

The Ceylon Antiquary

and

Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

Vol. VI.

January, 1921.

Part III.

CATHOLIC AGITATIONS IN DUTCH TIMES.

AS DESCRIBED BY A CATHOLIC PRIEST IN 1707.

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

[THIS account of the "Successes of the Ceylon Mission" was written by Father Manoel de Miranda of the Oratory in 1707. It is addressed to his Superior in Goa, and gives a lively description of his experiences in Ceylon. The following is a brief outline of the circumstances under which it was written.]

When the Portuguese were expelled from Ceylon the Catholic Priests whom they brought were expelled with them¹ and several thousands of Catholics were left defenceless to the tender mercies of the Hollanders. They seized the Catholic churches² and schools, penalised the Catholic religion, and made it death to harbour a priest,³ forbade even 'private conventicles' of Catholics,⁴ enforced their attendances in the Reformed Churches and schools under pain of fine and chastisement, imposed the Reformed Sacraments and the Helvetic Confession of Faith, held out tempting inducements to apostacy, and subjected the Catholics to a bitter and relentless persecution. In so doing the Hollanders were not moved by religious hatred

1. All except two: Fr. Caldeiro S.J. in Jaffna where he was put to death by the Dutch 1658 (Baldeus, Ch. 45 Fol. 713 and Fr. Bartholomeus Vergonse, S.J. who died a prisoner at Kandy (Knox. *Relation*, p. 133-4).

2. The Reformed Church in Colombo, for example, was an old Catholic Church. (Christopher Langhan. *C.L.R.* III. 94).

3. Proclamation, 19th September, 1658. A list of some of the Legislative enactments of the Dutch is given as an appendix to the "Collection of the Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government" pp. 405 and sqq. Cf. also Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon* p. 41.

4. "On pain of a fine of Rds. 100 for the first, Rds. 200 for the second and corporal punishment for the third offence" *Ibid* p. 409.

only. They seem to have had a political end also in view. They were intent on crushing out everything that was Portuguese. Unfortunately for the Catholics, their religion had been identified with the Portuguese, and one of the first acts of the Dutch Government was to decree the abolition of the Portuguese language and the "Portuguese" religion.

The Catholics, left priestless and without organisation, were unable to withstand the persecution. Many new converts fell away and others went over to the Reformed religion, though, "notwithstanding every persecution the Roman Catholic religion retained its influence, and held good its position in Ceylon. It was openly professed by the immediate descendants of the Portuguese, who had remained in the Island after its conquest by the Dutch, and in private it was equally adhered to by large bodies of the natives, both Sinhalese and Tamils, whom neither corruption, nor coercion, could induce to abjure it." ⁵ Of these Catholics who remained faithful the young grew up without religious instruction, and both young and old were deprived of the Sacraments and the consolations of religion. This lasted from 1658 to 1688.

During that period three Catholic priests visited Colombo at different times. They were on board ships that touched at Colombo, and from the Catholics with whom they came in contact they heard of the utter misery and desolation of the Church in Ceylon. One of these priests related the state of affairs to a young priest of Goa who forthwith made up his mind to come to Ceylon at any cost. This was Father Joseph Vaz. He eluded the vigilance of the Dutch and crossed over to Ceylon in disguise. At the cost of untold hardships and privations he traversed the island, barefoot, with his portable altar on his head, in the disguise of a beggar, and visited and consoled the desolate Catholics.

He soon realized that, if the Church was to rise up again, it must find a footing outside Dutch territory, and he boldly decided to seek it in the capital of the Sinhalese Monarch. By singleness of purpose and holiness of life he won the goodwill of the King of Kandy, and succeeded in the teeth of opposition in making Kandy his headquarters. His next step was to procure co-operators in his work, and a few ⁶ bold priests, Konkani Brahamins of India, answered his call, and this noble band not only ministered to the Catholics, and reclaimed fallen sheep, but even made a large number of conversions, created a vernacular Catholic literature, and organised the Catholics to such good purpose that in a short time the Catholics living in Dutch territory began to hold up their heads and demand toleration. Father Miranda was the principal mover in this agitation for freedom of worship, and this letter describes the beginning of that agitation. Father Miranda was in Ceylon from 1705 to 1712 when he returned to Goa and became superior of the congregation.

This letter first appeared in the *Livro dos Moncoes* (No. 73 ff 116) whence it was taken over by the *Chronista de Tissuary*. The translation given below was made *currente calamo* at Calcutta. Through the courtesy of the Government Archivist I was able to see the proceedings of the Dutch Political Council which confirmed many of Father Miranda's statements.]

5. Tennent, *op cit.* p. 42.

6. Joseph Menezes, arrived 1696, succeeded Fr. Vaz as Superior and Vicar General, died Puttlam Jany. 1724.
Joseph Carvalho, nephew of Fr. Vaz, arrived 1696, died Kandy, 22 July, 1702.
Pedro Ferrao, arrived 1703, died Puttlam, June 1721.
Pedro Saldanha, arrived 1703, spent 14 years in Ceylon
Joseph De Jesus Maria, 1705.
Miguel de Mello, 1705, died Cottiar, 25 March, 1706.
Manuel de Miranda 1705, returned to Goa, 1712.
Jacomo Goncalvez 1705, 3rd Superior and Vicar General, died 1742, Bola watta.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESSES OF THE MISSION OF CEYLON,

Written by Father Manoel de Miranda.

Of the Congregation of the Oratory of the Holy Cross of Miracles, Missionary in the said Island, in the year 1707.

After celebrating here, in Caymel, the feast of Our Lady of the Mount, ⁷ (as, I think, I informed Your Reverence ⁸ in my last letter) I went to Colombo, remained there a few days and left for the Mission of Calaturre, where I stayed till the first Sunday of Advent, ⁹ labouring in that Mission in which more than three hundred and fifty persons, both pagans and *reformados*, were received into the Church. In these places I set up some *hermidas* where spiritual exercises could be made and the Christian Doctrine taught when the people assemble at night, for in the places subject to the dominion of the Hollanders all our services are by night.

I also put certain persons ¹⁰ in charge of the said *hermidas*, of which there are nine in the Mission viz., two in Berberym, ¹¹ two in Macundda, ¹¹ one in Paygale, ¹¹ two in Calamulla, ¹¹ one in Calaturre, ¹¹ and the other in an island. These Christians gave me great consolation for they are good people, and I found by experience that they have completely abandoned all pagan practices and other diabolical superstitions, which is no small deed in the case of Christians of these countries. I had also the consolation, in this tour, of meeting with some Europeans, soldiers of the Company, who, since they left their country, eighteen and twenty years ago, had never met a Father. Hearing of my presence they climbed over the walls of the *fortaleza* one night, and came in search of me. It was on the very night when I had an attack of my malady and erysipelas ¹² with high fever and pains in my back and head so that I was almost delirious. However, in that state I heard their confessions, and not to disappoint them, I said Mass as best I could, and gave them communion.

In Calaturre there happened a prodigy which I should like to relate briefly to your Reverence. There lived there a woman, who is now in Colombo, a widow, and she had, among others, a young daughter, (now dead), who kept a little oratory of her own. She was so devout that her most earnest occupation was to adorn her oratory, making lace, preparing linen, gathering flowers, for it, etc. One day the house, which was of straw, accidentally caught fire, and as the wind was strong and it was difficult to put out the fire, every one got out of the house. The girl, however, whose great care and treasure was her oratory and the statue of the Blessed Virgin, ran into the house and hugging her oratory began to weep. Her mother with a mother's love rushed after her—none of the others dared, for the flames were spreading fast, reducing everything to ashes—and begged her to come out, that her oratory would be saved; but the girl would not quit the place. Yet, strange to say, the fire burnt up the room adjoining the one in which the oratory and the child were, and passing over it (as if it were already burnt) caught the coconut trees which were on the other side; and though the straw and the leaves above were burnt, the fire did not enter nor do the least damage, except that the leaves within were scorched.

Various other events took place there, but I should have more leisure to relate them.

7. Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 8th September, 1706.

8. Custodio Leitao, Superior of the Congregation of the Oratory of Goa.

9. 28th November 1706.

10. Called *Hermitaio*, *Ermitaio*, alias *Annave* who is both Catechist and Sacristan.

11. Beruwala, Maggona, Payagala, Kalamulla, in the Kalutara District.

12. He was subject to frequent attacks of this illness. Cf. *Vide do Fen. Pe. Joseph Vaz*, p. 19.

On this occasion I was unable to go to Galle, for, having communicated with the Modeliar and other persons, I was told that the Modeliar was in the forest cutting timber for the Company, and that there were some disagreements among the people and that at such a time I should not go there. As I had no experience of the place and on the other hand there was no special need for a visit, since Father Joseph de Menezes had been there a few months ago, I decided to follow the advice of the Christians of Calaturre and not go there. So, having recommended the Mission of Calaturre, among others, to Luis Pires, rector of the Company, who commands respect in those parts, I set out for Colombo with tears in my eyes, for such was the grief and lamentations of both men and women that it could move the hardest heart.

