shall be doubled. In the case of large quadrupeds, not only double the above fines, but also an adequate compensation necessary to cure the beasts shall be levied."

"When any person renders minor quadrupeds impotent he shall be punished with the first amercement" (i.e. a fine of 12 to 96 *panas*).

"When a person destroys cocks, mangoose, cats, dogs, or pigs, of less than 54 *panas* in value, he shall have the edge of his nose cut off or pay a fine of 54 *panas*. If these animals belong to either Chandálas or wild tribes, half of the above fine shall be imposed."

"When a person causes or allows horned or tusked animals to destroy each other, he shall not only pay a fine equal to the value of the destroyed animal or animals, but also make good the loss to the sufferer."

More may be quoted to the same purpose, but there is no need. It will be amply evident that the State did not fail, in those far-off days, to second the efforts of Religion in inculcating "benevolence to all creatures."

11. According to the Commentator, "that are still sucking."

12. According to the Commentator, "that whose tusks are of the same length as those of a female elephant."

III. THE BENEVOLENCE OF SINHALESE KINGS.

In this respect the Sinhalese Kings, throughout the centuries, differed in no wise from their contemporaries in India and elsewhere in the East. On the contrary, we have ample evidence that, in the exercise of their "compassion" towards "dumb creation," they went to lengths which find no parallel in the histories of other lands. And that evidence, apart from its pathetic interest, has a particular value today as serving to remind the rulers who have succeeded to the "estate" of the Sinhalese Kings of an obligation which they incurred when they undertook¹³ to respect (or maintain?) "the laws, institutions and customs established and in force" amongst the Sinhalese people.

Those "laws, institutions and customs" derived their strength and inspiration and sanction from the Laws of Manu upon which they were, in fact, founded and upon which the Sinhalese Kings, right down to the end, relied in shaping not only their daily lives but also the processes of their government. For, does not the *Mahāvansa* tell us, for instance of Vijaya Báhu II, that he did not "transgress in the least any of the rules contained in the Laws of Manu, but contented the people greatly by following the four ways of conciliation" (80, v. 9) ; of Parákrama Pandu that "he delivered Lanka from the foes that were like thorns in the kingdom and transgressed not the Laws of Manu" (80, v. 53) ; of Parákrama Báhu II that "like the great law-giver Manu, he fined in a 1,000 pieces of money those who were doomed to be banished" (83, v. 6) and that he was a king "who was well versed in the Laws of Manu" (84, v. 1) ; of Parákrama Báhu III who "began to reign over the kingdom, transgressing not the Laws of Manu" (90, v. 56) ; and of Rája Sinha II that he was "skilful in the Laws of Manu?" (96, v. 28.)

These Laws of Manu, generally speaking, differed from Kautilya's *Arthasástra* only in details but not in essentials. Here is, for instance in regard to the protection of birds and beasts, a brief extract from the chapter on *Civil and Criminal Law* :¹⁴

"A fine of 200 *paṇas* is set for the killing (or injury) of small¹⁵ animals, and the fine should be 50 *paṇas* in the case of propitious forest animals and birds.¹⁶

"The fine (for killing) asses, goats, and sheep should amount to 5 *māṣaka*, but 1 *māṣaka* should be the fine for destroying a dog or a boar."

But to return to the evidence of "benevolence" on the part of Kings of Ceylon towards animal creation :

The earliest historical reference we have to the exercise of this form of Royal compassion is to be found in the story of **Elára** (B.C. 206-162) and his son. Says the *Mahāvansa* (xxi, 15-18) : "The king had only one son and one daughter. When once the son of the ruler was going in a car to the Tissa-tank, he killed unintentionally a young calf lying on the road with the mother cow, by driving the wheel over its neck." Even though the act was "unintentional," as the chronicler is careful to particularise, "the king caused his son's head to be severed from his body with that same wheel." It may be terrible justice, but still it is justice of a kind or quality which it would be difficult even to appreciate in these days. Has the history of any other country or people in the world, ancient or modern, an instance of sterner justice to relate, or even a similar story to tell ?

More "compassionate" still, if less terrible in his justice, was **Buddhadāsa** (A.D. 337-365) who "exemplified to the people, in his own person, the conduct of the Bódhisattas"¹⁷ and who

13. At the Convention of 2nd March, 1815 (see Proclamation, para 4).

14. Burnell and Hopkins, *The Ordinances of Manu*, Ch VIII, vv. 297-8.

15. Crow, parrot, cat, etc.

16. Different sorts of antelopes and deer, flamingos and parrots, etc. "Propitious" animals are those that bring good luck 'the jackal, crow, owl, etc., are unpropitious animals' (Medh).

17. *Mahāvansa*, (Wij), p. 162.

had reason to declare : " Even the animal creation recognises that I am a most compassionating person." ¹⁸ The tale of his kindly acts is manifold, but that which will particularly interest us in the present enquiry is that purely " out of benevolence he appointed medical practitioners to attend on elephants and horses." ¹⁹

His son and successor, **Upatissa** (A.D. 365-407), did more than merely emulate his father's example. His benevolence was extended to even the smallest creeping things, for we read : " He was wont to visit the *cétiya* (Ruvanveli Dágaba) and, with a broom made of the peacock's tail, sweep away *ants and other insects* from the sides thereof, saying : ' Let them get down to the ground gently ' ; and then taking a chank filled with water he would walk about and wash the stains left by them on the white plaster of the *cétiya*." ²⁰ The *Mahāvansa* also tells us that Upatissa was " in the habit of *setting aside rice, formed into lumps, for the squirrels* which frequented his garden, *which is continued unto this day*." ²¹ As this portion of the *Mahāvansa* was not written till the 13th century, we have the interesting fact that the custom of feeding the squirrels with rice was observed in the Island without intermission for some 900 years.

Of King **Aggabodhi V.** (A.D. 716-722), who was " diligent in good works both by day and by night," we are told that he " left no act undone that tended to the welfare of beings in this world and in the world to come The love of impropriety, the injurious exercise of patronage, the enjoyment of unlawfully acquired property : these were not at all of his nature. On the contrary *whatever food animals lived upon, that he gave to them ; by whatsoever means living things could be made happy, by these means he secured their happiness*." ²²

Of his successor **Kāsyapa III.** (A.D. 722-728) " a man able to bear the weight of the kingdom and to govern it as in days of old," it is related that he " enforced on laymen and monks and Brahmans the observance of their respective customs, and *effectually prohibited the destruction of animal life*." ²³

In like manner **Mahinda II.** (A. D. 777-797) " *did all that was meet to be done for the order of monks, his subjects, the lower animals—birds, beasts and fishes—and his kinsfolk and the army*." ²⁴ Moreover, " having considered the manner in which it was most fit that *food should be given to cattle in charity*, he set apart for their use 100 rice-fields of standing corn, with the ears thereof full of milky juice, whereon they might graze." ²⁵

Mahinda's example of benevolence towards " dumb, driven cattle " was emulated and even surpassed by his successor, **Dappula II.** (A. D. 797-802), who not only " set apart fields of grain that cattle might graze thereon," but also " *gave food that had been cooked to crows and other birds, and fried rice mixed with sugar and honey to children*." ²⁶

Then, of **Sena I.** (A. D. 836-856), who " followed not only the customs of former kings but introduced other good customs which had not been before," we have the suggestive information that " to the monks, and to the nuns, and to his kinsfolk, and to all the dwellers of the kingdom—yea, *even to birds and beasts and fishes*—he did what was rightful to be done." ²⁷

Next, **Kāsyapa IV.** (A. D. 902-919) " *from all living things on land and in water removed he then the fear of death ; and the customs of former kings he observed with much care*." ²⁸

18. *Ibid.* 19. *Mahāvansa* (Wij), p. 164.22. *Ibid.* XLVIII. vv. 15-18.23. *Ibid.* v. 23.20. *Ibid.*, p. 167.24. *Ibid.*, v. 97.21. *Ibid.*25. *Ibid.*, v. 147.26. *Ibid.* XLIX. v. 86.27. *Ibid.* L. v. 3.28. *Ibid.* LII. v. 15.

And in Kásyapa's name, the chief Captain of his army, Ilanga Sena, "a prince of the blood," not only "built hospitals for the prevention of pestilential diseases" and "dispensaries for medicine in divers places in the city," but "*set at liberty also many beasts that were bound.*"²⁹

Mahinda IV. (A. D. 964-980) also not only "furnished all the hospitals with medicines and beds and caused rice to be given daily to the captives that were in prison," but even "*to monkeys and bears, and deer and dogs, did this benevolent man cause rice and cakes to be given.*"³⁰

We have even stronger and more direct evidence of Mahinda IV.'s benevolence towards animals in his Vévelkētiya Slab Inscription,³¹ one of the most important epigraphical documents yet discovered. This Inscription, which deals with the administration of criminal justice in the *dasagama* of Kibi-nilam district in Amgam-kuliya in the Northern Quarter of Anuradhapura, enacts *inter alia* as follows:—

"Those who have slaughtered buffaloes, oxen and goats shall be punished with death. Should the cattle be stolen but not slaughtered, after due determination thereof, each offender shall be branded under the armpit"

"Those who have effaced brandmarks (on cattle) shall be made to stand on red-hot iron sandals." (Lines 25-31.)

It is interesting to note in this connection that the above laws, enacted by the King in Council and promulgated by his Ministers, were carried into effect by a Communal Court composed of headmen and responsible householders. And we may safely infer that there could have been very little cruelty to animals in the Island in those days, at least during the 10th and 11th centuries when these laws prevailed.

And of **Vijaya Bahu** (A. D. 1054-1109) we learn that "this mighty man gave bulls also for the use of cripples and *out of his great compassion he gave rice for ravens, and dogs, and other beasts.*"³²

Coming to the reign of **Parakrama Bahu I.** (A. D. 1153-1186) surnamed "the Great"—"the most martial, enterprising, and glorious in Sinhalese History"³³—it is easy to understand how he won his proud surname. The greatness of his bounty and compassion may well be illustrated by the chronicler's own words,³⁴ which are here quoted only in small part:—

"This ruler of men built further a large hall that could contain many hundreds of sick persons, and provided it also with all things that were needful. To every sick person he allowed a male and a female servant, that they might minister to him by day and by night, and furnish him with the physic that was necessary, and with divers kinds of food. And many storehouses also did he build therein, filled with grain and other things, and with all things that were needful for medicine. And he also made provision for the maintenance of wise and learned physicians who were versed in all knowledge and skilled in searching out the nature of diseases. And he took care to discern the different wants of the sick, and caused the physicians to minister to them, as seemed necessary, both by day and night.

"And it was his custom, on the four sabbaths (*upósatha* days) of every month, to cast off his king's robes and, after that he had solemnly undertaken to observe the precepts, to purify himself and put him on a clean garment, and visit that hall together with his ministers. And, being endued with a heart full of kindness, he would look at the sick with an eye of pity, and, being eminent in wisdom and skilled in the art of healing, he would call before him the physicians that were employed there and inquire fully of the manner of their treatment. And if so be that it happened that the treatment that they had pursued was wrong, the King, who was the best of teachers, would point out wherein they had erred, and, giving reasons therefor, would make clear to them the course that they should have pursued according to science.

29. *Ibid.* vv. 25-8.

32. *Ibid.* LX, v. 74.

30. *Ep. Zeyl.* Vol. I. No. 21, pp 241-251.

33. Turnour, *Epitome of Sinhalese History*, p 307.

31. *Mahāvansa* (Wij.). LIV. vv. 31-2.

34. *Mahāvansa*, LXXIII, vv, 34-54.

"Also, to some sick persons he would give physic with his own hands. Likewise also he would inquire of the health of all those that were sick, and unto such as were cured of their diseases he would order raiment to be given. And as he desired greatly to gain merit, he would partake of merit at the hands of the physicians, and impart his own merit to them,³⁵ and then return to his own palace. In this manner, indeed, did this merciful King, free from disease himself, cure the sick of their diverse diseases from year to year.

"But there yet remaineth another marvel to relate, the like of which had neither been seen nor heard of before. A certain raven that was afflicted with a canker on his face and was in great pain entered the hospital of the King, whose store of great goodness was distributed to all alike. And the raven, as if he had been bound by the spell of the King's great love for suffering creatures, quitted not the hospital, but remained there as if its wings were broken, cawing very piteously. Thereupon the physicians, after they had found out what his true disease was, took him in by the King's command and treated him; and after he was healed of his disease the King caused him to be carried on the back of an elephant round the whole city, and then set him free. Verily, kindness such as this, even when shown unto beasts, is exceeding great. Who hath seen such a thing, or where or when hath it been heard before?"

After this, it is not surprising to be told further that the same Parákrama Báhu "ordained that freedom from fear should be given on the four holy days of every month to the beasts and the fish that moved in land and water; and this command he extended to all tanks and other places throughout the island."³⁶

And in such comparatively modern times as the 13th century, we find it recorded of King Nissanka Malla in three of his own Inscriptions³⁷ at Polonnaruwa that

"He gave security to all animals in Rantisa,³⁸ Minihoru,³⁹ Gangatala,⁴⁰ Padi,⁴¹ and many other great tanks in the three kingdoms.⁴² And he ordered that they should not be killed."⁴³

Of the same King we are also told—again in one of his own lithic records, viz., the Kirti-Nissanka-Malla Inscription⁴⁴—that on the occasion of a state visit "to worship the relics at Ruvanveli Dágaba" in Anuradhapura, in the 4th year of his reign,

"Ordering by beat of drum that no animals should be killed within a radius of seven gav⁴⁵ from the city of Anuradhapura, he gave security to animals.

"He gave security also to the fish in the twelve great tanks,⁴⁶ and bestowing on Kámbodin⁴⁷ gold and cloth and whatever other kind of wealth they wished, he commanded them not to catch birds and so gave security to birds."

There is no need of further illustration. If, as the *Mahávansa* again tells us (48, vv. 11-12): "Whatsoever line of conduct is pursued by the ruler of a nation, the same is followed by his subjects," we may be sure that the ancient Sinhalese, no less than their Kings, were, as a rule of daily life, kind and compassionate to "living creatures, every one." Have their descendants degenerated in this respect in our day? It is very unlikely. Perhaps, the prosecution of a little more educative work by the local S. P. C. A. may achieve better, wider and more permanent results than the criminal prosecution of ignorant men who, for the most part, "know not what they do."

35. In Buddhism the meritorious acts of one person may be participated in by another by the exercise of sympathy goodwill, &c. and both he who gives and he who receives are supposed to be benefited thereby, if they do it in sincerity. (Wij.)

36. *Mahávansa* (Wij), LXXIV, vv. 20-1.

37. Rankot-Dágaba Pillar Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II, pp 137-142; Stone-Bath Slab Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II, p 145; and Siva Deválaye Slab Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II, p 148.

38. Suvanna-Tissa Tank built by Maháséna in the 3rd Century.

39. Manihira (the modern Minneriya) Tank constructed by Maháséna.

40. Gantalá or Kantalai Tank built by Aggabodhi II, in the 7th Century.

41. Padaviya Tank, said to have been built by Maháséna.

42. Tri-Sinhala, i.e., Ruhunu, Máva, Pihiti, the three ancient Divisions of Lanka.

43. That the same King "gave security to animals that live in forests and large tanks" we find recorded in at least four of his other inscriptions, also at Polonnaruwa, viz. (a) Heta-dá gé Portico Slab Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II, pp 84-90; (b) Kálínga Forest Gal-Asana Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II, p 127; (c) Kálínga Park Gal-Asana Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II, p 133; and (d) Rankot-Dágaba Gal-Asana Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II p. 136.

44. *Ep. Zeyl.* vol II, p 82, lines 26-28.

45. According to Clough, a *gavava* or Sinhalese mile is equal to about 3½ English miles.

46. That is, by prohibiting fishing in these tanks.

47. "A class of fowlers."

THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1798-1805.

General History of the Hon. Frederic North's Administration.

By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.

IN this section, it is proposed to include subjects which have not been already mentioned or considered under any of the heads previously dealt with. These subjects will be of two kinds, the first including material of considerable historical importance, but difficult of classification, the second embracing events of less, if not almost of trivial, importance, but which still go to complete the history of the period.

One of the subjects of the former kind may be said to be the examination of the influence of individual officials on the administration, and of the illustration of the character of the Government afforded by their conduct.

It is a curious fact that Mr. North's Government was seriously embarrassed, both at its beginning and at its end, by the attitude of subordinate officials. We have already¹ touched upon the difficulties caused to Mr. North, at the outset of his administration, by the action of the Madras officials, and the frequent mention of the "civilian war" in Mr. North's correspondence shows how great the difficulties were.² The appointment of the new Governor was not at all to the liking of the Madras civilians employed in Ceylon, and, although the Governor "acted friendly and liberally" towards them,³ they were not to be conciliated. After Andrews had been removed "with mildness and oblivion"⁴ a regular "civilian click" appears to have been formed to oppose the Governor, Collector MacDowall being the "*primum mobile*."⁵ Cleghorn, the Secretary to Government, joined this "click" on the head of the investigations made into the doings of the Pearl Fishery Commissioners—Cleghorn, MacDowall, and the Hon. George Turnour. Cleghorn wrote "reams" to Dundas against the Governor, and publicly abused him in Ceylon.⁶ MacDowall broke into "contumelious and indecent reflexions on our Government," and cancelled an appointment made by Champagne, Lieutenant Governor, on Mr. North's recommendation.⁷ Garrow, the Collector of Trincomalee, behaved in a "shockingly violent and irregular manner."⁸ Atkinson, the Commissary, issued condemned pork to the troops, and the conduct of the Pearl Fishery in 1799 left great room for doubt as to the ingenuousness of the Commissioners.

About the middle of 1799, however, fortunately for Mr. North, a strong supporter of his arrived in the person of the new Commander-in-Chief, Major General Hay Macdowall. His first official act seems to have been an examination of the affairs of the Pearl Fishery⁹ and, although he seems to have come to a more charitable conclusion on that head than did Mr. North, it seems reasonable to suppose that his whole-hearted support considerably strengthened Mr. North's hand. MacDowall, the Collector, was dismissed; Garrow was suspended; Atkinson

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp 45 ff.

2. *Wellesley MSS; C.L.R.W.* II, pp 243, 278, &c.

3. *C.L.R.W.* II, p 269.

4. *Ibid.* 5. *Ibid.*, p 246. 6. *Ibid.* 7. *Ibid* p 238. 8. *Ibid.* p 246. 9. *Ibid.*

was severely reprimanded by Webbe, the Secretary to the Madras Government; and by the end of October, 1799, Mr. North writes: "I can now breathe." Cleghorn was suspended about the end of the year, and "Heaven be praised" sailed from Ceylon in the *Preston* about the beginning of February, 1800.¹⁰ From this date, Mr. North's troubles with the "Madras faction" may be said to have ceased.

In contrast to the assistance and support afforded to Mr. North by Major General Macdowall, we find in the obstructive and over-bearing attitude of his successor, Major General Wemyss, one of the chief causes of the chaotic state in which Major General Maitland found the Government on his relieving Mr. North on 19th July, 1805. Mr. North himself says little on the subject, but that little is significant. He mentions perpetual complaint and remonstrance from the General, although the expenditure on the army had grown beyond all bounds. He hints that all he knows of the military arrangements is "what (when they are once completed) they cost at the Treasury," and complains that military works were undertaken without his consent, and, in place of full discussion of affairs which took place between himself and Major General Macdowall, Major General Wemyss acts entirely on his own initiative.¹¹ So strained have the relations become, that the only remedy looked forward to by Mr. North is the arrival of his successor, who, "by the wise measure adopted at Home," is to be Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor, and who would thus "feel a direct Interest in the Treasury, as well as in the Military Establishment" in place of General Wemyss' one-sided interest in the latter.¹²

Governor Maitland writes in less measured terms of the conduct of Major General Wemyss to the following effect: "The Executive Government was totally paralyzed by the unhappy differences which existed between it and the Military Power.—This, under the Command of Major General Wemyss, had assumed a Character of Independence, incompatible with the existence of good government, and the exertion of this Independence was generally manifested in some attempt to harass the Civil Power, by forcing it, under the Plea of Military necessity, to disorganize its former System of Government, and break through every Rule that had been laid down for the Establishment of Economy and Regularity in the Military Disbursements in the Island."¹³ In another place his language is even more forceful: "In short, one would imagine, instead of having a due regard to economy, that the Major General's sole object was to embarrass the Government, by increasing the expenditure, and that instead of supporting and maintaining the character of His Majesty's arms in this colony, he had assiduously studied how he could most completely disgrace and degrade it."¹⁴

Later we shall examine the grounds for this expression of opinion; here, we may abstract from the *Ceylon Examiner*,¹⁵ some account of the quarrels of Major General Wemyss with the judicial authorities, which indicate what manner of man he was, and what was the nature of the Government which permitted the wrangling.

Major-General Wemyss' Quarrels.

The preliminary dispute arose over the question of the use of a piece of ground in the Fort of Colombo, opposite the old Dutch Hoff van Justitie, on which the Legislative Council buildings were built later. The Supreme Court sittings were, at first, held in the

10. *C.L.R.W. II*, p. 278. 11. Despatch of 10th July, 1805. 12. *Ibid.* 13. Despatch of 19th October, 1805, III. 105.

14. Private letter to Lord Camden dated 28th July, 1805 (12).

15. Illustrated Literary Supplement, 1875, pp. 157 ff. The authorities are not given; but where references, e.g. to the *Gazette*, are possible, the statements are found to be correct.

Hoff, and the opposite plot of ground, which had been used by the Dutch for the execution of sentences, even of capital punishment, was used by the British Supreme Court for the punishment of cases of contempt of court and others which required immediate and exemplary punishment.

But, before the land was so used by the Supreme Court, it had been given over by Governor North to Major General Macdowall to be used as a parade ground, and to be exclusively appropriated to the Military in the same manner as a barrack. This appropriation remained unquestioned for a year before and after the opening of the Supreme Court in the beginning of 1802, but the Supreme Court appears to have used the ground on several occasions for the execution of sentences passed in cases of contempt.

It was not till late in 1804 that the Military appear to have begun to feel the inconvenience of this utilisation of the ground. Reinforcements were expected, and all the ground in the Fort was required ; it was also necessary to prevent access to the parade ground, and even to the Fort, as spies were supposed to be in the Town, attempting to find out the British plans against Kandy ; and an order was, consequently, issued by the Commandant, Colonel Baillie, in September, 1804, to the effect that no person excepting the Military should be allowed to cross the parade. Soon after, however, a corporal punishment was inflicted on the ground by the orders of the Supreme Court ; a sentry arrested the Fiscal's peon who was in charge of the prisoner ; and, although he released him, the Town Major, A. Barry, wrote to the Fiscal conveying the Commandant's wishes that no civil prisoner should be flogged on the parade ground. This was communicated to the Judges, who directed Frederick Baron Mylius, the Fiscal, to confer with the Town Major on the matter.

This conference was, however, abortive ; the Town Major abruptly referred the Fiscal to the Commandant ; the Fiscal and the Judges were greatly annoyed ; the Fiscal filed an affidavit to the effect that he expected resistance if he attempted to enter the Parade Ground ; the Judges issued a summons to the Town Major to appear and answer for his conduct ; the Town Major referred the Judges to the Commandant, whose the original orders were, and the Commandant was finally summoned to appear before the Supreme Court and explain. His explanation, of course, was that the parade had been given over to the Military, and that the Military could prevent people entering it. With this, the Supreme Court disagreed, relying on section 95 of the Charter of 18th April, 1801, which calls upon all officers, civil and military, to aid and assist in the execution of the powers of the Supreme Court. Colonel Baillie was called upon to withdraw the order, and on his refusing to do so, was required to enter into recognisances to keep the peace and to be of good behaviour, himself in 50,000 rix-dollars with two securities in 20,000 rix-dollars.

At this stage, the Governor interposed to effect a settlement. He directed the Commandant's obnoxious order to be withdrawn¹⁶ and himself issued a Proclamation on 19th September, 1804, reaffirming that order, and directing that no corporal punishment was to be inflicted on the Parade Ground, and that no person was to be admitted to it without the sanction of the Commandant but making the reservation that nothing contained in it was to be construed to restrain or limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.¹⁷ The latter and the Proclamation were read in the Supreme Court by the Registrar ; Colonel Baillie appeared with his sureties,

16. Letter of 19th September, 1804, to the Judges. 17. *Gazette* of 19th September, 1804.

but the Court dispensed with them and discharged him on his own recognisances. The Judges replied to the Governor's letter to the effect that they had felt obliged to uphold their authority, and the matter appeared to have ended in a deserved victory for the military.

Another Quarrel with the Judges.

But, no sooner was this affair apparently settled than another quarrel was in the making. On the 24th September, 1804, the Commandant issued an order preventing all ingress into, or egress from, the Fort, and had the Barrier Gate shut at some hour in the course of the morning. The Chief Justice, who lived in Kollupitiya, came into the Fort for the day's session through the South gate. But the Puisne Justice,^{17a} who resided at Maradana, and several officers of the Court, —Mr. Loos, the clerk, and Mr. de Silva, the Sword Bearer, and others who lived in the Pettah,— were stopped at the Delft Gate, the bridge being raised and the gate shut. The Puisne Justice appealed to the Governor, who resided where the Colombo Academy was later built, and His Excellency arrived with his suite, had the gate opened, and took possession of the keys.

Meantime the Chief Justice,^{17a} having taken his seat on the Bench, was waiting for the arrival of his colleague. Learning ultimately what had happened, he sent the Registrar, Mr. Rose, to Colonel Baillie's house to make enquiries. But the Colonel was away, and a mandate was accordingly issued requiring him to appear forthwith. On his appearance, he put in letters from Major-General Wemyss, and Captain Mowbray, the Deputy Adjutant-General, as authorities for his action, and a mandate was accordingly issued on the General to appear on the 29th September, and answer for his conduct and to be dealt with according to law. Mr. S. Tolfrey, Provincial Judge and Fiscal of the Province of Colombo, was entrusted with the service of the *sub-poena*.

In the meantime, the matter had been taken up in Council. A meeting, composed of the Governor and the Chief Justice, was held on the 24th itself, and Colonel Baillie was summoned to produce before it the letter from General Wemyss containing the order to close the gate. This was produced, and it was declared that the General's order, given without the Governor's previous knowledge and consent, was in contempt of the Governor's Commission as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and the General was informed accordingly, it being stated that "you cannot be so ignorant of the nature of our respective commissions as to suppose that as Commander-in-Chief over Forts and Garrisons I have not the fullest and most complete authority within and over all . . . As I feel this to be a direct contempt of His Majesty's authority delegated to me . . . I find myself compelled . . . to send an immediate and formal complaint of this extraordinary transaction to His Majesty's Ministers to be laid before His Majesty in Council."¹⁸ The Commandant was then ordered to deliver the keys of the Fort to the Governor in Council, and, on this being done, the Governor went to the Barrier of the Main Gate and ordered the sergeant who accompanied him with the keys to open the gates and desired the Fort Adjutant to keep them open till 10 p.m., the usual hour of closing them.

Another meeting of Council, again consisting of the Governor and the Chief Justice, was held on 26th September, when Major-General Wemyss' reply to the Governor's letter was read. He wrote that the opinion that he had no power to issue the obnoxious order was "perfectly novel;" that it gave him pleasure to learn that the matter was to go before His Majesty's Ministers, and that he would send home an accurate statement to be laid before His Majesty; he asks: "What reliance can I have for a moment upon any of my orders . . . if you have power to

17a. The Chief Justice was Sir C. F. Carrington; the Puisne Justice, E. H. Lushington.

18. The late Mr. E. B. Sueter's copy of Council proceedings.

counteract and annul them without my knowledge. I ask common sense and common reason"; he points out that the orders should have been revoked through him, and adds that, as his authority in his headquarters had been annihilated, he is compelled to withdraw to another place where his authority is yet unimpaired—"Your Excellency will, therefore, consider yourself responsible for the safety of the Fort of Colombo, so violently seized from my authority, for I am determined not to put foot in it till . . . my authority in that Fort shall again in the most public manner be fully recognised."¹⁹

That letter was dated 25th September, and, shortly after writing it, the General must have received the *sub-poena* from the Supreme Court to appear on the 29th. In the meantime, Johannes de Saram had reported to the Governor that the people were talking of nothing else but this *contretemps*, that good people think it a great misfortune and others "amuse themselves and laugh at it," and that the continuance of the Supreme Court action against the General might detrimentally affect the campaign then in progress against Kandy. The Governor, accordingly, had application made for postponement of the Supreme Court proceedings till 3rd October, and again till the 15th.

The first postponement was allowed, but the second was not granted, and the General accordingly appeared on 3rd October. He was surrounded by the officers of the garrison, and the court-house, the ground round it, and the Parade Ground were filled with soldiers. From their loud talking and gestures, a disturbance was apprehended, and the Chief Justice asked what was meant by so unusual an assemblage, adding that, if it were intended to intimidate the Judges, not all the guns of the garrison would have that effect. The General disclaimed any such intent, and ordered the soldiers to disperse and keep the peace. The Court ordered that no one was to remain inside with swords and bayonets, and the order was applied even to the General and his suite.

The proceedings consisted of the reading of the Governor's Commission and Instructions, of 41 Geo. III. cap. II, sects. 8-10 of sect. II. of the Articles of War, and sects. 73 and 95 of the Charter of 18th April, 1801. The General, on being called upon, admitted issuing the order on account of the presence of spies in the Fort, and was required to show cause why he should not enter into a recognisance to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for one year, and to appear to any libel which should be allowed against him, signed by the Advocate Fiscal. The General protested vehemently, but was informed by the Chief Justice that it would be necessary to enforce the order by charging the Fiscal upon a committal to take his body into arrest. The General then entered into a recognisance in 100,000 rix-dollars and was discharged, and this particular incident closed.

One wonders what impelled the Supreme Court to take so apparently extreme measures, evidently against the wishes of the Governor. Possibly the Chief Justice had been observing the General's domineering attitude in other matters, and took the opportunity to read him a lesson that the civil power, at least as represented by the Judges, could not be ignored, and possibly some elements of personal feeling also entered into the matter.

It was not, however, long before a somewhat similar incident recurred. In this instance, General Wemyss' name appears to an interference on his part with the proceedings of the Court of Justices of the Peace of Jaffna. The members of the Court—James Dunkin, George Lusignan, Henry Layard, and George Turnour—addressed a letter of com-

19. The late Mr. E. B. Sueter's copy of Council proceedings.

plaint to the Secretary to Government, which was produced in the Supreme Court. Thereupon, a *mandamus* was directed to the Justices at Jaffna to proceed in the exercise of their criminal jurisdiction, and a writ of *certiorari* to transmit certain proceedings to the Supreme Court. The result was that General Wemyss was again brought into court on this matter on 15th December, 1804, but the result is not recorded.

On 17th December, 1804, the Advocate Fiscal stated that he had been informed by Mr. Farrell, the Sitting Magistrate, that General Wemyss had lodged a complaint against him. The Supreme Court, thereupon, obtained the deposition from Mr. Farrell by *certiorari*, and took evidence upon it. Major General Wemyss appeared again in the Supreme Court, and swore that he had received a challenge from Mr. Johnstone to fight a duel with him, and prayed that he might be bound over to keep the peace. Mr. Rose, Mr. Herbert Beven, and Mr. Alexander Wood were examined, and the Court held that no such challenge was sent, and that there was no sufficient reason to bind over the Advocate Fiscal.

Such were some of the "scraps" for which Major General Wemyss was either wholly or partly responsible, and which indicate how great an embarrassment his quarrelsome temperament must have been to Mr. North's none too strong Government. It was, in all probability, the report of his eccentricities towards the end of 1804 which led the Home Government to supersede both Mr. North and General Wemyss, and to unite their duties in the capable hands of General Maitland.

Other "Misdemeanours."

It was not, however, only at the beginning and end of his Government that Mr. North was embarrassed by misdemeanours, and the other instances are sufficiently illustrative of the *morale* and discipline of the time to deserve mention. The first of these was the case of Edward Atkinson of the East India Company's service, who held the posts of Commissary of Grain and Provisions, and Paymaster-General of the Troops. Although he had 16 years of official experience, he had the effrontery to inform the Military Board that he considered the deriving to himself of pecuniary advantages by sending in false returns to be an allowable, though not avowed, emolument of the office of Commissary. As Paymaster he kept no books at all, and there was evidence that he and the other Paymasters made large profits by paying for specie at the authorised rate of exchange and selling the specie in the bazaar at the enhanced market rate.²⁰

Although it may be said that this state of things was an inheritance from the Madras Administration, it is curious and extraordinary that Atkinson's two successors, in succession, in the Pay Office, committed heavy defalcations. The first was Gavin Hamilton, who drew bills amounting to a total which exceeded his disbursements by £19,675, this sum being utilised by him for purposes of private trade. This defalcation was only discovered on 11th February, 1803, after Hamilton's death, but it was met by a valuable ship belonging to him being received in discharge for £10,000, the balance being nearly made up from his other estate.²¹

In spite of the warning conveyed by this default, the administration of the Pay Office was allowed to remain such as to permit Hamilton's successor, the Hon. George Melville Leslie, to leave a deficit of over £10,000 in his sixteen months' tenure of the office of Paymaster-General. This defalcation was apparently discovered about September, 1803, and after Leslie had been allowed an unduly long time to submit his explanation, the Advocate Fiscal was directed to

20. Despatch of 30th January, 1800, § 18, 23. 21. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 32.

prosecute him before the Supreme Court. Prosecution was, however, averted by an undertaking to pay in the balance in cash and Dutch *credit brieven*,²² after deducting 35,000 rix-dollars, being value of the late Governor van Angelbeek's house which was made over by Mrs. Leslie's uncle in part settlement of the deficit.²³ Lord Hobart appears to have lived in this house on the occasion of his visit to Ceylon when he was Governor of Madras in 1797. After the death of Governor van Angelbeek on 3rd September, 1799, the house was occupied by Major General Macdowall, and later by Governor Maitland.²⁴

These defalcations were probably not the only ones, either discovered or undiscovered, and one wonders what the proportion of really productive expenditure was. For there was much to be done with the money, and considerable programmes were meditated and carried out from time to time.

The public works, for example, especially those erected under the orders of General Wemyss, were numerous and extensive, and the requirements of the civil government appear to have been considerable. On Mr. North's arrival, not one of the public buildings was said to be habitable; barracks and arsenals were required; the Government House was so leaky that the Governor had to rent quarters elsewhere, and charge the revenue with the rent of them.²⁵ The latter was a matter of some urgency, and a new Government House was purchased at Hulftsdorp for 4,500 star pagodas, or £1,800. Such parts of the old Government House, the present St. Peter's Church, as were habitable, were occupied by the Courts and public offices.²⁶ The Hulftsdorp house was occupied by the Governor till the end of 1803, when he removed to a house constructed by the Civil Architect out of a large powder mill and magazine at St. Sebastian's purchased for 11,000 rix-dollars.²⁷ The Hulftsdorp House was given over for the "Collector's Catcherry" and other provincial offices, while the gardens were converted partly into a bazaar built by Government, the intention being to sell the rest as building sites, for which it was convenient owing to the proximity of the canal.²⁸

The state of disrepair of the buildings appears to have obtained till September, 1800, about which time Lieutenant Cotgrave of the Madras Engineers was appointed Civil Architect and Engineer and Superintendent of the Public Works, in order that the extensive repairs "may be conducted with economy and Intelligence."²⁹ The programme included repair of the tanks in the Vanni, construction of barracks at Trincomalee, the clearing of the canal which it was hoped to extend from Colombo to Puttalam, and later to Galle.³⁰ By the following year, it became more extensive, and the works in hand or proposed were a lock to join the Kelani River with Colombo Lake; later replaced by an "inclined plain"³¹; a canal connecting the Lake with the sea, finished by the end of 1803³²; a canal, six miles long, between Márawila and Chilaw, for which a "railed road," whatever that might be, was later proposed to be substituted³³; the draining and embankment of the salt marsh of Mutu-rájawilla, south of Negombo³⁴; a canal from the Gindura River to the sea at Galle; the repair of a "dyke" or bund, called the "Cal-aar" in Batticaloa; the embankment of a low island in Batticaloa Lake for rice cultivation; a canal from Eroar to "Sitambycodyarippo"; the repair of more tanks.

22. Leslie had married Miss Jacomina Gertruda van der Graff, daughter of Governor van der Graaf and niece of a Mr. Angelbeek, a relative of Governor Angelbeek, and the *credit brieven* were probably found by them.

23. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 33.

24. *Ibid.* Cordiner, I 26; Percival, 1st plan opposite p 81.

25. Despatch of 6th February, 1799, § 119-20.

26. Despatch of 30th January, 1800, § 42.

27. Maitland, III. 341.

28. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 107-8.

29. Despatch of 20th September, 1800, § 23.

30. Despatch of 18th February, 1801, § 102 ff.

31. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 105.

32. *Ibid.* 33. *Ibid.* 34. C. L. R. W. II. and D. II, 114.

The buildings in hand or about to be were : the Governor's house at Aripu—called "The Doric"—nearly finished in September, 1802, and ultimately costing three times the estimate³⁵ ; pavements and drains for the Pearl Fishery at Kondachchi; Commandant's house at Jaffna, nearly finished ; houses for the Collector and Judge with offices, presumably also in Jaffna ; the Commandant's house at Negombo, not begun ; the custom house at Colombo, not begun, an old boat-house being later adapted for the purpose ;³⁶ a bomb proof powder magazine, not begun ; a hospital for the native troops, not begun, later located in the school buildings at Wolfendahl³⁷ ; a new bazaar near Colombo, nearly finished ; the Commandant's houses at Matara and Hambantota, the former begun, the latter not ; a native hospital at Trincomalee, nearly finished.³⁸

Unexpected Physical Calamities.

The programme was, however, considerably interfered with by a violent storm of short duration, early in 1803, probably in March, which, *inter alia*, destroyed a great part of the fortifications of Trincomalee, besides causing a loss of 3,000 head of cattle, and much of the Government grain collected in the magazines.³⁹ There was another high storm on 7th January, 1805, especially violent at Puttalam and Trincomalee,⁴⁰ and this was followed by another on 19th April, during which the Government House, then in the occupation of Major-General Wemyss, was struck by lightning. The General, and his *aide-de-camp*, Lieutenant Wemyss, probably his son, were both in the house at the time, but escaped unhurt ; the adjoining house, belonging to Kenelm Chandler, and occupied by Brigade Major Colebrooke, was also struck, but little damage seems to have been done.⁴¹

Among the other "unexpected Physical Calamities which have pursued my Government during its whole course" were serious outbreaks of cattle disease from time to time, the maximum mortality occurring between September 1800 and February, 1801⁴² About nine-tenths of the cattle in the Island were reported to have been carried off,⁴³ and animals had to be imported from India in large quantities to supply the deficiencies. In Batticaloa District the mortality at the end of March, 1801, amounted to between 4000 and 5000 head. A later outbreak occurred in Jaffna early in 1802⁴⁴ and it was estimated that it would take the country five years to recover from the total losses incurred.⁴⁵

These and other calamities retarded the development of the Maritime Provinces, but the inauguration of more orderly Government and the cessation of direct oppression tended to encourage industry and commerce. It was hoped that the land tenure reforms would encourage agriculture, and attempts were made to develop special products. It is interesting to note, for example, that the cultivation of coffee had early attention. It is first mentioned as a "Production of Candy,"⁴⁶ but a Government plantation had been started near Negombo by the beginning of 1804, and a mill opened by De la Sossaye, who was in charge of the Kadirane cinnamon garden.⁴⁷ In 1802, 30,000 pounds had been sent to England by the merchant Conradi, but it is not clear where it was grown⁴⁸. During 1804, the exportation of coffee had doubled, and Mr. North thinks that "it will soon become a principal Branch of our Produce, as its Cultivation is extend-

35. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 108 ; See Cerdiner. 36. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 106.