In two days I reached Colombo. I wanted to set out immediately for Negombo, but the Christians told me that, as things were quiet, it would be good to begin the annual discharge¹³ of that Mission; for this Mission of Colombo is one of the most troublesome, not only because it is laborious to the Missionary, but also because there are revolts, and for this reason the work is done by bits according to opportunity.

I will interrupt my narrative here to say that, ever since I entered this Mission and worked in it, inquiring into everything, I was in a sea of perplexity and scruple. For, not to speak of other things, what takes place in matters of religion and articles of faith, seems to me matter for great concern.¹⁴ For, first of all, there are some who, when questioned by the Government, denied their religion. All the natives, when they go to get the licence which they have to get for marriage,—and in the baptism,¹⁵ the parents—deny the seven Sacraments, the protection and intercession of Saints, purgatory, the adoration of images, and give other heretical answers to the public *perguntas* which the Xetamby makes in the presence or in the absence of the *Predicante*. Besides this, all the people, both whites and blacks, when they take their children for Baptism or stand Sponsors, are publicly asked by the *Predicante* whether they promise to teach the baptised persons the religion which is taught in his church; and the parents and sponsors answer by a nod.

In this matter the Fathers who were my predecessors had tried every means, but finding it almost impossible to remedy it, they have left the people in their good or bad faith, though not without scruples of conscience. I say "in their good or bad faith," for the greater part of the common people do not know that it is a sin to do so; others think that by so doing they only deceive the *reformados* merely by word of mouth, and make no scruple about it; others fall into the error through human respect and fear, though they know it to be a sin. Thus it happens that scarcely anybody accuses himself of this sin, which being intrinsically so heinous I thought that I should not allow them to remain in their good or bad faith without admonition, and that if after admonition and advice they failed to do what they ought, it would be my duty to refuse to admit them to the Sacraments, for it is not impossible for these people to give up denying the articles of faith. Finally, I referred the matter, along with several others which came to my knowledge, to the Rev. Father Joseph Vaz, Superior and Vicar General of this Mission, for his decision. He wrote to me that it would be a very good thing if I could manage to get the Christians to declare themselves Catholics in a body and thus avoid burdening their consciences and our own. That was just what I desired and thought to be the right thing to do.

13. Easter duties.

14. Fr. Vaz also shared these scruples. He mentioned it in a letter to Fr. H. Dolm S.J., (28 August, 1703) and the Papal Legate, Cardinal de Tournon, to whom the letter was communicated, recommended Fr. Vaz (24 June, 1704) to try to remedy it.

15. Catholics had to appear in the Reformed Church for baptism and marriage.

But to carry it out was a matter of great difficulty for many reasons. First of all, no private person would have the courage to do it when he went to ask a licence for marriage or baptism for the children, for fear lest the Government might insult or punish him. To do it in a body was a difficult matter, too; it was difficult to get so large a Christian community to act together, for they had never done anything of that kind since the Company took this country, but had ever lived submissively, doing whatever the master of the country ordered them to do, though in their hearts they always remained Catholics. I had to consider, moreover, that there was no one to whom I could look for help in this matter, not because the Christians did not desire it, but because a matter of this nature could not but cause a great stir and provoke the opposition of the adversaries, and if on inquiry some one were found to have been the cause or leader of the movement, he would be severely punished and despoiled of everything.

Moreover, I was a mere fugitive in this country and could not meet easily everybody; on the other hand, I was much disheartened by the timidity of the people who are very weak and afraid of the punishments which might ensue. Some of them are employed in certain offices of the Company or depend on its charity, and above all, though they are Catholics and very devout, they have not the needed fervour of faith and knowledge of God and of sin, etc., because they have not been sufficiently instructed. It was impossible to give them sufficient instruction because of the difficulties that exist, and especially because the Fathers cannot go about publicly in the territories of the heretics but only secretly and in disguise, which is the reason why the Sacraments are not administered by day but only by night. Besides, the business had to be begun in Colombo, but to begin it in Colombo there was no opportunity, and without any opportunity it was not feasible to gather people of *ex-officio*. Add to all this, there were not wanting those who discouraged me, and it was not easy to get help from the other Fathers, for they were all far from me, each busy with the cultivation of his vineyard. In spite of all these difficulties I was bent on undertaking the affair, and began to say Mass for this intention and ordered all the exercises of the Christians, and of the *hermidas*, to be offered for my intention.

Mission of Colombo—Slave Island.

Leaving this subject for the present I resume my narrative. I began the Mission of Colombo in the island of the Slaves of the Company, in which there were two *hermidas*. I had almost finished my work in the place and had only one night's service more, when, on the eleventh of December, God permitted a Proclamation to be issued¹⁶ throughout the city by order of the Government, requiring Fishermen, Xettis (Chetties) and Paravars, and other castes, under pain of fine and chastisement, to send all their children, male and female, to the new school which had been built. Another *plakaat* was read in their church, ordering all persons, male and female, to come thither on Sundays. The Christians were grieved and alarmed, but I was very happy in the belief that God had opened this door for us to give an opportunity to carry out our purpose.

That same night I came to the city¹⁷ and, gathering together the principal fishermen, who are the people most firm in their faith, and the most courageous, and from whom the Company derives much profit, I communicated my intention to them at eleven o'clock in the night, showing them how much the matter concerned their souls. In short I spoke to them

16. It was promulgated by Gerrit Huigelbosh at the request of the Predikaant. *Proceedings of the Dutch Political Council, 1707*

17. The old city (*oud Stad*), modern Pettah.

in such a way that their hearts were moved (when God wishes it even the most difficult thing becomes very easy); and thus, after I had gathered the fishermen together several times in different places, so as not to be noticed, they came to realize the great error they had committed and they all swore to me amidst sobs and tears to confess the faith publicly even if they had to suffer death for it. We agreed, for greater safety, to make this confession of faith by a petition to the Governor¹⁸ and other Gentlemen of the Council, for if it had to be made by word of mouth they might perhaps not be able to give satisfactory answers to all the inquiries that would be made; and now that they declared their faith they wished at the same time to beg the Company to grant them a church and priests as had been granted to the Catholics in all their lands.¹⁹

The Paravars also agreed to make a separate petition, but the whites did not mix themselves up in this matter as the Proclamation did not speak of them. I wrote the petition in Portuguese; a *reformado*, Tauper, whose wife is a Catholic, translated it into Dutch with great elegance at the request of a fisherman Simão Collaço, the *President Mor* of Colombo, whose courage and zeal in matters of faith is deserving of praise, and who being the best physician in the city is in terms of friendship with the great and has access to all their houses, and as they know that he is a Catholic they sometimes disclose to him what is discussed in the Council; for though many of them are said to be Calvinists, they are so only out of love for posts and offices and therefore go to their communion, but leaving aside the *Predicantes* and a few other persons the rest are not in their hearts opposed to Catholics, and are sometimes even favourable to us, and he has in secret courted the friendship of some members of the Council, else it would have been impossible for a Father to hold service in Colombo.

When the petition of the fishermen was ready it was first presented to the Secretary who is the chief of that caste (*nacão*); for, according to the orders of the Company, no request could be made by the people except through their leader.²⁰ About two hundred persons went to present the petition to the Secretary, who, after reading it, replied that he could not be of any service to them in this matter, but that they must have recourse to the Governor; however, let them consider well what they were doing by coming forward with such a novelty after fifty years. Two of them came to the place where I was to inform me of this, for I had stopped all services and had hidden myself in a very safe house. I told them that they must go on with the matter and present a petition to the Governor and Councillors. A copy of this petition is given separately.

It appears that the Secretary acquainted the Governor with the move, and he, seeing that an affair of this kind could not but be on the advice of the Father, and learning from secret inquiries that I was, as I said before, in Slave Island, sent secret orders to gather three bands of *Lascars*, *Araches*, *Captains* and other soldiers. This he did with two intentions, one to seize me and then to dishearten the people; the other, that even if I could not be captured, the people frightened by this warlike exhibition should abandon the idea of the petition, for he did not like that such a petition should be made to him. It was indeed very embarrassing, for if he tolerated the petition the Catholics in other places would do the same, (and he and others knew very well how numerous the Catholics are) and the Catholics would be emboldened for

18. Johannes Simons, 11 May, 1703–Nov. 1707.

19. In India, Cochin, Tuticorin etc.

20. Proclamation, 20th February, 1706. "Interdicting the Cingalese, both inferior headmen and common people, preferring their complaints to the Disave, previous to the same being brought before their respective headmen..... on pain of being put in chains for the space of 3 years". *Legislative Enactments of the Dutch Government*, p. 408. Renewed 31st July, 1744.

the future. If he wished to treat it as a serious crime he had to deal with a whole population, whence serious consequences might arise and he might be found fault with in Batavia and in Holland.