37. *Ibid.* 38. Despatch of 10th September, 1802, § 101 ff. 39. Despatch of 20th April 1803.

40. *Gazette* of 9th and 23rd January, 1805.

41. *Gazette* of 24th April, 1805. The Government House referred to appears to have been Van Angelbeek's, not the present St. Peter's.

42. Despatch of 15th February, 1801, § 4.

43. Despatch of 5th October, 1801, § 79. 44. Despatch of 16th March, 1802, § 87.

45. Despatch of 18th February 1801, § 23. 46. Despatch of 30th January, 1800, § 89.

47. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 57. 48. Despatch of 25th November, 1802.

ing Itself rapidly in the District of Negombo." 49 An extensive experiment in cotton growing was tried on Manaar Island under the supervision of William Orr, and in two other places in the locality under Werkmeister and Bastyn, late members of the Landraad; but shortage of rainfall in the middle of 1803, and the high price of labour prevented the experiment from being successful. 50

But the state of the Maritime Provinces appears to have been generally backward. The country was still recovering from the effects of the Madras Administration; the land tenure reforms did not effect the expected extension of agriculture; the means of communication between the various districts were practically non-existent. There were, in fact, no roads outside the principal coast stations 51 and the only possible method of travelling was by palanquin. For his tour round Ceylon in 1800, the Governor and his suite of nine persons required 160 palanquin bearers, 400 coolies, 2 elephants, 6 horses, 50 lascars in charge of 4 tents, an escort of 60 men of the Malay Regiment, and 20 pioneers. 52

In the towns, however, and especially in Colombo, Western civilisation developed rapidly. The English society of the capital, consisting of about 100 gentlemen and 20 ladies, is described as "uncommonly pleasant, . . . an assemblage of so many excellent characters is, certainly, rarely to be found," while the "fair partners" of the officials "add to the number of pleasing objects which adorn this Indian paradise." 53 Riding and quoits appear to have been the chief amusements, and two clubs, the Cocomat or Whist Club for cards and the Quoits Club, were early established. The breakfast hour was 7:30 a.m.; tiffin was eaten at 1, which was esteemed "by those who can command their time" as "the best hour of the day for eating, as the evening is the most agreeable and wholesome season for enjoying a glass of wine." 54 Office hours were from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. European goods were imported from England and India—"excellent Madeira wine in Pipes," port, sherry, "coniac" brandy, hams "sugar candy in tubs," hyson, souchong, "nankeens," lutestrings, "sarsnets," card and backgammon boxes, &c. 55 Punkahs were introduced from India by Major General Macdowall in 1799, and Sinhalese servants were beginning to be employed in place of Madrasis from India, and of the slaves who performed menial offices for the Dutch. 56

It may here be noted, incidentally, that private property in slaves was considered to have been secured to the Dutch under Article 7 of the Capitulation of Colombo. It is said that Colonel Stuart, on the capitulation of Trincomalee, held that "private property" did not extend to slaves, but was overruled by the Madras Government, whose decision determined the future law on the subject. 57 Mr. North did not, however, consider himself debarred from enforcing the regulations framed by the Dutch on the subject, or from modifying them as required. Private property in slaves as from 1st January, 1799, was admitted by Proclamation of 15th. January, 1799, and their transfer was allowed, but importation or exportation was prohibited under a penalty of 500 rix-dollars. Later regulations, based on the Statutes of Batavia, are referred to in the Despatches, 58 but do not appear to be forthcoming. They seem to have included provision for slaves giving evidence on oath, and for their registration, and to have aimed at an insistence of more rigid proofs of the fact of slavery 59. It does not appear what the numbers of slaves in Ceylon at this time were, nor to what nationalities they belonged. Their owners are said chiefly to have been Mohammedans, 60 but we know that the Dutch included a family of slaves as part of their household. 61 It is, however, likely that the number of slaves owned by the Dutch decreased with the decline of their incomes which followed the fall of exchange and the rise of prices, and with the decrease of their number caused by the transfer of many of the "Dutch prisoners" 62 to Batavia in 1806.

49. Despatch of 8th February, 1805.

50. Despatch of 24th November, 1802, § 154-5, and 1st January, 1804 § 56. 51. Cordiner, I, 15.

52. *Ibid.*, 168. 53. *Ibid.*, 74. 54. *Ibid.*, 84. 55. *Gazette* of 6th March, 1805. 56. Cordiner, I, 80 and *passim*.

57. Pridham, 227. 58. Despatch of 18th February, 1801, § 11. 59. Pridham, 228. 60. *Ibid.* 61. Cordiner, I, 81.

62. These "Dutch prisoners" appear to have been the Dutch subjects who remained in Ceylon after the British occupation being granted subsistence allowances under Article 16 of the Capitulation of Colombo.

POPE GREGORY XIII AND DON JUAN DHARMAPALA.

By S. G. P.

THE following correspondence passed between the ill-used Christian king of Ceylon and Pope Gregory XIII. Dharmapála's letter is dated : Colombo, 26 January, 1574, and was sent through a Greek ; for the cruel treatment to which he was subjected prevented him even from making representations through the usual channels. ¹

The letter was probably written in Portuguese, but it appears in the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Theiner, i, p. 438) and in the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum* (Appendix) in Italian, and in the *Histoire du Christianisme à Ceylan* (Courtenay, p. 275) in French. An English translation, made from the *Bullarium*, appeared in the *Jaffna Catholic Guardian* (16th December, 1916.) The Italian version is clumsy and obscure and is given below with an attempt to English it. The original letter of Dharmapála, I am informed, is still preserved in the Vatican Archives.

Dharmapala's Letter.

Text of the Letter.

Litterae Joannis, Ceylonensis insulae regis, ad
Summum Pontificem Gregorium XIII,

Al Beatissimo et Santissimo Summo Pontefice.
Colombo nell'isola di Ceylan,
26 genn. 1574.

Beatissimo et Santissimo Signore :

Don Giovanni per gratia di Dio re di Ceylan come indegno servo di Vostra Santità con quella ubedienza che debbe mi sommetto al giogo della Santa Madre Chiesa Cattolica et ubedienza di Vostra Santità, alla quale Nostro Signore per molto longhi et prosperi anni augmenti la vita et Cattolico stato per l'augmento della santissima fede Cattolica et protezione del popolo christiano. Amen.

Io indegno d'essere numerato tra i principi christiani, che per gratia dello alto Signore Dio sono stabiliti, et con prosperità mantenuti nelli suoi stati a servizio del medesimo Iddio et Signore, voglio dare conto a Vostra Santità di me, et delle mie infelicità.

Ciò è che incontinente ch'io fui recevuto per re et giurato per tale dalli Portoghesi, per ordine

Translation.

Colombo, in the island of Ceylon,
26th January, 1574.

Most Blessed and Most Holy Lord,

Don John, by the grace of God, King of Ceylon, unworthy servant of your Holiness.

With due obedience I submit myself to the yoke of Our Holy Mother the Catholic Church, and to the obedience of Your Holiness, whose life and Catholic state may Our Lord preserve for many long and prosperous years, for the extension of the most Holy Catholic faith and the protection of Christian peoples. Amen.

I, unworthy to be counted among the Christian sovereigns who by the grace of God Our Lord are established and maintained with prosperity in their states for the service of the same Lord and God, wish to give Your Holiness an account of myself and my misfortunes.

Hardly had I been declared King and acknowledged as such by the Portuguese by the

1. Dharmapála presented another petition to the Pope (10th December, 1594) through Frey Gaspar - *Procurador del Reyde Ceïlão*, asking for spiritual favours for himself and the Franciscans. *Archivo-Portuguez-Oriental* iii. 785. Its only interest is the pathetic request from the Pope to order (1) that he be treated with the honour and respect due to his person and state; (2) that his last will and testament regarding Masses for the repose of his soul, and bequest to faithful servants, be fully carried out 'under grave penalties and censures.'

del re di Portogallo, il quale così l'ordinò te commandò per le sue lettere patenti, et anche per re ricevuto da miei morto che fu il mio avo, mi cominciò a fare guerra il fratello del detto mio avo, et sono adesso venti tre anni che mi perseguita.

Mentre c'ho havuto di spendere del thesoro che trovai, et sendo gentile sono stato servito et reverito dalli Portoghesi vice-re, governatori et capitani. Et come il nemico habbia sempre havuto il dominio come realmente adesso ha, non ho possuto havere l'intrata, di modo che sendo stato speso tutto quel mio thesoro con dona tivi et petitioni concesute a Portoghesi, de quali havevo bisogno ance non venessi nelle mani del mio adversario, et questi finche porro messero in prigione mio padre, et questo per che il vice-re Don Alfonso, chi venne a questa isola, lassò ordine che così si facesse, perche non gli volse scoprire li thesori delli re passati et sendo così prigione di padri di S. Francesco lo battersarono, et battersato fu anche più restretto che prima. Or vedendosi così maltrattato, et senza causa, trovò modo di uscire di prigione,

orders of the King of Portugal, who ordained and commanded the same by his letters patent,² and accepted as King by my subjects³ on the death of my grandfather,⁴ than a brother⁵ of this grandfather began to make war on me: and it is now twenty-three years that he is persecuting me.

As long as I had treasures to spend and was a pagan, I was served and respected by the Portuguese Viceroy, Governors, and Captains. But as the enemy has always had the upper hand, as he still has to-day, I was unable to raise my rents; so that, having spent all my treasures in gifts and rewards to the Portuguese,⁶ whose help I needed, were it only not to fall into the hands of my enemy, 'I find myself in great distress.'⁷ The Portuguese even imprisoned my father,⁸ on the orders of the Viceroy, Don Alfonso,⁹ who came to this island and left orders to that effect, because my father did not disclose to him the treasure of the ancient kings. When he was thus a prisoner the Franciscan Fathers baptised him,¹⁰ and after his baptism he was more restrained than before.¹¹ Seeing himself thus ill-treated

2. The reference evidently is to the *Alvará*, 12th March, 1543, issued at the time of his coronation in effigy at Lisbon. It is translated in *The Portuguese Era*, I, 87-88.

3. See Queyroz, *Conquista*, p. 239. ".....the youthful Dharmapála Kumárayo ascended the throne and received the allegiance of his nobles, his own father being the first to make obeisance to him." *Port. Era* I, 112. 'The Portuguese raised Dharmapála to the throne and sent information thereof to Goa.' *Rajavaliya* p. 79.

4. According to Queyroz, this grandfather (Bhuvaneka Báhu) died 29th December, 1550. As Mr. Pieris has pointed out (*Port. Era*, I, 498, n. 56) this is an obvious error. The date is about April-May 1551.

5. Mayadunne.

6. The poor king was badly fleeced. '.....the Captains of that fortress (Colombo) and some others that came to its succour, continued to extort from that poor king even what was due to him, for one would ask him for two thousand *cruzados* as a favour, another for one thousand, and another for five hundred, and thus little by little they went on consuming him, all of which the Viceroys paid: which becoming known to the king Dom Sebastian, he commanded that the money that had been given in those parts should be collected again, and that never again must the king make grants of money that was owing to him; the which I believe did not take effect.' Couto, *J. C. B. R. A. S.* No. 60, p. 241-2. The Governor Francisco Barreto issued an *alvará*, 3rd January 1558, about the matter, which see (*ib.* p. 166.) See also Queyroz 266; *Port Era* I, 189-90.

7. This phrase is from Courtenay and gives better sense.

8. Widiya Bandára, called Tribuli Pandar by the Portuguese

9. This statement is supported by Couto, *Journal* quoted, p. 156. And also among certain things that he (Noronha) left him (Dom Joan Henriquez) orders to carry out, that which he most impressed upon him was to capture Tribuli Pandar and send him to Goa." The *Rajavaliya* says that Henriquez in his turn left written orders 'to imprison Vidiye Bandára' p. 80. But according to Queyroz, followed by Mr. Pieris, it was Pedro Mascarenhas who ordered the arrest, for different reasons Noronha's visit took place in 1551. See Queyroz 239-243; *Port Era*, I, 116-21.

10. So says De Couto also; "The Fathers of St. Francis had intercourse with this prince, who prayed them to make him a Christian, because he was well affected to the matters of our faith, and because in no one had he found humanity and charity except in them. The Fathers were highly gratified at this, and catechised him and baptised him." *Jour.* p. 160.

The following is translated from the *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, (Vol. vii. pt. iii. p. 183.) "The Portuguese had imprisoned his father named Tribuli Pandar, we do not know whether on just or unjust suspicions and had put him in chains in the fortress of Colombo. To facilitate his release the King and Queen (i. e. Dharmapála and Catherina) begged the Fathers who had free access to the fortress, to try to make him a Christian. They applied themselves to it, and succeeded, and he received baptism."

But other historians are silent about it. Queyroz says (251): 'Wearied out at last with the privations to which he was exposed, Widiye Bandára sent a message to his son to use his influence with the Captain to obtain for him a better prison, promising to agree to any reasonable terms that were proposed, and expressing his determination to leave the Island for ever, but Seneveratna and the Council decided that it was inexpedient to interfere on his behalf.' *Port. Era*, I, 128. Decca was unaware of the baptis-m. Couto, Civezza.

11. "The Fathers baptised him without telling the Captain of this, because they feared that he would prevent them; but after it was done, they let him know of it. Dom Duarte was so angry about it, that it had been done without their communicating it to him, that he at once ordered to be put on Tribuli a huge fetter, and to fasten it to a chain, and to stop his communications with the Friars, by whose means he thought he might obtain some alleviation, and all other consolations that a prisoner could have, whereby he reduced that unhappy (*atribulado*) prince to a state of utter desperation." Couto, 160. Civezza says the same thing. "But, unfortunately, when this (the baptism) came to the knowledge of the wicked Duarte Deza, the Captain of the fortress, he was so furious that he gave orders to double the chains and ill-treatment" o.c. 183.

et come persona resentita di quello che senza ragione gli fecero, con l'aiuto del Madune mio nemico fece guerra contra i Portoghesi christiani, et finalmente mori, et fu totalmente destrutto dal proprio nemico; di maniera che la detta prigionie è stata cagione di fine di perdere tutto questo mio regno, et divenire a fatto nelle mani del mio nemico.

Non contenti di questo i Portoghesi nel miglior tempo et al mio magior bisogno messero prigionie tra li mei principali capitani, tra i quali l'uno fu il mio cameriero maggiore et governatore, a quali usarono tali tirannie che la magior parte di mia gente si ritirò al mio nemico, et dopo ch'io mi converti alla santissima fede cattolica volendo i padri constringere i grandi, che anchora stavano duri et pertinaci nella sua erronea gentilità, et perche mi vedevano con pocho potere, pocha gente et senza regno et thesoro mi abbandonarno et sene andarono via, donde si fecero puoi molta guerra, et fin adesso ho aspettato ch'il re di Portogallo mi mandasse metere nel possesso del mio regno per restorare tanti christiani, li quali sono, et vivono come gentili neelle terre del nemico che sono più di trenta milla, li quali vedendomi signore, et con potere subita tornarebbono alla ubedienza oltra molti altri che anche si convertirebbono. Or d'anno in anno mi tratengono con buona speranza, scrivendomi il re, commandando a i

without reason he found means¹² to escape from prison; and resenting what was done to him without reason, he made war on the Portuguese and¹³ Christians¹⁴ with the help of my enemy Madune, and finally died,¹⁵ completely ruined by his enemy. Thus the said imprisonment was the occasion of the loss of my kingdom and of its passing into the hands of my enemy.

Not content with this, the Portuguese, at a time most suitable to them, and when my need was greatest, imprisoned some of my principal Captains,¹⁶ one of whom was my Great Chamberlain and Governor. They treated them so tyrannically that the greater part of my people went over to my enemy. After I had become a convert¹⁷ to the most holy Catholic faith, the Fathers tried to constrain the nobles, who still remained hardened and obstinate in their false paganism; but seeing me with little power, with few subjects and without kingdom or treasures, they abandoned me and went their way: whence arose many wars.¹⁸

Up to now I was expecting that the King of Portugal would give orders to have me put in possession of my kingdom to relieve so many Christians, who live like pagans in the territories of my enemy. There are more than thirty thousand, who, were I in power as their Lord, would at once return to obedience, and many others would be converted. But year

12. Queyroz 251-252; *Port. Era.* I, 128; Couto, 161; *Rajavalsya*, 81; Civezza: "Then a strategem was tried in order to free him, and he succeeded in escaping." (*ib.*)

13. The 'and' is from Courtenay.

14. "Couto, 161; Civezza: "...then abandoning his faith, and putting himself at the head of a numerous body of natives, who were his supporters, he fell upon the coast of Galle, like a torrent, destroying all the churches, and barbarously killing all the Missionaries and Christians he found. He also set fire to a Portuguese ship, which was ready to set sail, and there is no knowing where this war of extermination would have ended, had he not been put to death by the King of Jannapatam, who coveted his treasures. This took place in 1556." (*ib.*)

15. At Jaffna. For the manner and circumstance of his death see Queyroz, 261. (*Port. Era.* I, 167) *Raj.* 86.

16. Sembahap Perumal, Seneveratna Mudliar, Tammita Bandára, and after his baptism Francisco Berreto. Queyroz calls him Enaraz Bamdar (205) Cammareyro Mor, and Secretario de Rei (262). He was Dharmapala's paternal uncle. The office of Cammareyro Mor was conferred on him and his heirs by the King of Portugal (16th March, 1543.) *Port. Era.* I, 471; Couto 156. His arrest took place in August, 1555, in accordance with the treaty entered into between Mayadunne and the Portuguese. Queyroz, 254; *Port. Era.* I, 131. He was taken to Goa but returned in triumph after a very short time. Queyroz, 256. At Goa he was baptised.

17. Queyroz, 251, 262. The King of Portugal wrote, under date 7th March, 1558 to congratulate the Franciscans on the achievement. See letter apud Pieris, *Port. Era.* I, 502. The King also wrote to Dharmapala. Queyroz, 268. See also *Port. Era.* I, 501, n. 3 & Ferguson's notes in the *J. C. B. R. A. S.* No. 60, pp. 156, 172.

Raj. 80, mentions it at the beginning of Dharmapala's career, while Ribeiro on the contrary implies that he was baptised when 'far advanced in years' (Ribeiro's *Ceilaõ* p. 12). The Franciscan Historian Civezza has the following: "On the death of Bonezaba) his grandson Parea-Pandar ascended the throne. He showed himself sincerely inclined to embrace Catholicism, and in the meantime he permitted a cousin of his to receive baptism. This cousin of his went to Portugal, and returning thence died at Goa, and was buried in the Church of the Franciscan convent. Parea-Pandar also allowed his Queen to receive baptism. She took the name of Catherine, and her example was followed by all the ladies of the court and by some of the nobles of the kingdom. Whereupon a great number of the people also asked for baptism. Thus in a few months 12 churches were built within a space of thirty leagues, and the Fathers, though labouring night and day, could scarcely find time to preach and baptise. Afterwards Parea-Pandar himself wished to be instructed and baptised. He was baptised, and he always showed himself a true model of a Christian King. On this account Madune and his Raju Pandar hated him to death and never ceased to persecute him cruelly. But neither tribulations nor misfortunes were able to separate him from Christ or from the sons of the Seraphic Patriarch. He always looked up to them as to his own father, and they in their turn loved him as a beloved son and sacrificed themselves wholly for his welfare." *Op. cit.* vol. vi., p. 247-8.

18. The chief cause of the wars seems to have been the loss of Vidiye Bandára. His death freed Mayadunne from the need of the Portuguese. Queyroz, 267-271; *Port. Era.* I, 140.

suoi vice-re et governatori che mi socorrino, et questi passando fin hogi con questo ; anzi con grandi provisioni hanno agiutato il nemico adiventare tanto grande c'ha questa isola come sua, et ha commercio con tutti li re del nome christiano et stato cattolico nemici, et procura di tirar a se i Mori per finire et distruggermi o vero gitarmi fuora d'un piccolo cantone, dove mi retrovo ritirato ciò è una punta et porto dove passo assai miseramente la vita mia, non havendo altro che mille scudi ch'ogn'anno mi danno della facenda del re per le mie spese.

Mai ho havuto la possibilita di mandare ambasciatori al re di Portogallo, nè anche per dare relatione di questo caso mio a V. S. acciò lei mi favorisse, et ajutasse con li suoi brevi appresso del re di Portogallo, a fino che con magior voluntà, et più brevità mi facesse restituire lo stato mio, per che i vice-re non lasciano imbarcare detti mei ambasciatori con dire, che loro hanno a sua cura questo negotio. Et come finiscono i suoi tre anni di governo sene retornano a Portogallo con quello c'hanno robato da queste parte.

Et perche il portatore di questa è un forastiero di Grecia m'è parso di representare a V. S. questa mia petitione et clamori, la quale ho fatta per vedermi cosi abatuto, et per la quale prego V. S. per l'amore di N. S. Giesu Christo, et di sua benedetta madre che voglia havere compassione de i miei gridi et voglia usar verso di me della sua beatitudine et solita benignità, commandando per suoi brevi al re di Portogallo, che mi mandi soccorrere con dua o tre millia huomini acciò deputati col suo governatore, per conquistar questo nemico del nome christiano et di guadagnare questa isola molto grande et molto importante al servizio di Dio et aumento della fede cattolica, commodità del detto re, et securità di queste parte, et navigatione del mezzo giorno et per sveglere in alle radici l'errore gentileasco, et le sette mahometane che vanno molto crescendo in essa, et per potersi piantare in essa la fede cattolica et far molto frutto a la christianità, a servitio et santa lode di Dio.

after year they give me hopes. The King writes to his Viceroys and Governors to come to my aid, but they have hitherto taken little heed of it. Rather they have helped my enemy with provisions to become so important that he looks upon this island as his own. He has dealings with all the kings who are enemies of the Christian name and state, and is trying to get the Moors on his side in order to annihilate me and eject me from the small province whither I have retired—a mere patch of land and a harbour, where I lead a miserable life, ¹⁹ having nothing more than a thousand *scudi*, ²⁰ which is paid to me annually for my expenses out of the exchequer of the King.

I have been unable to send ambassadors to the King of Portugal, or even to represent my case to Your Holiness to beg your favour and help, and your intercession with the King of Portugal that he may secure for me the restoration of my kingdom more promptly and with greater good will, because the Viceroys do not allow my ambassadors to embark, under the pretext that they themselves look after my affairs. And when their three years' term of office is over they return to Portugal with all they have stolen in this country.

As the bearer of this letter is a foreigner, a Greek, I profit by the opportunity to lay before Your Holiness my petition and my complaints, which I do, because I feel quite despondent. And I beseech Your Holiness, through the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of His Most Holy Mother, to have compassion on me in my distress, and to deign to employ in my behalf your wonted beneficence by commanding the King of Portugal by your briefs to send to my help two or three thousand men with their Governor, in order to vanquish the enemy of the Christian name, and to win this island, which is a large and important one, to the service of God, the glory of the Catholic faith, to the interests of the King of Portugal, to the security of this country, to re-establish safe navigation in the South, to eradicate the pagan and Mussalman errors, which are gaining ground, and to establish the Catholic Faith in this island, and cause the Christian religion to flourish for the service and glory of God.

19. For the shabby treatment of Dharmapala, see Queyroz, 266.

20. This seems to stand for '*pardaos*.' In 1584 Dharmapala, in his poverty, applied for permission to send fifty *quntals* of Cinnamon to Portugal (*Arch P.O.*, iii, 42), but the application was refused (p. 75) and a present of a thousand *cruzados* given instead. The King gave particular instructions that his annual allowance of a thousand *pardaos* should be paid to him punctually as he had no other source of income. *Port. Era.* I, 517, n. 67. Dharmapala "only possessed some villages in the districts about Colombo." Couto, 241. See note by Ferguson *ib.* and p. 167 about this pension.

Non altro si no che N.S. augmenti et prosperi i felicissimi giorni di V. S. et Beatitudine per mantenere la santa chiave di Santo Pietro, et rettitudine et santità ch'ha commincato. Amen.

Di Ceylone et citta di Colombo alli 26 giorni del mese di gienario di 1574.

This letter took a long time to reach its destination ; at least the following reply of the Pope bears date, 1st July, 1578. It is given in the *Annales*, and *Bullarium* in the original Latin, by Courtenay in French, and by Queyroz in Portuguese (*Conquista*, p. 263-4) without date, whence *The Portuguese Era* (I, 502), where it is translated, erroneously attributes it to Paul IV in spite of Queyroz.

On 2nd July, 1578, the Pope wrote a guarded letter to King Sebastian of Portugal about the affairs of Dharmapála.

POPE GREGORY'S REPLY.

Gregorius PP. XIII.

Dilecto filio, nobli viro Joanni, regi Zeilai.

Dilecte fili, nobilis vir, salutem et apostlicam benedictionem.

Incredibiliter laetati sumus tuis litteris, tuaque pietate in fide catholica agnoscenda constantissimeque retinenda ; haec enim omnis boni felicitatisque, ad quam a Deo facti ac creati sumus, initium et fundamentum est. Quo quidem nomine amplectimur nobilitatem tuam, eodemque loco et numero habemus, quo caeteros omnes catholicos principes, nec quidquam est, quod non tua causa efficere cupiamus ea auctoritate et potestate, qua a Domino nostro Jesu Christo sanctae suae Ecclesiae praefecti sumus ; omnes enim, qui ubique sunt, catholicos ad nostram curam et sollicitudinem pertinere agnoscimus ; te vero in primis, quem ut teneram quandam plantam summa ejusdem Christi benignitas ex ingenti illa et vasta infidelitatis solitudine transtulit in agrum cultissimum et fertilissimum Ecclesiae suae, quemque, ut Petri apostoli verbis utamur, voluit esse ex genere electo, ex regali sacerdotio, ex gente sancta, ex populo acquisitionis, ut annunties virtutes ejus, qui te de tenebris vocavit in admirabile lumen suum.

Scribimus igitur ad regem Portugalliae, ut postulas, teque ei commendamus, quantum possumus. Tu interim cave, ne te cujusvis hominis perversitate aut injuriarum magnitudine a recta fide et sancto proposito divelli sinas, hoc enim est summum malorum omnium ; sicque

May the Lord lengthen the days of Your Holiness, and make them prosperous and happy, that you may retain the keys of St. Peter, and the rectitude and holiness which He has communicated to you.

From the City of Colombo, in the Island of Ceylon, the 26th. day of January, 1574.

Gregory XIII, Pope.

To our dear son, the noble John, King of Zeilai.
Beloved Son, Noble Sir,

Health and Apostolic Benediction.

We were pleased beyond belief with your letter, and with your piety in acknowledging the Catholic faith and persevering therein with the utmost constancy ; for that is the beginning and foundation of all blessings and of that felicity whereunto we were created by God, in whose name we embrace your nobility and count you of the same rank and number as all other Catholic Princes. Nor is there anything which on your behalf we do not desire to effect with that influence and authority wherewith we have been set by Our Lord Jesus Christ to preside over His holy Church ; for all Catholics, wherever they may be, we regard as entrusted to our care and solicitude ; you above all, whom as a tender plant the great goodness of Christ Himself has transferred from that mighty and vast desert of heathenism to the most fertile and cultivated field of His Church, and whom—to use the words of the Apostle Peter—he has desired to be of a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people, that you may declare his virtues who hath called you out of darkness unto his marvellous light.²¹

We are therefore writing to the King of Portugal, as requested by you, and we recommend you to him as much as we are able. Only we warn you not to let the perversity of any man, or the weight of wrong-doing, draw you away from the true faith and your holy purpose : for that would be the greatest of all

21. 1 Ep. of St. Peter II. 9.

iterum te dederis terrimae servituti Sathanae, unde te summa Domini nostri Jesu Christi benegnitatis et sanguis semel eripuit. Non cessamus pro te orare, nec unquam defatigabimus tuas res regi commendare, inque eo omnem nostram auctoritatem interponemus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die prima Julii MDLXXVIII, pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

POPE GREGORY'S LETTER TO KING SEBASTIAN.

Gregorius PP. XIII.

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Sebastiano, Portugalliae et Algarbiorum regi illustri.

Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Redditae fuerunt nobis lieterae regis Zailai, sic enim ipse se esse in eis appellat, earumque sententiam majestas tua ex collectore nostro cognoscet, summa haec est: ostendit suam constantiam in Christi fide, ad quam nuper vocatus est, colenda et retinenda. At se in summa necessitate constitutum esse propter iniquitatem cujusdam sui propinqui regnum occupantis, rogat nos, ut eum commendemus majestati tuae. Cupit enim, ut jubeas tuis ministris ducibusque, qui illis in locis sunt, ut eum armis juvent restituantque. Quia vero neque hominis ipsius, neque ejus meritorum, neque causae et postulationis equitas, neque ipsius incepti in bello cum ejus hoste suscipiendo facultatis et commoditatis notitiam ullam habemus, nihil aliud volumus hoc tempore, nisi rem ipsam majestati tuae proponere, teque rogare, ut hujus homini supplicationi satisfacias, quoad rei ipsius equitatem et tuarum rerum in illis regionibus rationem postulare intelliges: erit id nobis gratissimum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die ii julii MDLXXVIII, pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

evils, and you would thus be going back to the most abject servitude of Satan, from which the highest goodness and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ have delivered you. We do not cease to pray for you nor shall we ever weary of recommending your affairs to the king, interposing therein all the weight of our authority.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman, this first day of July, 1578, the seventh of our Pontificate.

Gregory XIII, Pope.

To Our dearly beloved Son in Christ, Sebastian, the illustrious King of Portugal and the Algarves.²²

Dearly beloved Son in Christ,
Health and Apostolic Benediction.

We have received a letter from the King of Zailai, for such he calls himself therein, the contents of which Your Majesty will learn from our collector.²³ The substance of it is this: He proclaims his constancy in the practice and profession of the Christian faith to which he has been lately converted. He says he is reduced to great straits owing to the wickedness of one of his relatives who has seized his kingdom, and asks Us to recommend him to your Majesty, for he desires that you order your Ministers and Generals who are in those parts to help him with their arms and restore him (to his throne).

But as We have no information whatever about the man and his merits, nor of his rights or the justice of his demand, nor even whether it is possible or opportune for him to undertake to wage war on his enemy, We desire nothing else at present except to place the matter before your Majesty, and to ask you to comply with his demand, as far as the justice of the case and your interests in those regions seem to you to require: and that will be most agreeable to us.

Given at Rome, from Saint Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman, this second day of July, 1578, the seventh of Our Pontificate.

22. El-Gharb, the west (Province), whence Trafalgar (*Traf el-gharb*, Edge of the West.)

23. Sometimes a 'Collector' did the work of a Nuncio.

THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

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

(Concluded from Vol. V, Part IV, page 201.)

XI. JESUIT LETTERS : 1644—1659.

1644.

[Andre Lopez :]

The College of Colombo in the Island of Ceylon.

THIS College is in charge of 11 Residences in the island, and sometimes more : some along the sea shore, and others in the inland country. The latter give much work to the Fathers, both on account of the distance, and also of the dangers from the elephants, tigers and bears, and also because they are adjoining the territory of the enemy, the Kingdom of Kandy. We must add also that the Cingalese—even Christians—are treacherous, inconstant, and ordinarily do not show very high esteem for our holy faith, although a few years ago seven of them gave their life rather than give up their faith²⁸⁶

Residence of Moroto. Three leagues south of Colombo, along the sea shore, is the Residence of Moroto. Patron—St. Michael : 200 Christians, 50 children attend the Christian doctrine.

Residence of Vergampati. Two leagues and a half east of Colombo is the Residence of Vergampati. Patron—St. Francis Xavier ; 800 Christians, 70 children.

Residence of Urgampala. Five leagues from Colombo, to the east into the interior, is the Residence of Urgampala. Patron—Our Lady ; 1,000 Christians more or less in a space of three leagues ; 100 children.

Residence of Matiagama. Five leagues from Urgampala to the east is the Residence of Matiagama, in the interior. It is the capital of the seven Corlas. Patron—The Assumption of Our Lady ; 2,000 Christians, 100 children. It extends over an area of 20 leagues, as far as the frontiers of Kandy ; and although it has only two churches actually annexed, there is room for 30, and if peace is restored Our Lord will allow the conversions to go apace in this Corla.

Residence of Caymel. From Matiagama following the beach towards the north, we meet the Residence of Caymel. Patron—The Holy Magi. More than 1,000 Christians ; 150 children. This Residence is six leagues from Colombo, and extends over a league. Annexed to it is the church of Tiavila Patron—Our Lady. 400 Christians, 40 children.

The Residence of Madampe. This Residence of Madampe is about 4 leagues from Caymel to the north Patron—The Assumption of Our Lady. More than 1,000 Christians, children 120. It extends over 4 leagues. Annexed to it are two churches ; viz., Máraivila, 3 leagues from Caymel ; Patron—St. Francis Xavier. It is a place where the Saint works many miracles. 600 Christians, 50 children. It covers an area of 2 leagues. The other church is Cataneri ; Patron—St. Ambrose ; Christians 200, children 30. One league and a half in area.

The Residence of Chilao. From Madampe to the north, along the sea shore, is the Residence of Chilao ; Patron—St. Peter ; upwards of 1,000 Christians, 300 children ; in the school 50 ; half a league in area. Annexed to it is the church of Anavilundana ; Patron—Our Lady. 300 Christians, 40 children. It covers an area of 2 leagues and is 2 leagues distant from Chilao.

286. The passage omitted was quoted in *Ceylon Antiquary*, II. p. 5 : (see note p. 4 *ib.*)

Residence of Munceram. The Residence of Munceram is near Chilao in the inland ; Patron—St. John the Baptist ; 500 Christians when the country is quiet ; 100 children ; annexed to it are three churches, viz., Coculuve : Patron—The Holy Cross, 100 Christians, 12 children ; Valacheno : Patron—Holy Cross, 200 Christians, 40 children ; and Chetur ; Patron—Holy Cross, 150 Christians, 20 children. These churches are within an area of 6 leagues.

Island of Calpeti. From Chilao towards the north, along the sea shore, is the island of Calpeti, with two Residences and two Fathers in charge of them. The first, Arezari : Patron—The Assumption of Our Lady, 400 Christians, 40 children, 17 going to school. Annexed to it is the church of Tataya ; Patron—SS. Peter and Paul, 450 Christians, 60 children.

Residence of Etaly. Two leagues to the south of Tataya is the Residence of Etaly ; Patron—St. Francis Xavier ; 100 Christians, 30 children. Annexed to this Residence are the following churches :—Nolequilm : Patron—Holy Cross ; 33 Christians, 5 children ; Navelcaru : Patron—Assumption of Our Lady ; 100 Christians, 20 children ; Maripo : four leagues from Navelcaru : Patron—Holy Cross ; 50 Christians, 6 children. Nearer to Etaly there are a few Christians in several villages, viz., Telle, 30 ; Palicure, 40 ; Curecure 18, with 5 children. Near Navelcaru, at Tetapuli, 28. At Puldaevael, 50 Christians, 10 children, 4 going to school. To this Residence belongs the church of the Presentation, which is on the mainland in front of Calpeti, Patron—St. Francis Xavier, 400 Christians, 50 children. This Residence extends over 8 leagues and includes 16 *aldeas*. The Father of this Residence is constantly going from church to church, and in great danger, on account of the many elephants, tigers and bears, and of the hostile Cingalese who roam through these woods.

Total. Christians belonging to the College of Colombo, 11,149.
Children attending catechism, 1,420. ²⁸⁷

1648.

[Balthasar da Costa]: 28 NOVEMBER, 1648.]

The Island of Ceilao and the College of Colombo.

It is impossible to relate without great grief the miserable state of this island and its missions, so flourishing both in spiritual and in temporal matters only a few years ago. Many quires of paper would be needed if one wished to relate its pitiful tragedies, but time does not permit me to do it, and copious descriptions of it are not wanting from other sources.

At present the Society has in this island the College of Colombo and in it 11 subjects, one of whom is Rector, one procurator, one preacher, one master of Latin, another teaches in the school, besides two Lay Brothers. In the College they perform the ministry of the Society with great care, not only in the city but also in the camp which His Majesty has in this *Conquista*. Subject to the College are many Residences and in them numerous Christians. Four of these Residences are in the country now occupied by the Hollanders. The Christians are partly dispersed owing to the violence of the King of Candea, who is in the interior of the island, and partly owing to the ill-treatment of the Hollanders. The churches are all destroyed. There remain six Residences in which are 3,020 persons fit for confession, and more than 300 children. Five or six Fathers are in charge of these churches. They have not a little trouble, as the Christians are very much scattered.

Besides the usual confessions and communions we had some adult baptisms. Of these I will mention only a few cases. In a Residence called Morotto, the church of which is dedicated to the Archangel St. Michael, it happened that an old woman of about 80 years old, going from one village to another with a pot of milk on her head, came across an elephant which, taking her with its trunk, gave her such a toss that she fell on the spot and broke both her legs. Luckily for her, the elephant was occupied with the milk, and people hearing her clamours ran to her assistance and drove the elephant away. When they took her to her house and tried to dress her wounds, she asked them to call the Father to make her a Christian, for it was the God of the Christians of whom she thought in her peril and who delivered her from death. The Father came, and not only she but her daughter and grandson were all baptised, and now live as good Christians.

The chief man of a certain town called Lauoa dreamt that he was taken to a place which seemed to him to be no other than hell itself. The poor man called out to his false gods to deliver him from the horrid place, but not receiving any help from them he bethought himself

287. Short account of the Missions. Translated by Very Rev. L. Besse, S.J., *Catalogus Madurensis*, 1807, pp. 24-26

of our religion, and remembering that the Christians deliver themselves from such dangers by making the sign of the cross, he made the sign of the cross in his fright as he had seen how the Christians do it. Thereupon he was immediately delivered. On awaking he came a journey two leagues to find the Father, and after being duly catechised received holy baptism.

In another village called Mádampe, when the Father was conversing with some Portuguese, they saw a big heron (*garca*) which settled on a tree. The Portuguese in their curiosity approached it to observe it from close quarters, whereupon another of the same size appeared, and both retired into the forest going from tree to tree, thus arousing the curiosity of those present. They followed into the wood and came upon a hut in which was an aged woman. In the course of conversation they learnt that she was 120 years old, for she remembered the time when there were no Portuguese in the island. The Father asked whether she was a Christian. When she replied that she was not, the Father asked whether she wished to be one. To which she replied that she was awaiting death. The Father catechised and baptised her, and not long after she died, leaving all in admiration of the means which the Divine Goodness made use of to save those who are predestined.