Rumours of the proposed search were noised abroad but nobody knew when it was to take place. Some said it was in the Island, others in the street of the fishermen, others in all the houses of the Catholics, others that images were to be seized at the same time. There was in short a panic, for the expedition was delayed for two days. I don't know why, perhaps it was because nothing was settled in the Council held during these days, for the Governor, not to take the responsibility on himself, put the matter to the Council. I can scarcely describe my state during these three days, not from fear for in my heart I felt no cowardice, but out of love of him in whose house I was. He was a prominent gentleman and a leading Catholic, whose wife was a heretic—(and I doubt whether the best Catholic lady could have shown more vigilant care and attention to a Father than she did to me.) She encouraged her husband and would not hear of my leaving her house, nor could I have done it easily for the vigils, sentinels and petrels did their duty in all the streets. I spent a day and night between the roof and ceiling of a room : another hiding place was a large chest which was kept in readiness to be entered into and locked etc. At last the search took place in Slave Island one day at dawn, and Rutilante himself, who had to conduct the search, came to the house in which I was at eight o'clock and informed my host about it, for they are great friends. Though he did not know that I was in that house, the warning was intended to put me in safety in case I should happen to be in the island.

When the search was over two fishermen came to inform me of it. I told them to go to the Governor next day with their petition, and so they did. At three o'clock in the evening (it was New Year's eve)—about three hundred persons went to the Governor with the petition. He read it and asked them to come for his answer on Monday. When they returned on Monday he asked them whether the petition was made in the name of all those who were present. They said yes. Then he said that all those who made the petition must sign their names to it, which they all did. Thereupon they were dismissed with orders to come when they were called.

The matter was at once placed before the Council.²¹ It was found that the handwriting was that of one of the clerks of the Company. He was sent for and severely reprimanded, but he said that he did not compose it but only copied it according to a draft which was in the writing of Taiper. That man was then called. He admitted that he had translated the petition from the Portuguese into Dutch at the request of Simão Collaco, who was his family physician, but he maintained that, as it was to be presented to the lawful authority in the country, he did not think that he had committed any wrong. He was, however, severely blamed and reprehended that, being a Calvinist, he had done a thing contrary to his religion, etc. They asked him to bring at once the Portuguese text which was still in his possession. He delivered it to them. The Council decided to appoint three captains to inquire into the matter and to make the *perguntas* and *reperguntas*, etc. Hearing of this I immediately sent for two of the leaders and asked them to speak boldly about their faith without hiding anything ; and in other matters to show themselves very humble and submissive to the *Senhores da terrá*.

21. The minutes of the meeting of the Political Council held 18th January, 1707, discussed the petition and decided to enforce the order. Cf. *Proceedings of the Political Council, 1707*.

On the following day the fishermen* were called and the Captains began their interrogations, taking down the answers in writing. First of all they were asked whether they recognized the Portuguese writing on that paper. They said they did and that it was the handwriting of the Father. Where had they met the Father? They said they had met him in Livramento,²² which is a place outside the city where formerly was a Church of Our Lady of Release (*Senhora Do Livramento*), but now only a ruined wall, but many people white and black, and even pagan Chingalas visit it with great devotion, and each one according to his belief receives favours from God, and the sick drink of the water of the well, which is by the side of the church; and all the orders and penalties which the Company had published against those who go thither did not succeed in doing away with the devotion of the people. They asked why the Father had come to that place. They said he came for the Novena of Our Lady. Why did they go there? They replied they went there to make their confession and to receive the Sacraments. They were asked whether many people went there. They said there were more than they could easily count.

Why had they presented that petition? They said that they told the Father of the proclamation which was published, requiring them to send their children to the school, and ordering them to attend the church with their wives, and when the Father asked what they had to do or say if they went to the church, they said they had to deny that there were more than two Sacraments, to deny purgatory etc., that then the Father asked whether they were Catholics or Calvinists, that if they were Catholics there was no need to ask what they had to do; and when they said they and their fathers, grand-fathers, and great-grand-fathers were Catholics, the Father said that if they were faithful Catholics they could not on any account deny the points of faith taught by the Catholic religion; that they must be obedient to the rulers of the country in all things, but in the matter of religion, as they were Catholic in heart, they could not with their lips proclaim themselves *reformados* out of human respect; that they had only to ask the *Predicantes* themselves and other gentlemen whether such a deception was licit: and when they told the Father that they were simple people unfitted to explain themselves properly before the Governor, the Father said that if they liked he would write a petition for them to be presented to the Governor, who, like a father, would listen to the reasonable demands of his subjects as he was a judge to punish their faults.

Asked whether the Father came often, they said he did. They were then asked in what garb he went about. They said he came dressed as a Chingala coolie carrying a *pingo*. The Captains thereupon asked them whether they were not aware of the various orders and proclamations of the Company, forbidding them under pain of punishment and penalties to meet Catholic priests. They replied that they knew it full well, but that they were not orders which could be carried out, for, just as if their Honours were to forbid their servants to eat, they might be obeyed for a day or two, but eat the servants must somehow or other; in like manner, to escape the death of their souls, they could not but go out by stealth to meet the Father in order to refresh their souls. Then they were asked whether they meant to disobey the Governor's orders to send their children to the school. They replied that the children would go to the school, and they themselves would go to church in obedience to the orders, but they would teach their children at home the prayers of their own religion, and when they were questioned in the church they would say their own prayers since they knew no other.

22. Cf: *Report on Dutch Records*, p. 20.

Then they were asked who else (besides the Father) had taken the lead in their agitation. They replied that it was a matter which concerned them all. Asked where the Father was, they replied that he had gone. In this way they made many other inquiries, all of which the people answered, sometimes with falsehoods, for not everything that is true has to be told. Some days later they were again asked the same or similar questions, all of which were answered with constancy and without discrepancy; the wives of the fishermen dared to tell their husbands to stay at home if they had not the courage, and to let them go to the Council instead. This caste of fishermen is not like the one in our country, but is the chief one in Colombo, and many of them are related to the Whites and many of the *Mesticos* come from them.

During all this time I remained in the same house without saying Mass, for my servant who served my Mass could not be kept there as he was known to all the Christians, and not even the Christians should know where I was lest they be circumvented. Thus since Christmas, when I said the three Masses in one house, I was more than 20 days without Mass. Though the fishermen said that I had gone, our adversaries knew very well that I was still in Colombo, though they did not know where. Knowing this a respectable lady, a convert from the thick of heresy, paid a visit to my hostess, and, as she was so far not publicly known to be a Catholic, without any hesitation she remained there till ten o'clock at night and took me home with her in the disguise of a servant. There I remained some days. I had no intention of leaving Colombo not to run the risk of any disunion or weakness of the people during my absence. For remaining there I could at once set things right, but once out of Colombo it would be difficult to return on account of the strong guards they had placed at all the passes and *garavetos*.¹⁸

Some fishermen, however, and some friendly Whites, like Pegolote and Poyol, sent messages asking me to go away, and when I told them the reason why I stayed, they replied that they were firm in the instructions I had given them, and that my presence was a source of great disquietude to them, for if I should chance to be taken everything would be lost, for they would all lose heart and break down. Owing to these reasons, after foreseeing and forewarning them against any mischance, I quitted the city one night with an *Arache* of the Company of the caste of *Chalya*, and disguised as his *lascarym* I passed the city gates and reached Mutual at 11 in the night. Thence on the following day I went to Dumaga, which is a village situated in the thick of the forests and has a small population of Chaliyas, all strong and brave Christians I remained there for five days and thence I sent two persons to Candia with full particulars and a supply of wine, hosts, paper, etc., of which I was informed the Fathers were in great need, and which I therefore procured hastily from Colombo through a trustworthy person.

At this time a *Predicante* named Zinzo,²³ a terrible and crafty man, came to Nigumbo, and terrified the people with various reports and took note of the fourteen *ermidas* that are there with the names of the *ermidarios*, and other things against Modeliar Don Affonso Pereyra,²⁴ who, as soon as he heard of my presence in Dumaga, sent me a message asking me to come at once to Nigumbo on my way to Caymel in order to remedy the weakness in which the Christians of Nigumbo were. I set out one night with my good *Chaliyas* by a way infested with leeches,

23. D. Petrus Sanjeu 1704—1722 about whom cf. Valentyn F. 416. "J.P.L." has translated in the C. L. R. IV., pp 53 and sqq. passage from the reports of Praedikanten and Scholarchs referring to Negombo schools.

24. This Modeliar is often referred to in this letter. He was a personage of some importance at this period and is referred to by Valentyn 335, 337. The people of Negombo "refuse to recognise for their chief (*opperheer*) anyone except Modelyar Affonso Perera, and show very little respect to others and none ever to Europeans," Valentyn, 337. He is also referred *passim* in De Heer's *Diary*, p. 7, 16, 17 etc.

and as that was rather trying, it pleased God to lead me by another, which was a muddy pool, the most foul-smelling I have ever met. I walked through it for a good distance with great difficulty, for my feet sank almost up to the knees, till at last with the help of my companions I reached the river which flows from Nigumbo, and arrived at the place where a *tone* was in readiness. We embarked in all haste and set out; but all the danger was at the pass which was on the way. However, thanks to God, we were unobserved though we passed very near, the river being very narrow at the spot and the watches were not asleep but were sitting by the fire along the bank as we passed, but God did not permit us to be seen in spite of the bright moonlight.