Another case no less worthy of Divine praise is related by another Father about a Christian woman. She was suffering from so acute and malignant a fever that in a short time she was unable to speak and lost the use of the other senses as well. The Father, hearing of the state of the invalid, visited her to see whether anything could be done. And, strange to say, when the Father approached she spoke clearly and was able to make her confession and received Extreme Unction before she died.

Another Christian had a sick child, whom, in spite of the illness which did not seem dangerous, they did not wish to be baptised till the eighth day. The Father knowing this, and moved by an inner impulse, baptised it in spite of the repugnance of the relatives, who wished it to be done with all solemnity. It was quite fortunate that the Father did so, for the child only survived for two hours.

There was in the town of Colombo, and attached to our College, an Ermida of St. Francis Xavier, much frequented by the Portuguese, Paravars and other Christians. This Ermida was closed to avoid trouble with the Prelates, and the statue of the Saint was removed to one of the altars of the church, where the devotion of the people continues as before. It is credited with many miracles as may be seen from the offerings with which the altar is always full, viz., feet, hands, eyes, in memory of benefits conferred by the Saint to those who commended themselves to him. Here is an instance :

A woman who was given up by the doctors made ready for death, and came to the church saying that she wished to die at the foot of the altar of the Saint. But she found life where she came for death, for she recovered suddenly and was completely cured in a few days. Some other Christians came on a pilgrimage to this statue of St. Francis, from a distance of three days' journey. They travelled by river in a boat, but as there was heavy rain on the way, they suffered heavily as there was no fire in the boat. Then they recommended themselves to the Saint. Nor was it in vain, for they at once came upon a firebrand which they did not know to be in the boat. Another man, who was given up by the doctors and had prepared himself for death by a confession, again sent for the Father saying that he felt in his heart, that if he made his confession again he would be cured at once. And so indeed it happened, for while he was making his confession the fever left him and he was completely cured.

At Urgampola, which is an agricultural village, the elephants did great damage to the fields and killed many people. When the Christians complained of this to the Father he recommended them to take a few ears of paddy and offer them on the altar, which they did ; and, strange to say, no elephant ever again came to that place which was formerly infested with them.²⁸⁸

1654.

[Joannes Caldeira : 15 DECEMBER, 1654.]

The College of Colombo.

At present this College is hard pressed owing to the many and pressing needs of the war, and the number of Ours is reduced to six only. These, in spite of their great labours, can hardly cope with the work. The esteem which the citizens have for the Fathers and the long

288. *An Lit. Prov. Malabar*, fol. 540-540a.

standing appreciation of their worth, afforded them scope for more activity than their strength could bear, in spiritual matters, and no less in secular affairs which seem to derive success from the very sanctity of the Society. They greatly esteem Ours because they have experienced the usefulness of their labours. And for good reason; for past services are a pledge of future ones, and whosoever spontaneously begins to help others is, as it were, in duty bound to continue as he had begun. Wherefore the Fathers devote themselves to the best of their ability to the true works of the Society, to the great satisfaction of all and to the credit of the Society.

The charity of the Fathers in procuring the welfare of the soldiers is especially worthy of mention. As the funds necessary for the relief of the needy were wanting, alms were collected in the streets of the town.

Thirty Hollanders (*Batavi*) were also reconciled to the faith. Of these many departed this life in the hospital, fortified by the sacraments and giving signs of extraordinary piety and predestination; while others persevere in the faith and render services to the Portuguese by fighting against the heretics themselves.

This year there died Brother Antonio'Joannes, former Coadjutor, ripe in years spent in the practice of eminent virtues. Like an innocent dove he took his flight to heaven, having received the Heavenly Food on the day before his death in the church, and leaving to Ours and outsiders alike a noble example of virtue, the highest reputation, and renown above the ordinary.

In the recent mutiny of the soldiers the Society had full scope for work. For some reason or other, both soldiers and townsmen were burning with deadly hatred of the General, and the unhappy town was threatened with dire calamities, being menaced with destruction both from without and within. Seven ships of the Batavians were menacing the town by sea cutting off supplies, and by land they were hovering not far from our defences. The open enemy was less to be feared, for the defenders themselves, to whom one could naturally look for help, threatened the town with horrible disaster. In the camp discordant cries were heard on all sides and the divided city foreboded calamity. Already, the women were running about with disshevelled hair, lamenting the imminent ruin.

It was then that our Fathers, prevailed upon by the entreaties of the townfolk, and anxious for the common weal, came forward, crucifix in hand, to quell the disturbance. The Franciscan Friars also came to the rescue, carrying the same weapon. Wonderful to say, the hatred which was gathering thick in the hearts of all was speedily softened at the sight of that Sign, more wonderful than the sign of Moses. Their hard hearts melted at the sight of their crucified Lord, and the hideous omens of death which well nigh filled the town gave place to life again.

Yet peace was not completely restored at the sight of Jesus dying in streams of blood. Its completion must be attributed, and very appropriately, to the most holy Bread. The Rector of the College came forth carrying the Blessed Sacrament in full view. This memorial of Our Lord's love, the pledge of His eternal friendship with men, changed the vision of death and the madness of hatred into the triumph of universal friendship. Both soldiers and citizens bound themselves by oath not to harm any one at all, least of all the General, on whose head the sad plot was to wreak itself.

It was the common verdict that it was to the Society that the town owed its salvation and the General his life. There were rejoicings at the Fathers' triumph and the common liberation. The bells sent forth their joyous peal, and what is a surer sign of joy, the people unanimously congratulated one another. What is regarded as a very great commendation of the victory is that it was achieved by our Fathers without slaughter or bloodshed.

When peace was restored in this manner, three rulers were chosen to conduct the affairs of the Government until the Viceroy of Goa sent his orders. The Rector of the College was elected to go in the name of the town to inform him of the matter; but for very good reasons he prudently declined the delicate mission. When, however, the people began to urge particular reasons he gave place to the common good. The Father embarked in a transport ship ready to face the dangers of the sea, and of the enemy who were not far off, for the service of God and the King and his country. As a matter of fact he did not escape the enemy, for when the sailors thought they had successfully escaped the Batavian ships, one of them came in view. It was a vessel built for speed, and soon seized the slow and heavy-laden Portuguese ship. The Rector was taken prisoner along with the rest of the crew, and rumour hath it—and rumour is always reliable when there is question of a calamity—that he died. Happy captivity which libery envies! Happy death longer than a long life!

If in this sudden mutiny the Society showed its influence over warlike natures, it showed it not less by starting for the soldiers a Confraternity dedicated to the Apostle of the East. Here piety triumphs over military passion, which is of all the least prone to piety. The whole town is in admiration to see the highest military chiefs setting the example to the soldiers by enrolling themselves in this sacred militia. On the solemn feasts of the year, they purify their souls from sin. A weekly votive Mass is said in honour of their patron, and some members are appointed to attend with lighted candles in their hands. This pious exercise they perform also on the feast days of the College in order to prove that they are our Lord's soldiers.

They wear a white uniform with a purple head-gear to show that they unite piety with a warlike spirit. They assist at Mass with swords at their sides, to show that virtue is compatible with the use of the sword, and to profess at the same time their readiness to defend their faith as well as their king. They take part in the Lenten processions wearing the badge of their Confraternity, nor do the highest officials think it unbecoming to carry the Cross and the torches in these processions. What is most marvellous of all is that the principal work of this Confraternity is to give decent burial to their fallen fellow soldiers, thus inverting the soldiers' trade, which is to kill rather than to bury. Here, indeed, one may see for the first time a pious soldiery and devout soldiers.

I should now speak of the Residences attached to the College, but out of the eight we had before, five had to be given up on account of the war, and even in the remaining three the work is so far not free from danger to the Fathers, and fear has driven the inhabitants away. But we hope that the Providence of God will as usual remedy this unhappy state of affairs, and relieve the numberless souls longing for spiritual pasture in the wilderness.

Vergampeti is assured of the protection of St. Francis Xavier. In grateful memory of that Saint we shall add to this account of the College, a few particulars regarding the Residence of Vergampeti. It is well known for the miracles of St. Francis, but either owing to the negligence of eye-witnesses, or because of their very prevalence, they are buried in oblivion. The multitudes of even the pagans who flock thither bear witness to the favours granted through the Apostle of the East. In order to bring discredit on this devotion of the people the enemy of mankind invented the following fraud. As he knows full well that women are his best weapon in his warfare against the world, he induced a woman first to secure the good opinion of the people by a show of holiness. Soon, by means of sham miracles and pretended celestial apparitions of Xavier and the Blessed Virgin, she so disturbed the minds of the unwary people that they were soon divided in their opinion. Some saw a proof of the miracles in her virtue, others suspected the snares of the devil in the woman's virtue and miracles. The matter soon became a grave scandal, which would have gone on increasing more and more had not the woman been found out and sent away, thanks to an unexpected visit and prudent inquiries of the Rector.

I must not pass over in silence our brethren who are prisoners in Candia. Their conduct and well-known virtues have won for them the respect and esteem of the pagan king himself. They are even considered to be of great use to the town of Colombo, in as much as at their request the king often desists from making armed incursions and from intercepting the supplies of the town. A youth of Jafanapatam, who is in the service of the Fathers, gave a noble example of the teaching and formation he received from the Fathers. With blandishments and promises the king himself tried to induce him to abandon his beads, but he remained firm, boldly asserting that they were the marks of his religion and that he would neither part with them as long as he lived. Further, when the tyrant pressed him to come and serve him in the royal palace, the youth spurned the favour, saying that he would never of his own accord abandon the Fathers, with whom he preferred to die rather than live in safety in the midst of the pleasures of the Court. The King himself admired the young man's loyalty, (*apud hostes scilicet, parit etiam admirationem constantia, practio habetur virtus.*)

EX INDIA ORIENTALI.²⁸⁹

[GOA, 8 MAY, 1658, To the Very Rev. Father General.]

The business which I once proposed to your Reverence can not in my opinion be carried out, for the Hollanders (with whom we fought often at sea this year within sight of our forts, with equal forces, it is true, but with unequal success, since ours were unsuccessful), after taking the

289. These are extracts and summaries of letters, made by a Secretary.

island of Ceilan, captured Manar and Jafanapatam. Moreover, with the consent of the Naique or Kinglet of Madure, they also captured Tutucurin, and consequently the whole of the Fishery Coast, driving out Ours. We are told that they will without doubt come next autumn with a large fleet, as we have been warned, to attack the chief fort of Murmugonam, and in all probability they will succeed in taking it without great difficulty. When that is taken neither this town nor the rest of this *Conquista* can be long defended, especially, as seems likely from many indications, if the Moorish King Jelalcanus, who is an ally of these heretics, will wage war on us by land or intercept the supplies without which we can not hold out.

It is my misfortune to have to live in India at a time when it is almost at its last gasp. When I thought I should be able to do something for the service of God and the Society, I see my plans melting away like the business of a bankrupt (*instar negotiationis decoctorum cedentium foro*). But may God be ever blessed.

[22nd January, 1659. Father **Francis Baretto** to the Rev. Father General.]

After a lengthy narration of the misfortunes of the Province and the losses inflicted by the Hollanders by the capture of the Fishery Coast, Manar, Negapatam and the Kingdom of Jafanapatam—where there were more than 100,000 Christians, and twelve priests of the Society, who were all forthwith expelled and heretical preachers posted in their places, he adds: They say the Hollanders are going to attack Cochin and afterwards Goa, thus to conquer the whole of India to the destruction of the Missions and the overthrow of the Portuguese, and to get possession of all that the King of Portugal had in India. They have indeed seized the best opportunity for it, since, owing to the war between the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, no assistance can be sent from Portugal to enable them to resist the fury of the Hollanders.

Thus our Province and its missions are wholly destroyed and extinct. God grant that Goa at least may be spared for us as a refuge for our Fathers and Brothers, for they can not be maintained in the College of Cochin which is poor and in debt. Such, Very Reverend Father, is the plight of these parts. I, therefore, beg Your Reverence for permission to pass over to the Province of Japan, as this Province has now no mission in which I can labour. I have for a long time cherished the desire of ending my days with our illustrious brothers, sharing the chains and torments of Japan.

[18th June, 1659. Father **Giraldi Rocha** to Father **Barreto**.]

Confirms what has been said of the defeats inflicted by the Hollanders, and their occupation and destruction of nine Colleges. Although he wrote two letters this year on two different occasions, in none of them does he ask recruits from Europe.

6th October, 1659.

I am here *ad sarcinas*, and if God does not stretch His hand to save these Missions I shall have to die of doing nothing. But such is the will of God, which is my only consolation. I say, and I have heard it often from others, that if we in Europe knew what is being done here, and the Procurators had told us the truth, very few indeed, I fancy, would come here. For truly in Europe all things are better done than here, excepting the laborious missions of many fervent labourers in different parts; and in this region only one. (?)

[28th Nov., 1658. Father Francis **Baretto**.]

28th Nov., 1658 (and 10th April, 1659.)

Our Society has practically lost the whole of this Province. The Colleges of Colombo, Jafanapatam and Negapatam, with all the Residences in which innumerable Christians were looked after, are all captured. We have also lost the mission and the whole of the Fishery. Such is the plight of Christianity in the East and such the fate of the Province of Malabar. I am afraid all the missions of the East will be ruined completely.

Of our Province there only remain the Colleges of S. Thoma and Cochin with the neighbouring Colleges of Coulan and Cranganore, which are not safe either. They fear manifest and speedy danger. Meanwhile the trouble and expense of sending subjects to this Province must be avoided.

The same thing is repeated in a letter of the 10th April.

The End.

ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

DIARY OF THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON.

(*Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon.*)

WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

[**F**OREWORD : Mr. E. R. Ayrton, late Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, started from Anurádhapura on the 16th February, 1914, on a tour in the Southern Province from which, however, he was destined never to return. He died, by drowning, in the Tissa-veva, near Hambantota, on the 17th May, 1914, exactly three months after his tour began.

What he did during those three months, however, is not lost to us, for he kept a full and careful record of his activities in a *Diary* which, quite apart from the pathetic interest attached to it as being his last written work, is valuable alike for his lucid and graphic description of the places and institutions which he visited as for the scholarly notes and observations, drawn from the stores of his learning, which he found occasion to write down in connection with each. The last entry in the *Diary* is dated "16-5-14," the day previous to the sad accident which terminated a promising career and deprived Ceylon of a scholar whose place in the Archaeological Survey Department has not yet been filled.

The *Diary*, with its illustrations, drawings etc., runs into 83 closely written pages of foolscap. The present instalment covers only 15 pages of the original. The remainder will appear regularly, in successive issues of the *Ceylon Antiquary*. The publication of the *Diary* in this manner has been rendered possible through the good offices of the late Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, Sir Reginald E. Stubbs, K.C.M.G., (now Governor of Hongkong) and of Mr. John Scott, C.C.S., till lately Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary.

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

THE DIARY.

16-2-14. Left Anuradhapura by early morning train 7-20 a.m. with Mr. Fernando, Mr. Steven, Johnson Overseer, 6 coolies and 3 servants. Arrived Colombo 2 p.m. Went to G. O. H. instructing Mr. F. and S. to call at G.O.H. at 8 a.m. following morning. Shopping. Told Cook's to despatch tents at once to Alutgama.

17-2-14—Mr. F. turned up at 8 a.m. but Mr. S. did not come till after 9 a.m. and then did not bring the camera. Ordered 15 dozen $\frac{1}{2}$ plates and 5 dozen full (Empress) to be sent to G. O. H. Mr. S. to see about camera and to join Mr. F. next day and go to Alutgama by 3-20 train.

18-2-14. Caught 3-20 to Alutgama. Mr. F. also came by same train, but Mr. S. arrived 2 minutes before train started and said that he had not labelled the camera or anything and would come by later train.

Arrived Alutgama and picked up stores but no tents.

Telegram from Mr. Steven saying that he was sick and could not come (8 p.m.). Camera came by messenger at 9-30 p.m. and letter and medical certificate.

Wrote to Mudaliyar and President of Village Tribunals to call (T1 and T2) but both away till Monday.

19-2-14.—Telegraphed to Mr. S. to ask definitely when he would come. Wire from Mr. S. to say coming today. Arrived by afternoon train.

GALAPÁTA VIHÁRE.

20-2-14.—Went out to *Galapáta Viháre* with Mr. F. and Mr. S.

Mr. F. took 2 squeezes of the rock *sannas* of Parákrama Báhu III.

Mr. S. photoed the *sannas*, the upper rock steps, the old stone gateway, old moonstone, *dágaba*, group of priests and *pansala*.

Mr. F. made sketch plan of premises.

Had long talk with the Head Priest and heard the history of the place.

Viháre of the Malwatte priesthood, about 3 miles from Bentota.

There are two *pilima-gés* each with its own *pansala*, each under the charge of a monk.

The name of the High Priest is the *Very Reverend Ananda Dharmadarsa Sri Saranankara*, Principal Priest of Sailantayatana Oriental College, Galapátaucharaya, Bentota. There is a *dágaba* attached to the group. The High Priest has been a priest here for 36 years and High Priest for 16 years.

Tradition.—The High Priest said that there is a poem (*Kávyá*) called the *Dharmawattaja Játaka* which gives a short description of this Viháre. No copy of this book (nor any other ancient manuscript) exists at the Viháre now. From this poem it appears that the Tooth-relic of the Venerable Mahákassapa Thera had reached Ceylon from India and was in Anurádhapura. A certain Arahat at Anurádhapura obtained possession of the Tooth and brought it to this spot and concealed it. (Popular tradition points out a large slab of granite, the top perhaps of a flower-altar, as being the vehicle on which the Saint flew from Anurádhapura to Galapáta). King Duttagámini, hearing of this Tooth, sent Saddhátissa to erect a *dágaba* for it. This is said to be the present *dágaba* (which has more lately been enlarged by the priests). The priest said that Parákrama Báhu I had sent offerings, and that Kirti Nissanka Malla had done the same and granted a coconut garden reaching from Bentota to the Kalu-ganga to the Viháre. Also Parákrama Báhu II sent offerings.

Here the *Mahávansa* helps us (*Wijesinghe. Trans. LXXXV*, 82-84), for it says of Parákrama Báhu II. (A. D.1240-1275): "And when he heard that there was but one relic of the Tooth left of that son of Buddha, the elder Mahákassapa, and that, in times past, had reached Tambapanni in due course, and was yet preserved in Bhímatittha Vihára in the district of Pañcayojana, this King conceived a strong love and regard unto the Elder who had the charge thereof, and proceeded to that great Vihára with his four-fold army. And it rejoiced him to see the noble relic that was there, insomuch that he reverently kept up a feast of relics for three days with sweet-smelling flowers of divers kinds in great plenty, and lamps, incense, and food in great abundance."

(*LXXXVI*. 4.16-17). Later he sent his general Dévapatirája and commanded him to restore certain buildings in the Island. "And at the Bhímatittha vihára, where the King Nissanka planted an orchard, do thou likewise, in my name, lay out a large garden full of coconut and other fruitful trees."