At three o'clock in the morning I reached the house of our benefactor Modeliar Don Affonso Pereyra who was awaiting me, and from the information he gave me I learnt that the Christians of Nigumbo were so despondent and broken that they had already turned the *ermidas* into godowns (*gudoës*) and had no meetings for prayer etc.; the Christians themselves told me that, had I delayed ten or fifteen days longer, they would have pulled down the *ermidas*. I made up my mind to put an end to this evil by assembling the Christians of each street in its *ermida*, but it was more difficult than in Colombo; for our adversaries, foreseeing that I would pass through Nigumbo, had spread their spies, and the ensign (*alferes*) of the fort, who is a bitter enemy of the Modeliar and is looking for an opportunity to work his ruin and not finding anything else had reported that it was he who brought and harboured the Catholic priests and took them to Colombo, etc.; and to make good his words, had posted men in every direction, and every night the soldiers of the fort sallied out into the streets and entered the houses on some pretext or other. This he has been doing and continues to do with great zeal as if it were his only occupation, and on that account he has been recommended by the Governor, the Dissáva and the *Predicantes*. The Dissáva has promised fifty *patacas* and other rewards for my arrest,

I was thus running great personal risk; but on the other hand if I did not do what I intended, the cause of religion would assuredly run still greater risk; for, from what I could judge, and what they themselves admitted, they would have given themselves for *reformados* at least by word (*vocalmente*). Under these circumstances I thought it better to expose myself and others like me to danger rather than let such a great detriment befall the faith and the Catholic religion; and commending the matter to God I set about paying my visits at midnight, and, assembling the principal men of each street and of each caste, I gave a short sermon as God inspired me; and after encouraging and comforting them to confess the faith and to continue the practice of meeting for prayers and other exercises as usual in the *ermidas*, I withdrew at once without anyone knowing whither. Thus I made my rounds, and so did the soldiers, but thanks to God we never met.

I am told, however, that one night as I entered Grand Street (*rua grande*), there were three soldiers in hiding and that though they saw me pass and followed me they could not overtake me nor find out where I had entered. At least such was the story told in the house of the *Ensign* Alferes who for that reason called me a Sorcerer, which rejoiced me greatly, being the same which the Jews gave to our God Jesus Saviour of our souls. I really do not know whether the report is true, or that it actually happened, but on that night I certainly was in the Grand Street, and entered the *ermida* and afterwards went into a house where I remained an hour and a half with about seven hundred people who had assembled, and left the place safely without meeting a soul. The *Alferes* knew what I was doing and wrote in all haste to Colombo, doubled the watches, but it was all in vain, for such was God's will.

Having visited the various places and instructed the Christians I passed over, with God's help, to the other side of the river and reached Caymel, which is in the territory of the King of Candia. Between Caymel and Nigumbo there is no other separation except a very narrow rivulet although the *fortaleza* is about a league distant. Even in Caymel the Christians did not consider me at safety, for there were no vassals of the King of Candia there, and the inhabitants were people of Nigumbo who come there for greater commodity and till and cultivate the lands without any payment to the King, and serve the Company like the other vassals, who live in Dutch territory, as it is permitted them both by the King and the Company. And though I had no reason to fear that they would come openly to capture me, lest they cause displeasure to the King whom they have orders from Batavia and Holland to please, gratify and serve because it is to their great interest to keep his friendship and goodwill, yet I could not be safe against a surprise, for they can very easily come at night and take me, and give out that they took me within their own territory, and once I am in their power, where is the Christian who will have the courage or the boldness to say the contrary or inform the King? On the other hand the Mudeliar and the principal Christians told me to remain at Caymel with every possible precaution, for if I should chance to be taken the undertaking was lost, and for that reason, if I went away, they could not carry out what they had begun, and the cause of religion would suffer greatly because of the great fear which the Christians had conceived.

Considering all these circumstances I judged my presence in Caymel necessary for two reasons; first for the sake of the Christians, and secondly for the sake of the Mudeliar, who, as the chief Catholic in Nigumbo, performs various offices in the church publicly before all the people, and some dissatisfied persons now accused him of it, and it is necessary that no proof should be forthcoming in the inquiry which will be held. Accordingly I abstained from visiting the *ermida* which is on the banks of the river until we knew how things stand, and hid myself in the houses of the Christians, always changing my abode and sometimes omitting Mass. For greater security I had two huts built of leaves in two secluded places in the forest; and occasionally I betook myself to one of them, and calling the leaders of the people and of the native soldiery (*principals da militia da gente da tena*) one or two at a time I set to work now on one point, now on another as well as I could. I found them courageous in my presence, but not all so in my absence.

However, I did not lose heart, for I felt that, great as was my unworthiness, God would not fail even to work miracles if necessary, and help an undertaking so much to His glory and the honour of the Catholic faith. I therefore besought our Lord and His most Holy Mother, (whose protection and the prerogatives with which God endowed her, these wretched people make the Christians deny by word); neither will the Mother of God fail to show herself a Mother of Pity to the Christians of this Island, who, in all their needs and difficulties, invoke her aid, crying out "*Madave*," which means "O! Mother of God"; and though many children were punished by the teachers of the heretical schools for making use of that invocation when they were flogged, they would not give up their pious custom.

In this very river of Caymel it happened two years ago in the rainy season that a small *tone* with some people was carried into the sea by the force of the current under the eyes of all and no one was able to save it. There was in it a young man named Francisco who did nothing else but keep on crying out "*Madave! Madave!*" and wonderful to say, though the boat, being a small one, capsized and all the occupants lost, Francisco alone who did not know

how to swim found himself safe on shore, the Lord knows how. On being questioned he said he knew nothing else except that he was put safely on land. Nearly all the *ermidas* here are dedicated to Our Lady. It is the same in Callaturre with the nine *ermidas* that I set up, the people invariably wished them to be put under the protection of Our Lady under difficult invocations.

While I was in Caymel a meeting of the Political Council was held in Columbo and orders were given to arrest five persons, three of whom were the leaders who encouraged the others, namely, Simao Collaco, president of the Mission, Francisco Nunes and Pedrinho Pires ; and the two others were Antonio Dias and Joao Pinto.²⁵ They were in the *ermida*, between seven and eight in the evening, and as soon as they knew that they were sought for, they spontaneously came out into the street and gave themselves over into the hands of the officers of justice. They were placed each in a different *estancia*. The fishermen wished to abandon their *tones* and fishing, but Simao Collaco dissuaded them from it, telling them rather to show themselves glad, and without showing the least grief or sorrow over their capture, to go to sea and even take some *tones* that were hitherto unused, so as both to conform to the will of God and not to irritate the Government by such a step, and on no account to give up the practices of devotion in the *ermidas*, but rather to do them more openly ; all of which they did.

The prisoners were taken to the various Councils one by one and they answered all inquiries as they had already done, acknowledging with all frankness that they have *ermidas* and make their devotions in them, that the priest comes into the city and that they and all other Catholics, Whites and Blacks, receive the priest in their houses, that he remains a night in each house and administers the Sacraments to them. Meanwhile, various rumours spread in the country : some said the prisoners would be flogged ; others that they would be banished the country, and as no one was allowed to have any communications with the prisoners people began to yield, and as the devil is never without his ministers, some of them advised the people to beg pardon for what they had done, which is just what our adversaries desired. Hearing of this I wanted to set out for Columbo at all risks to put a stop to the evil, for when the priest is with them the spirit of these Christians is different from what it is when he is away, but no one dared to take me and the Christians of Nigumbo put every obstacle in my way. Thereupon I wrote an *olla* addressed to all the Fishermen, and on receipt of this they listened to better counsels and stood firm once more. The adversaries asked my name and took it in writing.

Meanwhile Rev. Father Superior had despatched Brother Joao Carvalho²⁶ to Putulao in all haste with the information that reached Candia of the arrests etc., with orders to visit all the Missions whether there was a priest or no, and communicate to them all a Pastoral ordering all the children of Our Holy Lady Mother the Church to declare themselves such by petition or by word of mouth, or by any other means. As Father Joseph de Menezes and Father Pedro Ferrao were both in Jaffna, the orders of the Rev. Father Superior were communicated to them through the Christians of Mantota and Manar. I wrote a letter to the Governor of Columbo, judging from various circumstances that it was useful to do so, and sent it through a *lascarin* of the watch of Nigumbo. I annex a copy of the letter.

25. These five are mentioned by name in the *Proceedings of the Political Council*, 18 January, 1707.

26. An Oratorian lay Brother who was serving the Fathers in Kandy. Cf. *Vide vo Ven P. Joseph Vaz*, p 180.

The Adversaries, seeing that they could get nothing out of the prisoners, nor find out whether anyone else besides the Father had taken the lead in this matter, let them off with a fine of 400 *pataca*, which was soon afterwards imposed on all those who had signed the petition, to all of whom I wrote at once not to show any weakness in their faith on account of the money or for any other temporal consideration. Though I had nothing of my own, as they well knew, I undertook to supply money for the fine to those on whom it fell heavily, and in fact I wrote to Benjamin Pegalote and to another friend to advance in my name whatever money the prisoners might ask. I informed Revd. Father Superior of the matter, suggesting to him that if the fine were imposed in other places also, we should appeal to His Majesty's council in Goa, to the Viceroy, Archbishop, Bishops and other charitable persons to come to our assistance in this public need of the Church ; for should the Christians on this occasion remain weakened and crushed hereafter, they would never be able to pluck up courage to do anything though its necessity were ever so well realised. But it pleased God that the fine was imposed only in Columbo, and the Christians, knowing that my offer was made out of my love and zeal for their welfare and not because I had anything of my own to give, arranged matters without troubling me at all about it.

When the prisoners had been released three Captains came to Nigumbo to inquire into matters of religion, and certain other things concerning the Mudeliar, and the first witness they called was an *Arache* of their *milicia*, named Simao da Crus, a man of 67 years of age and rather a bold person, thank God ; for had it been otherwise and they had fallen upon some one who did not answer as he ought to do, many another, the greater part of the people, would perhaps have followed the same course. But our good *Arache*, (whose *lascarim* I often became when I have to go to Nigumbo even in time of revolts, to give the Sacraments to some dying person) answered the questions put to him with the greatest boldness, confidence and courage that could possibly be wished for.

He said he was a Roman Catholic, not only he but that in the whole of Nigumbo there was no *reformados*, that even the children knew no other religion though they went to their (Dutch) schools ; he mentioned all *ermidas* which were in Nigumbo, and the religious exercises performed there ; and then in the face of the Captains he called another *Arache*, a traitor, because, being a Catholic, he gave himself for a *reformado* out of fear or stupidity. This was a sound slap to one of the Captains, Gregorio da Costa, who, though formerly a Catholic, had become a turn-coat for the sake of employment ; and these renegades and some *mesticos* are more inimical to us than the Europeans and other Senhores of the state.

They asked him whether I had celebrated the feast in Caymel. He said that I did, and that all Nigumbo was there, and that it was the feast of the Nativity of the Mother of God. They asked him what was done there on that occasion. He replied that he could not describe it as he had never seen anything like it before, that he could only say that one could witness things like that fasting for eight days and nights and not be tired of it. They asked him who supplied meals to the Father. He replied that, for what the Father cared for food and things of the kind, the poorest man on earth would find it no burden to have the Father for guest. They asked him whether the Father was a white or a black. He replied that the Father was something white, but that he did not know to what caste he belonged, that he had however heard it said that he was a Brahamin.²⁷ The good old man gave many other answers of the kind which were all taken down in writing.

27. They were all Konkani Brahamins.

The next day all the people were summoned, one person from each house. Those who lived in the territories of the King (of Candia) came promptly and answered all questions duly, not only acknowledging that they were Catholics, but also that they were *Annaves* in charge of the *ermidas*, that is to say, those who instruct and conduct the exercises of the *ermidas*, declaring their ministries unasked. The fervour which seized all on this occasion was something wonderful. Even the Chingalas, who had never met a Father or came into an *ermida*, went there forcibly and gave themselves out as Catholics, and when they were afterwards asked by the Catholics why they did so, they said they wished to be what they had said they were, because otherwise they had to give a *pingo* to the schoolmaster to get their children baptised in the *creca*, and that when they had a child by a woman who was not legally the wife, the Hollander padre did not want to baptize it, and that the Portuguese Fathers baptised without any payment, and without inquiring whether the child was born of a legitimate marriage, or not, and that therefore the religion of the Portuguese was better than that of the Hollanders.

On the side of Caymel there are four *ermidas* in four villages ²³ of Nigumbo, and thither on the following day came the Dissava and the *Predicante* for their visit. A proclamation was made ordering the people to assemble, and the schoolmasters gathered some thirty-five persons, simple Chingalas and partisans of the schoolmasters, and instructed them to place themselves in front, so that when the *Predicante* asked them of what religion they were, loud voices should answer that they were *reformados*, with the intention of making the ignorant people repeat the same. When all were gathered the *Predicante* came in and asked them what religion they professed. He repeated the question thrice and not one answered a word. Thereupon the *Predicante* said that as they did not answer he understood them to be Catholics, and as he was turning to go, one out of the thirty-five, the brother of the schoolmaster, with two other Chingalas stepped out and said they were *reformados*. God closed the mouth of the rest.

On hearing this I sent a message with the result that, on the following day, when they visited another school, all were gathered together including the old people who had never been to the school, and the *Predicante*, seeing the multitude, suspected the cause and did not want to enter into the school, for in spite of all their proclamations they never succeeded in gathering such a crowd together. Wearied out with waiting the men came out to breathe fresh air and straightway the *Predicante* entered and gave orders to lock the door, but those who could managed to force their way in. He asked them of what religion they were, and all the people shouted out so loud as to be heard afar, that they were Roman Catholics.

Then turning to the school children who were on a side he put them the same question. They replied that they were Catholics also. He then asked them whether they were not of his school. A boy of 11 or 12 answered that he was. Where were they baptised, he asked them. In his Church, they replied. Where did they live? In their (i.e. Dutch) territory. "How is it then you are Catholics?" asked the *Predicante*. "Our parents teach us our religion," they replied. Finally, he asked them: "In what religion do you wish to be?" "We wish to live and die Catholics," they replied. Put to shame by this he left for Columbo without baptizing anyone or giving any licence for marriage.

He had personally asked the *Annaves* the same questions he put to the others, and they all replied in the same way. Finding that nearly all the *ermidas* were dedicated to Our Lady, he asked them why they worshipped a woman like themselves etc. They replied because they

23. According to the report of the Dissava Bolscho there were 3 popish ole churches and 2 pattayen "on the other side of the river Caymel in Pittigal Korale." "The aforesaid Romish Chapels are in the villages Tomaney Namile and Oedenkare, and in Thamberewile there is a Romish Church," Valentyn, 337.

thought that one who did not worship the Mother of God could not go to Heaven. He inquired very diligently whether the Modeliar had given orders or helped to build any of the *ermidas*, whether he brought the Fathers, but he got no information from them, though they knew very well what he did for the Catholic religion in these parts. This being over, the Captains and the Dissava and the *Predicante* went away and up to the present they don't speak of what happened in Nigumbo.

The brother of the Schoolmaster, who though a Catholic was the first to say he was a *reformado* to win favour, died within some fifteen or twenty days. He was bitten by a cobra, and not all the remedies that were applied, not only the natural remedies but even the *dévilish* ones, nor the devil whom he served, could save his life. Another who accused an *ermidairo* of having said that those who did not come to the *ermida* would have their houses burnt down, was sleeping under a tree with several other men when a branch of the tree suddenly fell and left its mark on him. Another, who though he had not denied his faith, had said in writing certain things which could compromise the Modeliar, fell so ill within a fortnight, that the three fingers of his right hand began to rot and fall off leaving him in a pitiful condition. He sent for the Modeliar and begged his pardon, and then sent me a message to help him in his misery. I sent him word that I was ready in Caymel so that if he could not manage to come himself I would come to him at any risk to gain his soul. Ill as he was he came in a *catle* and with great repentance received all the Sacraments and died a short time after.

Meanwhile Fr. Joseph de Jesus, Maria came to Caymel to get news of me and of the Mission, and after him came Fr. Joseph de Menezes from Jaffna whence he had set out as soon as he heard of the troubles. I immediately despatched them; Fr. Menezes to Mantota to get the Christians to do what the other had done, and thence to Jaffna. He tried to dissuade me with the fear, which all entertained, that they would be persecuted there also, but I was determined to do with God's help what seemed the right thing to do.

A few days later the Modeliar set out for Putulaõ on the orders of the Government with seventeen elephants to be delivered over to the *Dissava* of Jaffna who came thither to receive them.²² Two days later I set out also, and met the Modeliar who invited me to dine in his camp, and there in the presence of some whites of his *guarda* he said various things which he desired to reach the ears of the great men. I slept in the house of a Christian, where at three o'clock the next morning I said Mass, which the Modeliar attended. I left immediately and arrived at Curiculao at night Shrove Tuesday.²³ Next morning, Ash Wednesday, the Modeliar arrived with his elephants at a place prepared for their reception, and having fastened the animals and kept watches, the Modeliar came to take ashes. The next day I went to say Mass at Putulaõ. The Modeliar returned to his post on Wednesday to take the animals by night to be given over to the Dissava who was already in Delque, a league off from Putlam. Having delivered the elephants he came at night to the church with his men and soldiers some of whom were Catholics, and remained two days with us. Father Jesus Maria entertained him with the attention which the Modeliar deserved and which our poverty and the sterility of the country could afford. On Sunday morning I left. Father Menezes arrived that night from Mantota and having discussed matters we sent a messenger to Candia.

After the second Sunday of Lent³⁰ I returned to Caymel, not quite to the satisfaction of Father Menezes, whose great love for me made him fear that some unforeseen danger might befall me, and if such a thing should happen he said it would be the ruin of the Modeliar and

29. 15th February, 1707.