(LXXAVI. 40): "And this great minister proceeded to the port of Bhimatittha. And there he built a bridge, 86 cubits' span, at the mouth of the Kálanadí river (*Kalu-ganga*); one of about 100 *yaṭṭhis*' span at the village Kadalíséna (*Kehelsen. Kehel-senáva* ?); one of 40 *yaṭṭhis*' span over the Sálaggáma river (*Salgam-ganga*), and one of 50 cubits' span over the Sálapádapa (*Salruk*) river. Thus did he build these and other bridges at divers places where it was difficult to cross over; and likewise also he made numerous gardens and halls for preaching and the like, and did even give away much alms and hold feasts (in connection therewith). Afterwards this great Minister of the King formed a large coconut garden, full of fruit and fine shade, and gave it the famous name of Parákkama Báhu; and it extended from the Bhimatittha vihára unto the ford of the Kálanadi, a space of one *yोजना* in width. And as he was an exceeding liberal man he held a great feast."

Beyond these references there seems to be no more about this Viháre in the *Mahávansa*.

The *Pújávaliya*, however, which was composed at the request of Déva Pratrírāja himself, naturally gives us more data for the reign of Pandita Parákkama Báhu II (1309 A. D.) (B. Guna-sékara. *Pújávaliya* extract, p. 40).

"Furthermore, having heard that the 'tooth-relic' of the great Sthavira Mahá Kásyapa, follower of the Buddha, would in due course rest in Lanká, and that it was then lying in the tooth-relic house at Bentota, he was much pleased with it; went to Bentota in great state with his fourfold army; saw it there; was elated with joy; caused strips of tender coconut leaves to be placed round the district; made offerings of rice, flowers, and scents for three nights and days; and accumulated merit by great lamp offerings."

He, on his return, gave an order to his minister named Déva Pratrírāja: "Moreover, plant at Bentota a garden in my name too, as King Nissanka planted one there in his name." The minister reached Bentota, "constructed a large bridge of 86 cubits at Kalahómuvadora; a large bridge of 500 cubits at Kehelsénáva; a large bridge of 200 cubits at Salgamu-hoya; a bridge of 150 cubits at Salgas-hoya. In these inaccessible places he caused many wooden bridges to be made caused to be planted a tope of coconut trees, Parákkama Báhu by name, thickly planted at a distance of one *yoduna* from Kalutota to Bentota"

Description: The viháre is built on a high platform built up round a rocky knoll with high rude stone retaining walls. It has been added to recently on the East by the present High Priest who is engaged in adding rooms on that side of his *pilíma-gé*. Before the ascent stand the remains of a square porch originally roofed on four rough stone pillars and probably forming a regular *mura-gé*; this stood on a raised stone-faced platform and was ascended by a short flight of rough steps and plain rough moonstone. Beyond this a long flight of stone steps, provided with a similar moonstone, leads up on to the first platform.

On the right or north side of this, on a ridge of rock, is cut a long inscription of Parákkama Báhu II, in tolerable condition considering the rain-drops from the trees alone to which it has been subjected. I understand from the High-Priest that care is taken to prevent people from walking over it. On the east side a hollow allows water to drain over the end of the inscription and is slowly obliterating the bottom lines. The inscription was evidently found to be longer than the space prepared for it, and overlaps the prepared raised surface on this side.

Steps of rough stone lead up on the west side of the first terrace to a large *pansala*; and on the south old rock-cut steps, probably marking the original steps to the viháre, lead on to the upper terrace. By these steps is a small rock-cut *pokuna* with rock-cut steps leading to it.

On the upper terrace stand the buildings. Immediately in front is a large *pilíma-gé*, said by the priest to have been built at about 1750 A. D. It has been built on the site of an older building and overlaps the site marked out by the two stone pillars at each corner. These pillars are at an angle and each bears a rude flower-vase (?) on top. The larger one is nearer the building.

The base of the building outside is decorated with a stucco frieze of elephants strolling round the building, whilst the front is decorated with stucco relief over the doorway of two stags on each side of a tree culminating in two lions on each side of a Kailasa.

The interior is divided into two parts by a partition wall pierced with two entrances over which are *Makara toranas* and gods in raised stucco relief. Four wooden pillars support the roof. The whole room is painted with scenes, and along the east wall are tall standing Buddhas in brick and stucco. Two bronze images, one certainly ancient, and an old bronze ewer stand in this room.

In the further room against the south wall, with head to the east, lies an immense Buddha made of brick and stucco. Against the east wall are a seated and a standing Buddha, whilst in the north-west corner is a standing statue of the god Vishnu.

The doorway within the porch is of painted wood and shows a creeper issuing from a part-bird part-female figure¹ in the curves of which are tumblers and dancers. This design seems to have been copied from the old stone gateway lying near.

The *pansala* of this *pilima-gé* is that abutting on the first terrace, and by the courtesy of the priest in charge I was able to photograph the bronzes belonging to it,

To the east of the *pilima-gé* is a square single-room building, erected about 10 years ago, which is used as a sleeping place for the priests. It is built on an old site, the demarcating pillars two at each corner and two at the centre of each side still remain, and the old doorway is still *in situ* before the wooden door.

To the south of this is a long building on a raised platform reached by steps with an ancient moonstone^o at the bottom. This moonstone is of a late type and is more than a semi-circle in size; it is probably, with the balustrades which stand before the bell-pillars to the north, to be assigned to the early 14th century A.D.

In this building against the east wall is a recumbent figure of the Buddha in stucco and brick, against the south wall a seated and a standing figure. At the head of the long figure is a small *dágaba* and Vishnu, standing, occupies the north-west corner. The interior is brightly painted and another entrance leads out to the north, where a large bluish-coloured *dágaba* stands.

This is the *dágaba* said to have been erected over the tooth-relic of Mahá Kásyapa Thera. Opposite the building is the *pansala* of the chief priest.

The *dágaba* stands on a built platform which projects out to the north. The parapet is crowned with upright round columns of a great height.

Between this and the last mentioned *pilima-gé* lie the frames of two wooden stone doorways, a wooden moonstone, two old balustrades decorated with a floral pattern down the front and an ancient doorframe complete with its threshold. This last is a very fine piece of work. It is cut in hard granite yet often the figures are entirely undercut. Up the sides and along the top runs floral scroll-work which rises from the heads of two female figures, with bird's feet and tails but a woman's body from the thighs up.¹ In the circles formed by the scrolls are carved weird human figures, dancers, tumblers and musicians of both sexes. Although this

1. This is what is known locally as the *Lata Kinnara*. J. M. S.

is said to date from the time of Duttagāmini, yet from the resemblance of the work to that at Yāpahuwa (founded at the end of the 13th century), it is most probable that it belongs to the Vihāre which we may assume was built by Parākrama Báhu II in the middle of the 13th century.

The front of the threshold is decorated with a lion's head from which floral scrolls run in both directions. On top are slots for the door-jambes and holes for the door pivots. The High Priest declares his intention of setting this old doorway up for a new building; this, if carefully done, will certainly be far preferable to its present fate where rain falls on it and it is perhaps walked over, whilst dirt from the roof alone falls also on it. One of its figures has anciently been broken and replaced with mortar.

Advised Work.—A slight ridge of cement to carry off the water from the Parākrama Báhu II sannas.

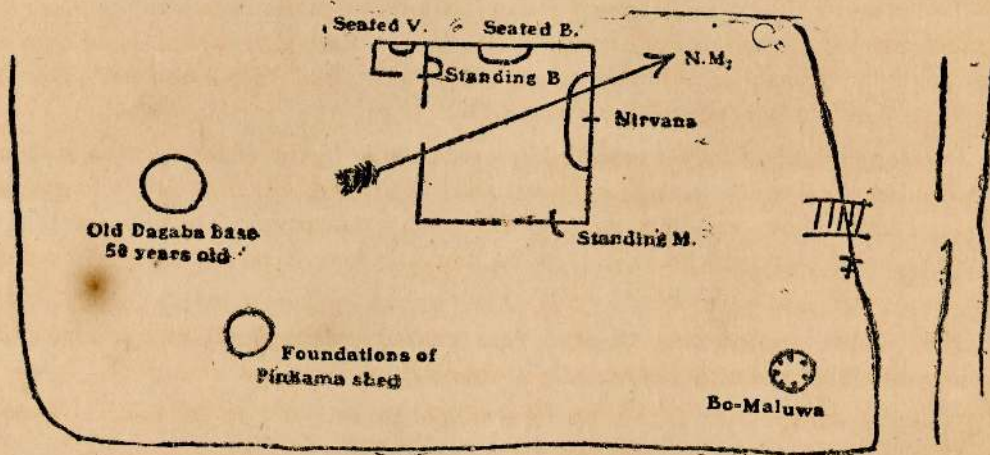
[Muller. A. I. C. No. 165. Inscription "account of the repairs which King Parākrama Báhu of Dambadeniya executed at this temple, having heard that the *dāgaba* attached to it contained a relic of Mahā Kassapa the first hierarch of Buddhism."]

21.2.14.—Went out with Mr. F. and S. at 8 a.m. by bandy to

GANE VIHÁRA (Dope Village).

The old name is *Ben Vihāre*, at Dope, about 1½ miles south of Bentota.

On a raised platform of *kabuk* approached by a wooden flight of steps from the road is a wooden image-house, an old door threshold with socket holes before its entrance, it was built six years ago, still being painted. The shrine is a large seated statue of Buddha of stucco, a recumbent one, a standing one and a standing image of Maitreya. In a smaller room attached on the east is a seated figure of Vishnu.



The old *dāgaba* base is of crude stone, only 2 feet high and only 50 years old according to the priest.

The *Bó-maluwa* is octagonal with (only one remains) pillars on the corners and lamp triangles let into the sides.

The old *Bó*-tree died 20 years ago, according to (an) old villager, and a large *Pallol* tree now grows here sheltering a small *Bó-gaha* which is springing up on the platform. Platform recently done up and decayed again. The old Vihāre is said to have been founded in Duttagāmini's time and to have been restored about 40 years ago by the Bentara villagers.

The High Priest is Atadassa Unnāse, and does not know anything about this Vihāre.

The modern vihāre of three buildings stands on the lower ground to the East.

Siamese priests, 2 shoulders covered.

Photoed the *Bó-maluwa*.

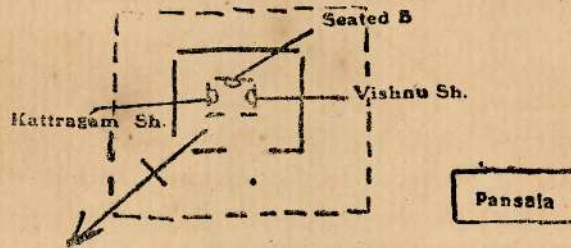
Advice—Nothing to be done here.

Went on to

BODHI-MALUWA VIHĀRE,

and village, on the south bank of the Bentota-ganga.

The Vihāre is entirely wooden and shows no sign of ancient buildings. In the shrine not yet finished are a seated Buddha, standing Vishnu and the Kattragam God.



New *Bó*-tree planted 50 years ago with quite new *maluwa*. Only a new bronze Buddha statuette and two small crude ivory standing Buddhas.

A priest from here restored Galapāta 100 years ago.

The High Priest, Sonuttara Unnāse, has been here for 39 years and is Siamese, covering the 2 shoulders. Malwatte.

Went to the

WANAWĀSA MAHA VIHĀRE,

now called *Pandita Ratna Pirivena*.

Series of three terraces decreasing in size, faced with rough stone or *cabuk*. On the two lower terraces are the modern *pansalas*. The second is built within four stone corner posts marking consecrated ground. On the very top, a natural *cabuk* hill, stands a *dāgaba* containing *sarira dhātu* of the Buddha. This *dāgaba* is supposed to have been erected by Bentara Attadassa, the High Priest here, who died 60 years ago and is buried in a small *sohona* by the *dāgaba*. Round the *dāgaba* are modern buildings in process of erection. The altar was built in B.V. 2445.² A hole dug by the priests struck an older gravel pit below; in it were found fragments of an old pottery pinnacle,

The present High Priest, Bentara Soma Ananda, is paralysed and the acting High Priest is P. Somālakāra of Kotté, and affiliated to the Malwatte priesthood. One shoulder covered, Siamese.

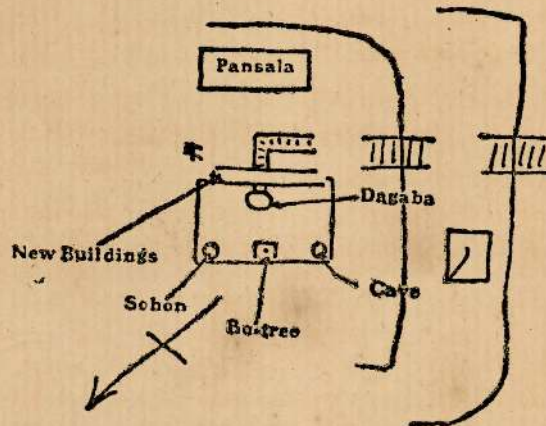
Pandita Parākrama Báhu founded the Vihāre and other later Kings added to it, also Dharma Parākrama Báhu of Kotté. The High Priesthood goes in succession to members of this school.

2. *Buddha-varusha* 2445=A. D. 1901-02. J. M. S.

It is difficult to suggest an age for any part of the place. At the foot of the lowest flight of steps is a moostone



with spiral in sub-relief.



Wanawása Viháre is mentioned in the *Tissara Sandesa*, which says that Buddha founded it for the wicked people of Bentota; also in the *Parevi Sandésa*³ and in the *Girá Sandésa* (v. 100) where people are told to worship there,

Childers is said to have studied here and there are several *Bana* books done up in cloth. Some old statuettes are kept in a cupboard, but the key was with the High Priest when I called, and so could not see them.

Visited from Bentota

Galapáta Viháre.	Hungantota.	1913 list. 1887 list,
Wanawása Viháre.	Yatramulla.	1913.—
Gané Viháre	Dope.	Not in lists.
Bódhimaluwa Viháre.	Bódhimaluwa.	Not in lists.
Ganégodá Viháre of 1887 list cannot be discovered.		

22.2.14.—Sunday. At Bentota. Motored out to Galapáta Viháre with the Griffiths and to Ambalangoda for lunch. Met Garne, dentist of Bristol Hotel.

23.2.14.—Sent off 3 boxes to Galle and left for Kosgoda 9.30 a.m. Arrived Kosgoda, saw Vidane Aracchi, left tents &c., at Station and went out to Uragasmanhandiya R. H. on road to Elpitiya. Possible motor road 4 m. from Station. Hear that the only remains are at Gangoda 8 m. off. There is said to have been an old *dágaba* of the time of Alakesvara at a place Atajiri some 24 m. off. This existed 20 years ago but is now paddy field and nothing remains. Quantities of brick were removed. Attended to Tappal

24.2.14.—Sent on Mr. F. and S. by bandy and followed on bicycle from 3½ to 10½ (7 miles) eastwards on a fairly good minor road, possible for motor (the Ellepitiya Road), then cut across paddy fields and over hills (just past 10th mile stone) to the northward on to the minor road from the Bentota ganga to the

3. Verse 69. J. M. S.

GANÉGODA VIHÁRE

situated on this road.

In the 1887 list (p. 30), Ganégoda Viháre is mentioned as having a Rock inscription. It was abandoned and there were rock inscriptions and Nágara characters and fragments of the old *dágaba*, which is said to have been built by Parákrama Báhu III.

From a villager I learnt that in 1871 his father found the place under jungle and broke into the ruined base of the *dágaba*, finding a small brick lined chamber (2 ft. square) from which he took 12 bronze and one bronze gilt images. Two of these were large and 1½ feet long. There had been a huge cobra in the jungle guarding the treasure and when the man removed them to his house the cobra went there with him. His family then left him. The man then brought the images back and a temporary *dágaba* was erected over them and the cobra took up its abode near by.

In the same year the High Priest Abhaya Tissa from Karandeniya erected the present *dágaba* and the *pansala*. (He was born at Omatta and died at Balapitiya in 1896 on 26th May at the ripe age of 77. An excellent, almost ½ life size, photo portrait of him is kept at the *pansala*). He was permanent High Priest of Karandeniya Pansala, 3 miles from Ambalangoda, and when he came he removed all the old pillars and reused them for the *dágaba* and buried the inscription in the *dágaba*.

The present incumbent here is Suvana Ananda of Maligakanda College, Colombo; of the Amarapura Burmese Society. Two shoulders. ⁴

There is only a modern *Pansala* at Karandeniya.

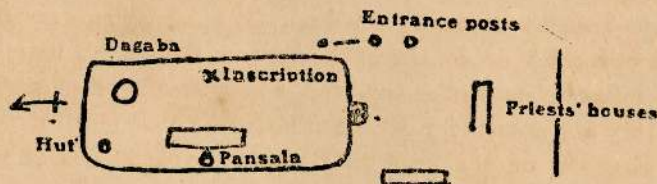
At Balapitiya, near the P.M.'s Bungalow, were ruins but they have been broken up entirely for the roads. There was a relic, a piece of bone, wrapped in gold leaf on the head of the gilt Buddha.

The Viháre consists of a raised platform by the side of the road; approached by a flight of steps from a cleared compound below in which stand priests' dwelling-houses. (There is also a Bó tree from Anurádhapura seeds). On the platform stand the *dágaba*, a large *pansala* and a small shed. The *pansala* is full of the usual stucco states and is crudely painted.

Near the *dágaba* sunk in the ground (raised for us) is the lower part of an inscription pillar: on one side is engraved an open hand and on the other a mirror, bow, and dog. The top with the inscription had been stolen. We were shown a small crude bronze figure of Buddha which had been ploughed up in the fields near by, otherwise the Viháre was destitute of old images.

When the Viháre was restored it was said that there was only a jungle path before its gate instead of the present excellent minor road.

As, however, the list of 1887 speaks of it as abandoned, it is probable that the story of the restoration of 1871 is a mistake and that its restoration is due to the building of the present road.



Being informed that there was a *Gal-ge* or cave with an inscription on a small hill two miles back along the minor road south and then n.w. by footpath two miles more, we went

4. That is, both shoulders covered. J. M. S.

out to see and after cutting our way up the hillside found only a natural rock shelter with so rough a floor that it had apparently never been used; all we got was a good view of the co :

25.2.14 W.—Returned to Kosgoda and, taking the (Galle) road northward towards Bentota to near the 44th mile-post, branched off on *pin-pára* to east for about 2 miles to

MALMADUWA-HANDA VIHÁRE,

where there was reported to be an inscription.

There is a high outcrop or rock (granite) with a long slope relieved by a few rock-cut steps at one point. On the top are built two *dágabas* and a *pansala*, with priest's house on a lower platform. The platform is artificially retained in places.

The High Priest for the last 20 years is Yálegama Saranankara Terunnánse, Siamese, Malwatte, 2 shoulders since the time of Sri Sumangala.

He knows nothing of the traditions of the place, but considers that Pratrírāja Kumára built the *dágabas* over relics of Buddha.

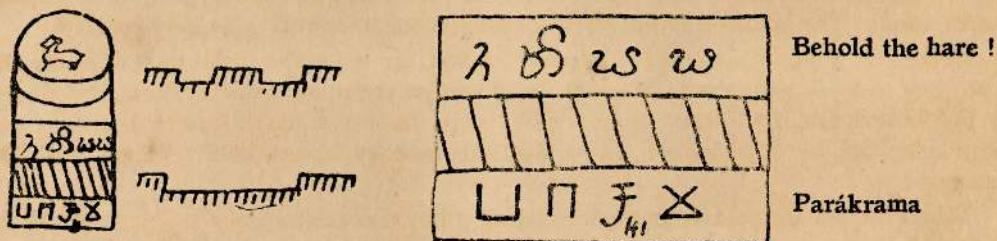
The *dágabas* are of the usual rather pointed type. The *Pansala* is modern (built in 1896, Saka 1818) and was erected on the site of the former *pansala* which was simply a mud hut.

Against the south wall is the *nirwana* (only 17' 6" long). On the east are seated and standing Buddhas and Maitreya, all in stucco.