30. 27th February, 1707.

others, who, as Fr. Menezes had come to know, would in such a case not hesitate to take up arms to rescue me from the enemy. But seeing that these were only considerations of future contingencies, and knowing the needs of the Mission, I set out and arriving at Caymel entered the *ermida* with all publicity, and began Mission work, first in the territory of the King (of Candia). While I was in hiding my presence and even the place where I lived, was not unknown, and it only resulted in showing my pusillanimity even in these places, and in making cowards of the Christians; but as soon as I came openly baptizing, hearing confessions and blessing marriages, the people became little by little more courageous.

The *Alferes* wrote to the *Predicantes* day by day what was done and how the people flocked, but as his writing produced no effect the people began to come quite openly. The ceremonies of the Holy Week were performed as well as I could, and on Easter day the attendance was so great that I think it exceeded the numbers on the feast of Our Lady. Some came even from Columbo, and, as it is above a year since I attended to that Mission, there is a crowd for confession every day. All the children whom the *Predicante* left unbaptized are now baptized and have orders not to let themselves be baptized again in the *Creca*, where I may say there is nobody now, and last Sunday there were only four ignorant Hindu (*Xindos*) women, who do not know the difference between our religion and that of our adversaries.

There was no means, as I said before, to give adequate instructions to so vast a multitude as this, but now that I am present and there is a concourse of people, every day after the daily exercises and the Litany I instruct them in the principal articles of faith, pointing out the errors of the Catechism of the heretics, which was taught them in the schools. Thus by God's grace this flock is improving not only in faith but even in their customs.

I have already spoken in my previous letter of the kindness with which the Modeliar and his wife Catherine Bauzem treat the Fathers and of their zeal and fervour of faith; on this occasion he was so exposed that, had things come to a pass, he was determined to run the risk of losing his office and fortune and wife and children by undertaking a deed worthy of perpetual remembrance. He is the man to whom everything connected with the Catholic faith is imputed, and they say that it is he who brings the Fathers from Goa and sends them from place to place.

The Dissava of Colombo once said to him: "Though this territory belongs to the *reformados*, I see that the Catholic religion is growing and increasing more rapidly than the reformed religion, and that the Catholic priests have therein a strong supporter." He replied that it was not the priests but he who had in spiritual matters a strong support in the Fathers, just as in temporal matters he had a great protector in the Company; and the Governor who was very much pleased with his work and was a great friend of his, remarked that to favour the Catholics so much, and to give shelter to Catholic priests was a very serious matter. He replied that he and all his family were Catholics, and that wherever a priest was to be found they would not hesitate to go to him for their religious duties, but that he did not bring the Fathers, nor send them, nor could he in any way prevent the Fathers from entering Nigumbo, which is contiguous to the territories of the King (of Candia) where they go about freely, seeing that His Honour (the Governor) himself could not keep them out of Columbo, which is a walled fort with gates and sentinels and watches, for he had seen the Fathers not a few times very near his (the Governor's) house.

Yet for all that the Modeliar would have had trouble were it not that he is very much esteemed by the King (of Candia). Once when his father was at the head of an army division, in the war waged by the Company on the late King, he could have captured the King in one of

the encounters, but he let him escape, for which the King recommended his son, the present King, to show him gratitude. Even on this occasion when he went to Putulao, all the chiefs of the place received orders from Candia to visit him with presents, which they did faithfully. This is the great reason why the Hollanders fear to pick a quarrel with the Modeliar, and it is for this reason that the accusations made against him, the petition of the Christians, the declaration of faith of the people of Nigumbo, with all the questions and answers, and also my letter, were all sent to Batavia.

I must not omit to relate a deed of the wife of the Modeliar, which highly amused me and Fr. Menezes who happened at the time to be in these parts. One Sunday the Domne of Nigumbo uttered blasphemies against the Roman Pontiff in his sermon, for most of their sermons consist in abusing Catholics. The good lady came to hear of it and, in concert with one of her cousins and another lady who had come from Columbo, they went on set purpose to a house to which the Domne was in the habit of coming in the evenings. In the course of conversation they got up a game—for here it is the usual practice for men and women to be together for play and conversation—with the penalty that the loser should do whatever the winners ordered. The Domne entered, and as the three ladies were in league, the poor Domne lost three times, and they gave him no other punishment but this: The first time to go up a tree which was near by and there with eyes turned to Heaven beg pardon of God for not knowing how to speak as he ought: the second to run along the street repeating aloud that he was mad and did not know what he said; the third to strike his mouth with his hand for his faults in not speaking the truth. Those who were in the secret enjoyed the fun. This lady was also accused before the Council by the *Predicante* that she despised the communion they got in their *creca* and that she said she could give in her house the kind of communion they got in the *creca*. The brother of the Modeliar, Don Lourenco Pereira, was also accused of having said that the *reformados* would go to hell, and that he threatened to thrash the Domne for speaking against the Catholic religion, but so far God had preserved them from any temporal loss that might befall them for these acts, and I hope He will spare them ever and reward them for their zeal for the faith.

In Columbo, when they learnt that many poor people and widows to whom the Company was giving alms, were Catholics, the pittances were withdrawn, and now they have done the same thing in Nigumbo. And as I had no other means of succouring, at least the most needy of them, I gave orders that the alms (*esmolla de bazarcos*), which some devout people give to the *ermidas* on Sundays and Tuesdays, and which the *ermideiros* hitherto disposed of as they pleased,—and I think they used the money to buy wine and other things which the Fathers needed—be collected by trustworthy persons and accounts kept in writing, and that after deducting the expenses of the *ermida* the balance be given to a Treasurer of the poor, whom I appointed. I also directed them to collect alms privately from the Whites, and I myself gave what remained of my Mass stipends, and to entrust everything to the Treasurer to be distributed to the most needy; the wine and other things which the Fathers needed I took upon myself to supply, not to take anything from these alms, and I do it still and thank God we have not yet felt the pinch, for God provides. But this help is very little considering the number of the poor, for this country is miserable since the Company entered therein. As they are traders they have closed the door to others and everything of value is drawn to the Company, and consequently there is not a single person in the whole of Ceylon who could be called a rich man.

Father Menezes, who is at present in Putulao supervising the building of the new church which is completing, as Father Jesus Maria has gone to Mantota to help Father Pedro Ferrao during Holy Week which is celebrated this year with *passos*, images etc., sent for me and handed me a note from Revd. Father Superior, telling me that the Fathers of Candia would come to Putulao after the octave of Easter and directing me to go also so that we might all meet and consult about the affairs of the Mission, and cases (of conscience) and other things as I had often begged him to do on account of my scruples.

Our Fathers in Candia, thanks to God, are extending divine worship daily more and more, and celebrate Lent with *passos* and processions. They go to the palace in their habits with shoes and birettas, and wear their tonsure. They go to the Sangatares, namely, the priests of idols, and give conferences; and thus they are winning the good-will of the great, and the chief men of the Court, as they will be able to tell you in their accounts. As for myself, owing to the persecution of the Whites, I thought it necessary to take in hand, and am actually engaged in, the translation of the Controversies by Andeaquim, Becano, and Bellarmin which, along with thirty other large works of various other authors, I managed to get from the *gudao* of the Company in Columbo. Thus, whenever I have time, by day or night, I am busy reading these books and scripture, a study of which is very necessary for those engaged in this Mission.

After the third Sunday after Easter I went to Putulao where the Fathers of Candia and Father Joseph de Jesus Maria had already arrived. The day after my arrival Father Ferrao arrived also. Rev. Father Superior alone remained away at Candia as he could not undertake such a journey, and appointed Father Menezes to take his place. We remained some time discussing cases and other things concerning the Mission. We resolved certain points according to the instructions sent from Goa, and determined to write to Goa about certain other matters. When the conference was over I set out for Caymel with Father Jacome Goncalves and we reached here on the day before the Vespers of Ascension. Father Jacome engaged twelve Sinhalese clerks and is busy revising (*pondo om limpo*) the Catechism (*explanatium*) of Christian Doctrine, and various other things composed by the Revd. Father Superior in Tamil.³¹ It is a thing very much needed in this Mission, for even the ancient Fathers of the time of the Portuguese had not done it, and there is nothing in the Sinhalese language about our holy faith. This work will therefore be of great use to souls, for there are not a few who ask for that kind of nourishment in their mother tongue. When we left (Putulao) Father Saldanha was starting for Matalalapa, Father Menezes for Manar, and thence to Jaffna. I am making arrangements to go to the Corlas. May God grant success to us all in everything for the glory of His most holy Name.