In a small separate room on the east is a standing stucco image of Vishnu, with on his left, painted on wall, Nata and Vibhisana, and on his right Kattragam and Dadhimunda.

On the west just off the platform, but on the top of the rock rises a boulder 9 feet high ; under the west face of this was a convenient place for shelter, and here there has been cut a hare in the moon with an inscription in Sinhalese and Sanskrit in a cut-out square below.

The inscriptions reads



The Sanskrit letters are the same as those used on the coins of the Parákrama Kings of the XIIth. century A.D. and later, and it is possible that there may have been a Viháre here at Parákrama Báhu II's time.

The priest says that the name of Induruwa, which is near here on the coast, arises from the fact that a Chandra or moon is cut on one of the rocks in the sea off that place (*handagala*.)

Mr. F. went to see an inscription reported a quarter of a mile from Kosgoda but found that it was an 18th century one in memory of some Rálahámi.

Just outside Kosgoda on the road to Urágala one passes a small wooden Viháre with a *dágaba* and Bó-tree.

Went on to Hikkaduwa and out to the Rest House on the sea-coast (bad bathing, very deep and rocky) ½ mile south of the station.

(To be continued.)

Notes & Queries.

USES OF ROSARIES AND COMBS.

By G. HUNTLEY.

CAN any reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* favour me with any information concerning the uses of rosaries among the people of Ceylon—the materials they are made of, their meanings, their uses for prayer or magic. I particularly wish to know about the Mohammedan knot, the bracelet, "coconut rosaries" if any.

Further, have combs any peculiar purpose among the Sinhalese? Have they any writings as charms upon them?

Lastly, is there any example of the worship of the Placenta in Ceylon: if so, what are the rites? I shall be very grateful for any information on the above points.

QUERIES ABOUT THE PEARL.

By S. G. P.

CAN any reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* answer the following:—

1. What is the Sinhalese idea of the origin of the pearl?

Any legend or myth? Derived from rain-drop or dew-drop, or sunlight?

2. Is the technical word "*orient*" used in valuating pearls?

3. Metaphorical uses of pearl, e. g. in proverbs?

4. Is Pearl much used as a personal name? Are jewel-names especially appropriated to any special class of persons?

5. Names of the pearl? Etymologies? Does the generic name for gem, jewel, also connote the pearl specifically; or conversely, is the specific name for pearl generalised to mean jewel?


Are there pink pearls? Are they precious?

7. Any legends of the pearls guarded by dragons etc.?

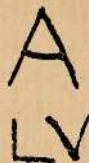
DUTCH CANNON IN CEYLON.


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

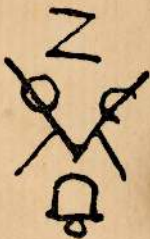
THERE are a good many old Dutch cannon still lying about on the ramparts of the Fort at Jaffna, some of which have been fixed into the ground end on to serve as supports for the ropes that were attached to the flagstaff. I once took the trouble to examine these for dates and foundry marks, with the following results :—

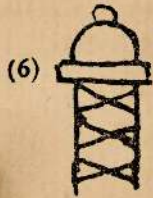
(1) 
 LVII
 3248
 3270


(2) 7398
CARRON
1789


(3) 
 1789


(4) 
 3238
 12P
 LVII

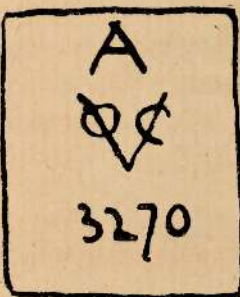
(5) 




(6) 3122 
 N2 XXI

(7) 3254

 12P
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 1812

(9) 

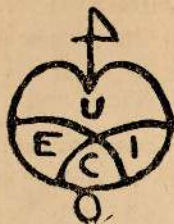
(10) 
 8108 *

(11) _____
 1708

I counted 33 Dutch "pieces of ordnance" in the Fort but the marks on the others were not legible.

* Perhaps 8108, which would be more in accordance with the numbers in the others.

There is also just inside the gate a small English brass cannon with the mark of the East India Company :



and the words

W. KINMAN FECIT

and date

1780

At Trincomalee I found five English cannon of the time of George III. and two Dutch, one with the letter A and the other with Z, in each case over the monogram of the Dutch East India Company. There must, I think, be others that I did not come across.

Of the marks on the Dutch cannon, the capital letters A and Z stand respectively for "de Kamer van Amsterdam," "de Kamer van Zeeland," where the cannon came from. "CARRON" on another is, I suppose, the name of the foundry. There will also be noticed figures of a bell and of a cannon, the former on the Zeeland specimen at Jaffna and the latter from Amsterdam.

EARLY BRITISH TIMES.

By C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

UNDER the above heading Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retd) has some interesting notes in the *Ceylon Antiquary* for January 1920 (Vol. V. Pt. III.) on Madras Officers who served in Ceylon in the 18th and early 19th centuries. At the end of his contribution he suggests that some Madras writer to the *Ceylon Antiquary* should furnish additional information in regard to them. Before giving this, I would state that the conclusion arrived at by him in regard to the Ceylon Fishery rents of 1797 and 1798 is a just one. In view of the criticism that has been offered by Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., in recent articles in the *Antiquary* (Vol. IV.) in regard to Mr. Andrews' conduct over this affair, it is satisfactory to note Mr. Lewis' opinion on it. "There was nothing in this episode," he says, "or in the management of the Fishery to throw discredit on either Andrews or Alexander." I entirely agree in this view of the matter as already indicated in my article in the *Antiquary* (Vol. IV. Pt. 4.)

Mr. Lewis mentions principally three or four officers in his article and to these I shall refer in the order he has done.

Edward Atkinson.—Princep gives the following sketch of this officer's career:—1783, Writer; 1785, Assistant to the Secretary of the Select Committee; 1786, Assistant to the Secretary in the Military Department; 1787, Clerk to the Court of Requests and under the Secretary in the Secret Department; 1788, Secretary to the Hospital Board; 1789, Muster-Master of troops on the

Guntur Circar ; 1790, Muster-Master of the Troops with the Centre Army ; 1791, Assistant to the Collector of Trichinopoly ; 1793, out of employ ; 1794, Assistant under Mr. Gregory in the Vizianagaram Zamindary ; 1796, Commissary of Provisions, with Expedition under General Stewart (? Stuart) ; 1798, Commissary of Provisions at Colombo ; 1800, *At Home*. Not traced after 1808. He became an Annuitant on the Fund in 1809 and died in England on November 5, 1826.

Mr. A. W. Gregory.—The Mr. Gregory mentioned above must be Mr. Arthur William Gregory, who entered the Madras Service as Writer in 1773 and in 1791 rose to be a Senior Merchant and Paymaster at Chicacole. In 1792, he became Second in Council at Vizagapatam. In 1795, he became in addition Collector of a Division of the Vizianagaram Zamindary. He went home finally in 1800 and was out of service in 1802. He should not be confounded with

Mr. George Gregory, who, entering service as Writer in 1793, became, in 1797, Assistant under the Commercial Resident at Ceylon. He subsequently became Deputy Commercial Resident at Ceylon and, in 1801, Acting Commercial Resident at Ceylon. He temporarily went out of service in 1803, but in 1806 returned to duty as Judge and Magistrate of Ramnad District. Between 1809 and 1821, he was judge successively at Salem, Guntur, Ganjam and Chicacole. He went home in 1824 and was out of service in 1828.

Captain Hugh Blair.—Mr. Lewis says that Edward Atkinson was succeeded by Captain Hugh Blair somewhere in February, 1800. I am at present unable to say anything about Captain Blair, but it is possible he was connected with Major Patrick Blair of the Madras Artillery, whose remains lie interred at Edilabad, on the route from Nagpur to Hyderabad. Mr. Cotton says he married Miss Jane Baillie in 1806 and died on 18th September, 1819.

Josias Du Pre Alexander—The career of this officer has been given in my article in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, (IV. p. 213). I would add to that account that he was M. P. for Old Sarum for some time after retirement from the Company's services. He was also a Director of the East India Co., from 1820 to 1839.

Robert Alexander.—This was an elder brother of Josias Du Pre Alexander. His career in the Madras service was as follows : 1790, Writer and Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue ; 1791, Assistant at Vizagapatam ; 1794, Assistant and Accountant under Mr. Chamier in the Vizianagaram Zamindary ; 1796, Assistant to the Collector in the Northern Division of Vizianagaram ; 1797, Assistant to the Resident at Ceylon ; 1798, Assistant to the Collector in the Second Division of Vizagapatam District ; 1800, Sub-Secretary to the Public, Commercial and Revenue Departments, and subsequently Collector in the First Division of the Vizagapatam District ; 1803, Judge of the Zillah of Vizagapatam ; 1806, Collector in the Zillah of Ganjam ; 1808, Second Member of the Board of Revenue ; 1812, Senior Member of the Board of Revenue ; 1814, Member of Council and President of the Board of Revenue ; 1818, *At Home* ; 21st December, 1821, Resigned the service in England. He became an Annuitant on the Fund in 1819 and died in England on July 15th, 1861.

It will be seen that, except for a brief period of a year or two, his whole service in the Madras Presidency was practically spent in the Vizagapatam District. His wife, Catherine Maria, who died on 27th December, 1804, while he was Judge at Vizagapatam, lies buried in the Old Cemetery at that place. She was but 25 years of age and the epitaph says that her death was "deeply and deservedly lamented." Mr. Julian James Cotton says¹ that Robert Alexander's

1. *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Madras*, 858.

first wife was Miss Williams. He married secondly Miss Grace Blacker in May, 1809, and their son, James Williams, entered the B. C. S. Whether Miss Blacker was in any way connected with Capt. William Blacker, Commandant of the 7th Battalion of the Courts Native Infantry, who lies buried in the Masulipatam Fort Cemetery² or with the more famous Col. Valentine Blacker C.B.,—the Historian of the Maharatta War (1817-1821), who was originally in the Madras Light Cavalry and afterwards Quarter-master General of the Madras Army and lies buried in the South Park Street Cemetery at Calcutta—is not known, though Mr. Cotton thinks that the Captain and the Colonel were “presumably connected.”

Apparently, Robert Alexander continued in Ceylon in one capacity or another till 1799, when he should have joined the post of Collector of the Northern Divisions of Vizagapatam. If he paid another visit to Ceylon in 1804 and returned to Madras on 25th August, 1804, as mentioned by Mr. Lewis, he should have done so probably in his private capacity. For we find him in Vizagapatam as Judge, his wife dying there, as already stated, on 27th December, 1804. Mr. Lewis says he was appointed President of the Board of Revenue on 25th December, 1803. According to Princep, he became Second Member of the Board of Revenue in 1808, its Senior Member in 1810 and its President only in 1814. Indeed, Princep would have us believe that that was one of the last posts to which he was appointed, before he went home in 1818.

Before concluding I would add that the Christian names “Josias Du Pre” are strongly reminiscent of Josias Du Prè, the Governor of Madras, who was their first possessor. Du Prè belonged to a Huguenot family and became a member of the Madras Council in 1768 and ended as Governor of Madras, to which post he was appointed in 1771. There were many Huguenots in the Madras Service in the 18th Century. There are still one or two members in the Madras Civil Service who may be connected in one way or another with Josias Du Prè.

John Jervis—As regards this Officer, I have given full particulars of his career in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. IV, p. 207,) to which I would invite reference.

MR. A. O. BRODIE.

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

ALLEXANDER OSWALD BRODIE, formerly of the Ceylon Civil Service. The following particulars of MSS appeared in the catalogue of books for sale issued by Messrs Maggs Bros. of 109, Strand, London, W.C., for December, 1910. It is to be regretted that the MSS were not purchased for the Colombo Museum Library. [I have not so far been able to discover who the purchaser was.]

Brodie was an enterprising and energetic member of the Civil Service, and “was the first to suggest legislation for providing communal cooperation for the restoration of village tanks and in paddy cultivation,” says Mr. Edward Elliott, late of the same Service. Some account of him may be given in a subsequent number of the *Ceylon Antiquary*. Any particulars about him that can be furnished by readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary* would be welcome. He

2. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

contributed, to the *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, papers on the Puttalam and Nuwarakalawiya Districts, and on the Climate of the former District.

In these extracts from the catalogue, Anurádhapura has assumed the grotesque form of Andouadhapooora," and the district of which it is the capital that of "Noowerakulawiya." "R.Dyke" of course should be "P.A.Dyke,"

It appears from the description of the MSS that Brodie, like the late W. J. S. Boake, C.C.S., was in the habit of illustrating his diaries with sketches.

Manuscript.

1923. *Brodie (Alex. Oswald.)* A Collection of Interesting Papers, Journals, Letters, Diary, etc., relating to Indian Affairs Whilst Assist. Agent at Andouadhapooora, semi-Official Letters from R. Dyke, etc., regarding Rents, Cooly Emigrants, Repairing etc. of Roads and Paths at Manaar, etc., and Statements of Opium imported; Journal of a Trip to South, East, and West Division. With illustrations. 1852. Papers relating to Inscriptions on Rocks. Contemporary copy of M. Elphinstone's (Governor of Bombay), "Description of the Country" on over 200 pp., folio, unbound. Copy of Official Diary, 1848. Trip to Pullan, 15th Dec., 1851. Own Diaries, Jan., 1845 to June, 1846, and March, 1851 to Dec., 1851. 2 Copy Books of his Own Letters. The whole forming 9 vols, thin folio, calf and sewn. Circa 1845—1852. £3 3s.

Original Manuscript.

1924 Commonplace Book made whilst in India. MS. with numerous drawings, one section of which consists of Natural History dealing with the Fish of the country, containing upwards of 23 drawings of various kinds of Fish, and in one case a portion of the actual scales are preserved. This Natural History Section occupies over 100 pp. Folio. half call. Circa 1850., £3 3s.

1925 A Manuscript Journal, with Pen and Ink Sketches, relating to various interesting Indian Matters, on upwards of 250 pp., by Alex. Oswald Brodie. Folio, orig boards, roan back, Circa 1860, £3 3s.

Includes :—Notes on Conversations with Buddhist Priest, Cotton Cultivation in Noowerakuliwiya; Remarks on Rivers in Western Part of Noowerakulawiya; Words of Ceylon; Conjuring Enchantments; Geology; Notice of various Rock Inscriptions in the North Western Province; Journal of Natural History (this occupies about 115 pp., and includes Fishes, Reptiliae, Birds, Botany, etc.)

Mr. Brodie was Assist. Government Agent for Noowerakulawiya.

Literary Register.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY.

HISTORY OF THE PENSIONS.

Causes of Their Origin.

(Continued from Vol. V, Page 217.)

III.—Measures Proposed for Adoption.

WITH reference to the steps which might now be taken for the amelioration of the condition of these pensioners, I would first beg attention to the two lists appended, (see Appendix) in which are shewn the names, age, condition, descent, and other particulars respecting each pensioner. No. 1 includes those only who have any real claim to be considered relatives of the ex-royal family ; while in No. 2 will be found the same information (when procurable) respecting a number of individuals whose only claims on the Ceylon Government are, 1st, that they are still prohibited from returning to Ceylon (this, however, is merely a claim in theory, for none of them have any wish to come back here), and 2nd, that through a want of supervision over these pensions, they have been continued to persons who have no claim on the Government, other than a sort of vested right which lapse of time may be considered to have conferred upon them. On no other grounds can I see any reason why the Ceylon taxpayer should contribute to the support of Narainasamy, the head constable at Negapatam, who can boast of no relationship to the Kandyan dynasty ; nor of Vencatasoobiah, whose father was a servant in the palace, and who is employed in a merchant's shop at Madura ; nor of Puchanadon, also the son of a servant, who is a brick-layer at Tanjore.

38. Equally indefensible, except on the ground of vested right, would appear to be the number of small pensions of Rs. 2 and 3 to paddy cultivators scattered about in the villages near Madura and at Poodoocottah ; and while the obligation on this Government can hardly be denied to provide for families deported from Ceylon, whose former position in the Island, and connection with high-caste houses in the country to which they have been removed, render any kind of manual or agricultural labor impossible for them, they having further neither the means to buy land of their own, nor the education to enable them to embrace a profession, however humble, the case is very different with the lower class, whose ideas of some kind of connection with the Kandyan princes have been originated, as they are now being fostered, by the fact of their receiving pensions from this Government.

39. As regards the latter class, it appears to me that it would be an act of liberality on our part to adopt, with some modifications, the plan lately given effect to by the Madras Government in the case of the numerous relations of the Tanjore Raj, viz., to commute the allowances for cash payments in capital, without consulting the wishes of the pensioners, thus giving them the means of establishing themselves in an industrious calling. A pension of Rs. 1½ per mensem is of little practical value to a paddy cultivator or an assistant in a shop; whereas were that pension to be commuted at ten years' purchase, the price, Rs. 180, would enable the individual to buy a share in the field or the shop, or to pay his debts.

40. Though they had sufficient astuteness to pretend as a class that they did not wish to commute their pensions, there is little doubt that the greater number of the pensioners in receipt of small sums at Tanjore, and especially at Madura, would be glad to receive a capital payment in substitution. They either do earn a livelihood, or could if they would; and therefore, even were they to squander the money given to them, as in all probability some of them might do, finding themselves at the end of a year or two minus both capital and pension, they would still be in a position to support themselves by their labour; and would be more likely to do so satisfactorily when they had no longer the feeling of dependence on the miserable pittances to which their stipends are now reduced.

41. It should be remembered, too, that the people I am now treating of have not the claim which would rest with Sinhalese deported to a foreign country. These men were all Madras Tamils,—many by birth,—all by descent. They were sent back from a foreign Island to which they had migrated, to their own country and language:—the continuation to them of these allowances merely serves to prevent their re-absorption into their own race.

42. In considering the principle on which the allowances should be commuted, it is necessary first of all to refer to the existing regulations governing their tenure. As has been already mentioned, the present rule is, that on the death of the original grantee or first life, the pension devolves to a son either by birth or adoption, but at a rate reduced by one-third. That on the decease of this latter, or the second life, the pension again descends, but reduced by one-half. It falls in altogether on failure of the third life. For example, the original pension being Rs. 6 per month, the second life would receive 4, and the third Rs. 2, after which it would lapse.

43. Of the class of first lives, there are now remaining six who have no real claim to

Relationship with the Ex-royal Family.

They are ;—

Moodookistmah	..	aged 67	Pension	Rs. 5	0	0
Mootheyaloo	..	" 60	"	2	8	0
Rukmani Kantha	..	" 55	"	4	3	2
Chinne Nayna Naick	..	" 50	"	6	13	0
Kuppumaul	..	" 60	"	4	0	0
Rajah Gopaul Naick	..	" 60	"	7	13	4—Rs. 30 5 6

Some of these ages are evidently apocryphal; they are those given by the pensioners themselves; but as the last deportation from Ceylon took place in 1816, it is evident that no one of the above can possibly be less than fifty-five years old, and that in fact they must be nearer seventy than sixty.

44. In none of these cases would I propose to commute the pension during the lifetime of the present recipients; they are too old and infirm to be likely to make any advantageous

disposal of a sum of money in capital, and as there are two succeeding generations interested in the pension, complications would certainly arise in the division of the money between the present holder, the second life who is to succeed him, and the last or third life that will not succeed till the other two have fallen in ; and may very possibly die himself in the interval. But notice should be given that, on the death of each of the six above enumerated, the heir will receive, not a pension, but a fixed sum in lieu of it.

45. Nor would it be expedient, at any rate during the ex-Queen's life time, to commute the pension of one Muddalgiri, a second life, aged sixty-one, and drawing a pension of Rs. 14 ; he is an old retainer of the family, and in reality receives his stipend as a wage for acting as servant to the Queen. It would be a hardship to withdraw him from her service, and this is of course quite an exceptional case.

46. But besides Muddalgiri, there are of the class of non-relatives sixty individuals of the second life, drawing monthly stipends amounting to Rs. 309.4.7 or an annual disbursement of Rs. 3,711.7.0 ; and thirty of the third life drawing collectively Rs. 133.4.7 per month, or Rs. 1,599.7.0 per year, together with two allowances of Rs. 15 per month = 180 per year ; in all Rs. 5,490.14.0.¹ In all these cases I would propose to commute the pensions for an immediate payment of ten years' purchase. The result of such a plan to the pensioner may be very briefly stated.

47. A second life pensioner, drawing at the present date Rs. 100 per annum, would receive capital payment of Rs. 1,000. Assuming that this sum were invested by him at six per cent, —a very low rate for the lower classes in India,—it would produce Rs. 60 per annum in perpetuity. The present or second life would lose, undoubtedly, but if the actual pension were to descend in ordinary course to the third life, he would receive Rs. 50 per annum only, and would therefore be a gainer by the commutation. The succeeding generation, who under the present regulation would get nothing, would, if ordinary thrift were exercised, be to a certain extent provided for. At any rate a fair chance would be offered to the family to make a start in some kind of industry ; and this, I venture to assert, is all that this Government is in equity liable for to these people, who enjoy their pensions only through an oversight.

48. The same principle holds good, though even more forcibly, with the third life pensioner. Supposing him to be at present in receipt of Rs. 50 per annum, his commutation at ten years' purchase would amount to Rs. 500. Invested at six per cent. this would produce an income of Rs. 30 per annum in perpetuity,—a very fair alternative for the existing life pension.

49. I have good reason to believe that a capital payment of ten years' purchase of each stipend would be thankfully accepted by the great majority of the class of pensioners now being treated of, for the simple reason that they would all easily find means of investment (coupled with their own labour) for their small capital. If the terms were merely offered to them for their acceptance or refusal, doubtless nearly all would refuse ; for whenever a Government proposes to an uneducated Oriental to choose for himself whether he will do a thing or not, he immediately suspects some trap laid for him. It is not in accordance with his traditions, habits, or desires, that he should be consulted by Government, and he very naturally cannot understand it. But when he is told that anything has been decided by Government for his welfare, his nature prompts him to acquiesce, and make the best of it.

1. Rs. 5490.14.0 ; $\times 10 = 54908.12.0$.

50. The immediate cost of such a measure to the Government would be an outlay of Rupees 54,908, 12 annas. But there would remain the six first lives and Mudalgiri, which would bring the total commutation for the second list, eventually, up to Rupees 59,016, 4 annas, which would dispose of 99 pensioners; relieving the Colony of an annual, though ultimately terminable, charge on the budget of one-tenth that amount. Financially, therefore, the investment would be a good one.

51. I am aware that the terms proposed appear less liberal than those mentioned by Mr. G. L. Morris, late Collector of Tanjore, as having been adopted in the case of the Tanjore Ráj. The average age, for example, of the sixty second-life pensioners (see Appendix) is forty-one, which on Mr. Morris's scale would give them ten years' purchase of their stipends, for their own lives; while the deferred annuity descending to the third life, at the rate of one half the present stipend, would be worth, according to an actuary's table, about four years' purchase of the reduced, or two years' purchase of the existing scale. The second life pensioner would thus be entitled to twelve years' purchase of his actual stipend, of which ten years would belong to himself, and two to his presumptive heir.

52. Again the average age of the 30 or 32 (if charitable allowances be included) third lives is thirty and one half years; which, on Mr. Morris's scale, would entitle them to eleven years' purchase. The reduction is, however, defensible on the ground that the continuance of the pensions is a matter of grace, and that the parties should be glad to get anything at all, the pensions having merely been continued to them through an oversight.

53. It appears also necessary to explain why, in lieu of a sliding scale of commutation, increasing in inverse ratio to the ages of the pensioners, an average of the whole ages has been proposed as the rule for all. In the first place, a general average for all would be understood by the pensioners, whereas a sliding scale would not; in the second, the only object in view being to provide as far as possible for these people, it is unquestionable that a man of fifty, who is now too old to commence work, stands far more in need of a liberal commutation than a young man of twenty-five, who probably has as yet no family to support, and who could easily, if he would, support himself. An average age of forty-one would appear to offer a very fair mean to adopt as the standard for the whole class.

54. Turning now to the class of pensioners included in list No. 1,² all those whose names are enumerated therein will be found to be more or less really

Related to the old Kandyan Dynasty.

List No. I cannot unfortunately be dealt with in the summary and economical manner proposed for list No. 2. For, in the case of the majority of the persons classed in list No. 1, they belong to families of rank and comparative opulence at the time Kandy was taken. Passing over the somewhat inconvenient question as to the right of the English Government at the time to take permanent possession of Vickrema Sinha's kingdom, excepting for the benefit of the family of Mootoosamy, whose right to the throne it had recognised by treaty, it will, I think, be admitted that, according to the ideas of civilisation, neither the deposed dynasty, nor the families of their immediate relatives whose properties were seized by the English, can be allowed to starve in India, even supposing that the Madras Government did not interfere in their behalf; and for these a low rate of commutation such as that sketched out above would, I fear, not be practicable.

2. 8 1st lives; 30 2nd lives; 10 3rd lives; Total, 48 Pensioners.

Almost without exception they are all heavily in debt, and a capitalisation of the pension would be much shorn in amount before the commuted sum reached the unfortunate pensioner. Again, extravagance seems to be inseparable from a native pensioner of any rank in India. As there is one, and only one, out of the forty-eight contained in list No. 1, who has any employment whatever ; and as, with the exception of a very few, not only are the existing pensioners utterly devoid of any useful knowledge or acquirement, but their children and grand-children are being brought up in equal ignorance. Were a grand-son or other near relative of Vickrema Siṅha, after having his pension commuted and receiving his capital, to squander it away in a short time, or lose it in a speculation, he would undoubtedly look to the Ceylon Government to give him another start in life ; and I do not see how assistance could be refused him. He could not be allowed to starve ; dig, he could not ; he is not competent for anything higher.

55. And with the exception of some four or five of the higher class of pensioners, any but a forced commutation would, for the present at any rate, be impossible. The almost invariable answer with them, when I enquired whether they would commute, was, that this Government had their lands and property ; that they and their children were without education, and did not understand how to employ money ; that if money were given to them, their creditors would take part, and their relations and hangers-on spend the rest ; that they therefore preferred their monthly stipends. The question remains, what can be done to improve the condition of these people, and to get them to amalgamate with the general population ?

56. Even in list No. 1, it will, I think, be necessary again to draw a line of demarcation between mere ordinary relations and the actual Royal Family ; meaning by this the grand-children of the ex-King, the sons by adoption of the ex-Queens, the widow of the ex-King's only son. Now that the genealogy of each pensioner has been correctly ascertained, it is not difficult to frame such a list.

57. With these near relations it is not easy to see how the system of reduction and extinction of pension can as yet possibly be carried into effect. Taking, for example, Vencatasamy Rájah, whose father has been recognised by this Government as the son, by adoption, of the widow of Mootoosamy Rájah,—an adoption which in Hindu law confers the same rights as would be enjoyed by the legitimate son of the defunct husband. This man is a third life pensioner, in receipt of an annual stipend of Rs. 700 ; were he to die to-morrow, it would be utterly impossible to enforce the rule that his pension must lapse, and his family be left to starve.

58. It is also very questionable how far the existing stipends of one or two of the first and second life pensioners are now susceptible of reduction. The present recipients are so heavily in debt that, were their pensions to be largely reduced, the heirs would receive nothing at all ; the reduced stipend would barely suffice to pay interest on the debt. It is submitted that a reserved list be framed, consisting only of those most closely related, and that the rules relating to reduction of pension be not enforced of necessity with the persons on this list, but that, on any life falling in, each case be considered separately with reference to its special circumstances. The rule of one heir only being selected to succeed to each stipend should, however, be rigorously enforced. Such a list might fairly consist of

Muddukunuma—third Queen.

Kirthisimala Rájah—son of adopted son of second Queen.

Tayasimmala Rájah—adopted son of fourth Queen.

Dorasamy Rájah—son of Anglesamy Rájah.

Dharma Rájah—grand-son of Vickrema Siṅha and fourth Queen.

Savetrí Dévi—widow of Vickrema Siṅha's only son.

Vencata Soobrayloo Rájah—adopted son of second Queen of Rájádhi Rájah Siṅha married to niece of Vickrema Siṅha.

Vencatasamy Rájah—son of adopted son of widow of Mootoosamy Rájah.

Coomarasamy Rájah—adopted son of first and second Queens of Rájádhi Siṅha.

Mandalsami	} Grand-daughters of fourth Queen. ³
Bhargavi Dévi	
Andal Dévi	

59. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that, in the case of the above close relatives, commutation of pension should be effected on the supposition that the pension does not die out with the third life, and that the capital payment should therefore be calculated on a more liberal scale than with those who have less claim to consideration. It should also only be permitted when there is reasonable prospect that the sum of money to be paid down will be utilised properly, and for the benefit of the recipient's family as well as of himself. This might, it is believed, safely be done in the case of Vencatasamy Rájah, of whose superior education and intelligence there can be no doubt ; while the Assistant Collector at Negapatam bore high testimony to his respectability and general character. Possibly also Dorasamy Rájah at Madura would be glad to obtain a fair rate of commutation for his stipend ; and as he is understood to be possessed of private means, there would be little risk in allowing the measure in his case. But I do not think that less than sixteen years' purchase could fairly be offered in either of these cases. With the remainder of the persons on the reserved list, a permanent commutation could only be carried out after careful enquiry as to the intended disposal of the money, and as to the prospect of the pensioner not squandering it in a short period, and then falling back into

Dependence on the Ceylon Government.

60. As regards the remaining persons in List No. 1,⁴ who are all related, though less closely, to the Kandyan dynasty, there appears no reason for relaxing the rule as to the reduction of stipends on the lives falling in and their final extinction with the third life ; it would, for the reasons already stated in a previous paragraph, be unadvisable to attempt any commutation, with the seven remaining first-life pensioners. Of the second-life there are now 25 on the list, not as yet disposed of ; commutation might without much risk be allowed in these cases wherever the present holder and his heir, the third-life, consent to accept the sum allowed them in full satisfaction of all claims on this Government ;—the rate of commutation, as already explained in para 53, to be calculated from the average age of the class. This for the twenty-five pensioners now being dealt with, is found to give a mean of forty-four years—entitling the holders, according to Mr. Morris's table, to ten years' purchase for the rights of the existing lives ; and the value of the deferred annuities, to which the third lives become entitled, has been shewn in para 51 to be four years' purchase of the reduced, or two years' of the existing scale. In all, say twelve years' purchase of the Rs. 401.12.10 drawn by the second lives, and amounting to a capital sum of Rs. 57,859.8. To the four remaining third lives, as last holders, there would be little risk in granting commuted payments ; the scale might be as before, from the average ages of the

3. 1 1st life ; 5 2nd life ; 6 3rd life ; Total, 12 Pensioners.

4. 7 1st lives ; 25 2nd lives ; 4 3rd lives ; Total, 36 Pensioners.

recipients, found calculated, to be 34 years,—this, on Mr. Morris's table, would give eleven years' purchase of the pensions, involving a capital outlay of Rs. 7,084.0.0. The immediate expense of commuting the pensions of the twenty-nine second and third lives will thus come to Rs. 64,943.8, to which has further to be added that of the gradual extinction of the seven first lives—which are not to be so dealt with until the decease of the present holders, and the consequent reduction of the stipends by one-third,—the aggregate of the stipends will then amount to Rs. 121.7.9, and the commutations will amount to Rs. 17,494, making the commutation of the 36 pensions eventually amount to Rs. 12,437.8.

61. The main object, however, to be first attained, I would venture to submit, should be to disencumber the present lists of the 99 pensioners, who are now included in them, though they have no claim on this Government. If this be once effected by some such measure as that suggested for adoption as regards list No. 2, the number of real Kandyan pensioners will be reduced to 48, and the dealing with individual cases on the remaining list will become tolerably simple. The policy of this Government should be to reduce as much as possible the number of the pensioners, and to prevent their banding together, and keeping up pretensions to royalty; their amalgamation with the surrounding population will then slowly but surely progress.

62. One of the greatest impediments to the progress of these pensioners in education and industry, is, that a number of them are allowed to reside in the Mahul of Vellore. Some ten families are congregated there, living in complete idleness and separation from the general population, and forming a nucleus of prejudice and pretension which are as absurd as they are prejudicial to the real welfare of the pensioners.

63. It would be a hardship to turn out the older pensioners, but the Madras Government should be requested to refuse permission to any further applicants to reside in the Mahul, and to discourage as far as possible the continuance of the occupation of those located there.

64. Another difficulty to be got over is the state of complete ignorance in which the children of the pensioners living at Vellore, Tanjore, and Madras are being brought up. When taxed with this neglect of their children, the regular answer was, that their pensions were so small that they could not afford to pay the school fees—usually about one anna a month per child. Now, there are excellent schools at all four places, attended by children of caste equal to and better than that of the pensioners; and I feel sure that it would be a very good investment of money were this Government to undertake to pay for the schooling of the children of all persons whose names are retained on the pension list. This would effectually take away the principal excuse for idleness and dependence as far as the rising generation is concerned; and the expense for all four places—Vellore, Madura, Tanjore, and Negapatam—would not amount to Rs. 100 per annum. I need hardly say that the school fees should be paid to the schoolmasters direct, not to the parents.

65. To sum up,

The General Policy of this Government

as regards these pensioners, should be to eliminate from the pension roll, by a summary but equitable process, all those who have no real right to depend on this Government for support; when the list has thus been reduced within manageable limits, gradually to thin it still further by commuting the pensions of any of those remaining on the roll, who are prepared to accept

fair terms of capitalisation, and who appear likely to make a proper use of their money. When the pensions list has been reduced to forty or fifty persons, divided between the four stipend pay offices, which now form their head-quarters, there will be no difficulty in instituting minute enquiries respecting each case as it turns up for settlement; and making the best arrangements for the permanent welfare of the families.

66. It would be far more advisable gradually to thin off list No. 1, than to sweep it away by a general capitalisation of pensions. Were twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds now to be distributed among the forty-eight pensioners on list No. 1, I have no hesitation in saying that, within five years, forty, out of the forty-eight, would have squandered away the whole of their capital; and this Government would again be resorted to and be obliged to step in to relieve them from death and starvation.

67. This report has already reached a length which precludes any attempt to deal within its limits, with the petitions from various pensioners, 56 in number, which have been either referred to me by this Government, or presented direct to me at the various stations. They may, however, very briefly be summarised, by stating the prevailing principle sought to be established in all of them,—that this Government should support themselves, their families—however numerous, and relatives in idleness for the rest of time. A separate memorandum will be submitted on each petition; but this report would be incomplete were all mention omitted of the grievances of the principal surviving pensioner,—the third ex-Queen of Vickrema Siṅha

68. Four petitions from the Queen are annexed. (See Appendix.) Putting aside the allusions to the insufficiency of the pensions of Coomasamy and Cundasamy, and of Veziaragavendrasamy, which have been inserted by those gentlemen for their own benefit,—the complaints are

That she owes Rs. 8,000, of which Rs.2,000 is a debt contracted long ago, Rs. 4,000 was contracted on the occasion of the marriage of her son, the balance has accrued since. The interest on this debt, she states, absorbs the whole of her pension.

That she has no house to live in.

That the rule of recognising one heir only to pension be abrogated, and that suitable provision be always made for each member of the Royal Family.

69. Similarly, that the rule for reduction of pensions on the falling in of each life, and their extinction with the third, be not extended to the Royal Family. On the last point, I have already had the honor to submit my views in a previous portion of this Report.

70. On the question of recognising more than one heir to a pension, I cannot speak too strongly; there can be only two means of departing from it—By giving a separate pension to each member of the family, on the occurrence of the parent's death. But this would mean a fresh pension to each child born in the Royal Family, *i.e.*, in the families of each of the four ex-Queens of Vickrema Siṅha; and equally in those of the questions of Rājādhi Siṅha and Mootosamy Rājah. This of course is simply out of the question. Or, on the other hand, to subdivide a pension, on the death of the recipient, between all who had been dependent on him, or her, for support, would mean the pauperisation of the whole class. A first life pension of Rs. 50 per mensem split up, as has been the case before now, between fourteen different people, gives Rs. 3.9 to each second life—even supposing the pension not to suffer reduction. But when one of the second lives falls in, and this pittance comes again to be subdivided, what will remain for the third lives? As on the one hand this Government has recognised the principle of allowing the widow of a pensioner, or the pensioner himself to adopt, in default of issue, an heir to

succeed to the pension; so on the other hand it appears reasonable that the Government should decide to recognise one heir only, thus making provision for keeping up the family, but not permitting the indefinite increase of a class whose one object is to grow up in idleness and dependence.

71. With reference to the two first points, the question really at issue is, whether anything can be done to ameliorate the condition of this old lady, now fast approaching her grave. To pay her debts purely and simply would mean, giving facilities to the crowd of hangers-on, who live upon her, to contract fresh ones. To remove her to a large house would be merely to make room for and increase the number of hangers-on.

72. The pension allotted to the third Queen for her own maintenance, was formerly Rs. 80 per mensem, but in 1858, upon her representing that she then owed Rs. 6,000, and that the interest absorbed all her incomings, the pension was increased to Rs. 125, with the express intention of enabling her to make arrangements for paying off her debts. The only result has been that her debts have increased to Rs. 8,000.

73. It would be

An Act of Humanity

An enquiry were made into these liabilities, and any that were fairly incurred paid off. If the pension were in return reduced to Rs. 80, its former rate, and a similar reduction were made from the amount that will descend to her adopted son, the family would be placed in a much more favourable position, and the Ceylon Government would not be losers by the transaction.

74. For the few remaining years of her life, too, I would suggest that a more comfortable house be taken for her, at the expense of Government, if such can be found; but on the distinct understanding that the favour is personal to her only. More than this cannot, I fear, be done for her.

75. The inquiry into the Queen's debts, and the selection of a house for her, may safely be left to the Tanjore authorities. The duty of looking after the pensioners there is performed, (together with the far more important one of the charge of the Tanjore Palace and its inmates), by a native Sirkeel under the orders of the Collector; and it is fortunate that the Sirkeel is most thoroughly versed in the history, wants, and pretensions of the Kandyan pensioners; and takes a deep interest in the ex-Queen and her unhappy condition. He is a most respectable man, and I do not think that the case could be in better hands.

76. Inasmuch, too, as the proceedings of the Madras Government, and Minute of Lord Napier, which first brought the subject of the condition of these pensioners prominently to the notice of this Government, are specially connected with certain petitions addressed by some of the pensioners at Negapatam, belonging to the family of the late Mootoosamy Rájah, I have included in the Appendix (vide Appendix) those petitions, proceedings, and Minute, together with a report on such of the points raised therein as have not been separately discussed above.

77. It is possible that some of the measures above proposed for adoption with reference to the pensioners on list No. 1, may not bear strict financial scrutiny, in the view of the Government making a profitable investment of its funds in the gradual commutation of the higher class of pensions. It has been difficult, however, to resist the conviction, that the permanent settlement of these exiles in the only country really suited to them, and in such a manner as that they may in time, and without grievous hardship, be absorbed into the general population, is a matter of political justice and necessity rather than one which should be strictly tested by its probable financial success.

The Hon'ble
The Colonial Secretary.

I have, &c.,
JOHN DOUGLAS,
Auditor-General.

(To be continued.)