As I had brought Father Jacome Goncalves with me, we celebrated the feast of the Holy Ghost in this little church with all solemnity. The people were lost in ecstasy with our decorations. Father Jacome preached in Tamil (Malavar). The attendance both of whites and natives was large, and many came from Columbo. On that day about fifty persons, adults and children, were baptized, and some marriages were blest, for when I am here in this church no marriages are blest except after publishing two banns, and I give them a certificate (*Chito*) of

31. Father Goncalves is preeminently "the Father of Singalese Catholic Literature. He built our language, the language of our prayers, of our litanies, of our hymns, of our liturgy, of our Theology. And in the vast vocabulary of ecclesiastical terms that he invented or adapted no word has been changed for faulty etymology or inaccurate theology. The beauty and exalted tones of his prayers, the flowing rhythm of his litanies, the sweet melody and living soul of his verse, have nothing to approach them in subsequent literature, while the general style and merits of his writings, devotional, polemical, biblical etc. are unsurpassed in the best types of classical Sinhalese." *Ceylon Catholic Messenger*, 16 July 1920. The Catholic Union of Ceylon has proposed to bring out a Library edition of his works.

marriage. Many people come here for marriage, for the *Predicantes* do not give licence for marriage, nor baptize those who say they are Catholics. Though all that I do is known to the adversaries they do not so far say a word. It seems they are awaiting a reply from Batavia. God grant that it may bring some relief to these Christians, and that the unfortunate people may not be oppressed to deny their religion or articles of faith.

At this time we received intelligence of the death of His Imperial Majesty, which caused us great grief, for he was a King of good proceeding who did no harm to anybody and was very favourable to us. When we found that the news was true we judged that it would be good for Father Jacome to start at once for Candia where Revd. Father Superior was alone, both to be of assistance to ours and to pay his respects to the new King. I therefore supplied him with men and provisions necessary for the journey and sent him with all precaution through the territories of the Company to Sitavaca to make his way thence to the interior if there was no difficulty, or otherwise to send word to Revd. Father Superior and follow his directions. Thus he set out on the 14th; but on the 18th I received a note from Potulao telling me that Revd. Father Superior wrote to say that the King died on the 14th of June, and that on the 16th the body was cremated, and that Antonio Dorta repeated twice or thrice that the Fathers should all appear before the new King, who is a Prince of about eighteen years of age, to offer their condolences on the death of his father, and to congratulate him on his accession; but as that means that we shall have to put off our work Revd. Father Superior only ordered us to come when an opportunity presented itself. The Father of Potulao sent me his message at once, and sent word to Fathers Menezes, Saldanha, and Ferrao who had set out for the Missions of Vanny and Mantota, to come to a decision or set out on this journey. I at once wrote to Father Jesus Maria that I thought we should go, even though the work of the Mission should thereby be delayed, for to secure ways and means for the perpetuity of the Mission is more important than anything else.

In Colombo a *plakaat* was recently published³² that all foreigners, *mesticos*, *topazes* and *brahamins* etc. who come into the city should go to a person therein named and declare the reasons for his visits and take a *chito* signed by him for his safety, and that anyone found without it would be punished, and he who harbours such a one shall be fined one hundred *patacas*; and some ladies who came thence to Caymel recently for confession told me that it was said last Saturday that another *plakaat* would be published³³ forbidding meetings of over six or eight persons for the purpose of religion, and that those in whose houses images should be found would also be punished. Though I think that the orders are merely *quoad terrorem*, to prevent the growth and increase of the Catholic religion and to hamper it, yet God alone knows what these wicked people have in view. May God in His mercy deign to relieve this His flock from so many vexations and oppressions.

COPY OF THE PETITION WHICH THE PEOPLE PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNOR OF COLOMBO.

The people of the caste of fishermen submit that, from the time the most Noble Company took this country up to this day, they have ever been and have shown themselves its loyal subjects and servants, obeying faithfully in time of war and peace all the orders of the *Senhores* who governed and are governing, as Your Honour and the other gentlemen of the Council well know.

32. Proclamation, 4 April 1707: "Ordering strangers arriving at Colombo (except those employed in the coast Dhonies) to report their names to the Sabendhar (Collector of Customs) on pain of being imprisoned as vagrants and otherwise punished." *Enactments* p. 409.

33. Proclamation, January 17, 1715: Prohibiting the keeping of public and private assemblies or conventicles of Roman Catholics, August 28, 1718, Prohibiting the Christening of children by Roman Catholic priests. March, 1793, Prohibiting the granting of lodgings to Roman Catholic Priests. July, 1757, prohibiting the intrusion of Roman Catholic priests and holding private and public assemblies.

And as last Saturday a proclamation was issued by orders of Your Honour (requesting them) to enrol all their children in the book of the Canacopole of the *padri*, they have in obedience to the said orders complied with the said proclamation giving the names of their children ; but as it is the duty of good subjects not to deceive but always to speak the truth to their lord and master, they with all humility make known to Your Honour and to the other gentlemen of the Council that their forefathers as well as they themselves and their children and their families, men and women, are Roman Catholics, and that they have always been of the said religion and want to remain in it to the end ;

Wherefore, prostrate at Your Honour's feet, they beg you not to do them or their families any violence or oppression in this matter, for the aforesaid faith is so firmly rooted in their hearts that they cannot abandon it nor will such a thing enter their heads, but rather they have recourse to Your Honour and say that, as the noble Company has done the favour of granting priests and churches to the Catholics in all their territories, they alone are deprived of that good fortune ;

And therefore they beg Your Honour as their father and lord, to be good enough to grant them redress for the peace of their conscience; for, apart from the noble Company and Your Honour, no one else can do them this favour ; that in all other things they promise, as loyal subjects and good servants, to show themselves faithful in the service of the noble Company and to observe its orders : and they trust to the piety of Your Honour to turn his eyes of clemency on this their humble petition.

COPY OF LETTER WHICH I SENT TO THE GOVERNOR.

Illustrious and most Noble Senhor, Governor of Ceylon.

It is related of Alexander the Great, who was master of almost the whole world, that he never disdained to receive a letter even from the vilest of his subjects and that he replied even to the farrier of his horses ; and of another Roman Emperor we read that, even when engaged in war and consequently very busy, he did not despise the letters written to him by a gardener. These considerations and the necessity of showing that I did not come to this country with an evil purpose or to machinate treason but only to fulfil the duties of the office which I unworthily hold, embolden me to write this letter to Your Honour, hoping that as a ruler and generous gentleman you will not disdain to read it.

I learnt that Your Honour was very much offended because I had advised the Catholics, vassals of the noble Company, to confess and not to deny, the religion they profess. I am exceedingly sorry to think that I have given you pain, for it is my desire not to hurt even a fly, much less so high a personage as Your Honour, to whom if I have not the opportunity or the good fortune to be of service, I have at least the desire ; and as Your Honour is a righteous judge in all things, I beg you to judge my cause also and see whether I am to blame for what I did.

Most Noble Sir, I have never forced anyone to be a Catholic, nor in the matter of religion, as Your Honour well knows, is it right to do so. For if God Almighty Himself, who is able to change the hearts of men, does not constrain but leaves men free to pursue good or evil, no man though he were lord of the land can force other men, how much less can I who am but a weak creature ? Nor did I ever constrain a *reformado* to proclaim himself a Catholic, for I should thereby be committing a sin. For a *reformado* who believes in his sect would commit a sin by denying it out of human respect ; and he sins also who obliges him to do it, since one who is the cause of a sin is certainly guilty of sin. I did indeed advise (the Catholics) that, just as those who are at heart *reformados* may not for temporal considerations call themselves Catholics as their religion teaches them, so also those who are Catholics at heart must not for any consideration call themselves *reformados*, seeing that such a course is not only abhorrent to God, but even to men. Besides, if a *reformado* were to say that he is a Lutheran or a Catholic to please men or for fear of them, he would be deriding even the Lutherans or Catholics. How then could the Catholics be anything but deceivers if out of human respect they say they are something else ?

Moreover, all Sovereigns, Kings and Rulers expect their subjects to speak the truth to them and utterly abhor those who dissimulate and dissemble. But what do I say? Kings and Princes? Nay, even those who are accustomed to lie wish others to speak truth to them. Though a lie which does no harm to another is a light fault, it is however a vice most abhorred by princes and lords, and therefore the honourable man considers it a greater insult to be called a liar or a deceiver than to be called proud, lazy, avaricious or even impure. Such being the case I do not know, Sir, what fault I committed when I advised men to lay aside disguise and deceit and speak the truth as Christ Our Lord Himself and the Holy Apostles and all law divine and human command and teach. Rather, it seems to me, that those who speak the truth and do not hide it through human respect, deserve to be considered more faithful and loyal subjects than those who, to gain some temporal advantage, deny their religion and deceive; for one who out of fear or self-interest is faithless to the religion he professes, is capable of denying the King whom he serves when interest or fear requires it.

From another point of view it seems to me that I deserve praise, rather than blame, for when asked by the Catholic subjects of the Company, who are not a few, for some means to safeguard the welfare of their souls and peace of conscience, I did not advise them to rise up in revolt nor to seek other crooked paths—and if the truth were told, they could tell you how much I commended fidelity and obedience to the rulers, and how much I exhort them to deal conscientiously in matters concerning the property and revenue of the Company. And God knows whether I and the other Rev. Fathers who are in this island are not in this matter of some service to the Company. I do not mention this to lay claim to a service to Your Honour, for I confess that it is not out of love for the Company that we do so but it is the duty of our ministry. I told them that they have no other means of redress but humbly to approach the noble Company and Your Honour its Governor, for just as you are their lord and judge to punish their misdeeds, you are likewise their father to see to their rightful demands.

Most Noble Sir, the granting or refusal of the request depends on the will of the master; but for a vassal and servant to approach and expose his needs to his ruler is a thing which no King or Monarch will take amiss nor ever could take ill. To whom can the subjects go if not to the King? Whom must the servant approach if not his master? To whom can the children go if not to their father? Your Honour is father, master and King of your vassals; and I think I have not erred in advising them to go, nor they in having recourse, to him who can give them redress; but on the other hand they would be blamed if, instead of approaching you, they sought other means or crooked paths.

Tell me, Sir, is it wrong to advise a thirsty man who asks for drink for love of God, to go to him who can quench his thirst? Is it a sin to advise a famished man who begs for food with upraised hands to go to him who can satisfy his hunger? How then can it be wrong or a fault to advise those who are in spiritual need, which is incomparably greater than the needs of the body, to come to Your Honour to ask redress, since in this land it is only the Noble Company and Your Honour, who is its most worthy Governor, and no other who can satisfy their spiritual hunger and thirst?

You may perhaps also accuse the Catholics of having come to me, and accuse me of having entered these states, against the orders of the Noble Company. These, Sir, though they may appear faults, are no faults at all if you consider them dispassionately with the eyes of reason. You remember what Christ Our Lord said: "What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" When one, without the least damage or prejudice to another, without detriment to his soul, and for the peace of his conscience, violates a prohibition, it is clear that he is guiltless, for Your Honour well knows that religion and the soul's salvation is of far greater importance to a man than temporal goods. As for me I admit that I often entered your territories in disguise to fulfil my duties to the Catholics. Not only I but all the other Rev. Fathers who for the last twenty years have lived in the territories of his Imperial Majesty (King of Candia) never missed an opportunity of visiting the Christians from time to time. I must add also that apostolic labourers will never cease to go about doing their duty, for the King of Portugal, my Sovereign, and his ancestors zealously conquered the countries of Asia to spread the faith of Christ and to make the Gospel known to those who live in the blindness of paganism; and though God permitted the loss of some of their territories, the most serene King

will never cease his watchfulness in providing missionaries to minister to the spiritual needs of the Christians, as is quite well known to Your Honour. If that is a fault in us, it is a fault which the Holy Apostles and Saints delighted to commit. I have no intention of comparing myself to the Apostles, nor to pretend to be a saint, knowing myself to be the worst of men ; but I speak only of the office which I unworthily exercise.

And now, most Noble Sir, considering these my reasons, others I omit, let Your Honour judge in your heart whether what I have counselled and done, was done as an enemy of the Company, or to machinate against it. I have no reasons whatever to do such a thing, for, first of all, and this is the chief thing, it is contrary to my state and office which is concerned only with souls; secondly, if, admitting it for the sake of argument, I should do so, it would be either out of love for the King of Portugal, whose vassal I am, or of his Imperial Majesty of Candia to whom I am now subject ; but both the one and the other are at peace and in alliance with the states of Holland and the Noble Company, as your Honour knows better than I ; and therefore if I, contrary to the obligations of my office, were to do anything against the Company, one (the King of Portugal) can deal severely with me and the other (of Candia) can at least banish me from his territory, and had I the honour to kiss Your Honour's hands you will perhaps not be offended.

I do not wish to be longer than I have been both not to weary Your Honour with more things, and because not everything should be written. I am moreover in a hurry on my way to Vellevally. Wherever I shall be I remain always at Your Honour's service. May God preserve Your Honour and prosper you in wealth and dignity.

Your Honour's Most Humble Servant,

MANOEL DE MIRANDA.

Dombanym,

10 February, 1707.



SOURCES OF THE YALPPANA VAIPAVA-MALAI.

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

AS its learned translator¹ has justly remarked, the *Yalppana Vaipava-Malai* "is looked upon as one of great authority among the Tamils of Jaffna." In fact, all the native writers who have tried their hand at the early history of the Northern peninsula have, till now, invariably drawn from this little chronicle. It is not a very old work. According to the author's own statement it was composed as late as the year 1736 or thereabouts; for Maccara, at whose instance it was undertaken, was Governor of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon at that time. We have, therefore, to take it for what it is worth, and this can be determined only by a critical examination of the sources utilized by the author.

The "Special preface" which is in verse²—the work itself being in prose—tells us that Mayilvákana-pulavar drew from the following older writings: (1) *Kailaya-malai* (2) *Vaiya-padal*, (3) *Pararasa-sekaran-ula* and (4) *Irasa-murai*. These works deal with the period of native kings alone. We may well imagine that no records of the troublous times of the Portuguese conquest of Jaffna, followed by days little congenial to the production of Tamil literature, were left in the native tongue for our author to consult. For the history of these times he had to fall back upon oral traditions. Of the little he says of the Dutch period we can attribute only a small fraction to him. As Mr. Brito remarks: "The bold language in which the policy of the Dutch is described and the prophecies which the work contains relating to the English, must be regarded as interpolations of a later date."³

Confining our attention, therefore, to the earlier portion of the *Vaipava-malai*, we find that this can be divided into three distinct sections:

- I. The legendary section closing with the story of the *Yalppadi*; (pp. 1-13).
- II. the colonisation of Jaffna under Koolankaich-chakkaravarti (pp. 13-18).
- III. list of kings down to *Pararasa-sekaran* (pp. 18-26).

Of these, section I is in all probability based on the *Vaiya-padal*; Section II on the *Kailaya-malai*, and Section III, on the *Irasa-paramparai* and *Pararasa sekaran-ula*. The last

1. Mr. C. Brito. Colombo, 1879.

2. This is the Stanza in question:

உரராசர் தொழுகழன் மேக்கெதனென் றோதும்
 உலாந்தேச மன்னன் உரைத்தமிழாற் கேட்க
 வரராச கைலாயமலை, தொன்னுல்
 வரம்புகண்ட கவிஞர்பிரான் வையாபாடல்
 பரராச சேகரன்மன் உலாவுங்காலப்
 படிவழு வாதுற சம்பவங் கட்டும்
 திரராச முறைகளுந் தேர்ந்தி யாழ்ப்பாணத்தின்
 செய்தி மயில்வாகனவேன் செப்பினானே.

Mr. Brito's translation slightly alters the sense of this stanza.

3. The *F.V.M.* Translator's preface.

two records supplying, apparently, the data for the most historical portion of the work is lost—a truly unfortunate thing. The *Kailāya-Mālai* has been recovered and printed.⁴ A good portion of the *Vaiyā-pādal* has been recently discovered.⁵ There exists also an old prose rendering of it, complete, which will help us to supply the lacunae of the incomplete original.

Leaving out, therefore, section III, on which we can pass no judgment before its sources are—if ever possible—brought to light, let us proceed to tackle Sections I and II of the work which now occupies our attention.

The *Vaiyā-pādal* opens with an episode from the *Rāmāyaṇam*, according to which Vipīṣhaṇan had been made king of Ceylon in the room of his brother Rāvaṇan by no less a personage than Tasarata Rāman himself. A Yālppādi (Iutist), who was serving at the court of Vipīṣhaṇan, clears the jungle of the Northern peninsula, then known as Maṇaltidal, plants gardens and groves, and, after bringing down a thousand Indian families to people the new land, crosses over to North Madura and obtains from king Kulakētu, the *maitunan* of Tasarata, one of his sons to become the ruler of this colony. This prince had one hand shorter than the other and was therefore known as Vijaya-Kooḷankaich-chakkaravarti. This was in Kali-yuga 3000 or B.C. 101.

Mayilvākana-pulavar has embodied this account in his book. But Vipīṣhaṇan was a misty character of the remote past. And the events connected with the Sinhalese history, which the Pulavar had, without doubt, known through the *Mahavanso* tradition, had to be reckoned with. So he dexterously sandwiches these events between the reign of that puranic celebrity (p. 1) and the so-called colonisation under the Yālppādi (p. 13). Again, the Pulavar had no doubt that Vijaya was a Saivite. For, when that adventurer left India, Buddhism was not a full-fledged faith. It was an easy task for him, therefore, to connect the more ancient Saivite temples of Ceylon with its famous conqueror. (p. 3.) Likewise, the coming out of the oldest families of Brahmins was naturally bracketed with the origin of these temples. (p. 1-2). Again, it was too notorious a fact to be ignored, that the Sinhalese had held Jaffna before the modern Tamil settlers ever set their foot here, and there seems to have been an idea that the former had come from Siam.⁶ So, the Pulavar adds that Vijaya had brought the Buddhist settlers from “Siam and other parts of Burma and placed them in different parts of the country.” (p. 2.) And when the Yālppādi brought his Tamil settlers he is made to rule over “the new colonists and the Sinhalese natives whom he treated alike” (p. 13).

The *Vaiyā-pādal* places the story of Mārutap-piravīka-valli after the colonisation by Yālppādi and follows it up with the arrival of sixty Vannias in connection with the marriage of Vararāsa-sinkan, the man-lion son of Ukkirasinkan by that Chola princess. One of the Vannias, afterwards, stays with Vararāsa-sinkan at Kandy, while the rest conquer Adankāpattu and rule it under the overlordship of Jaffna; they invite the various Indian castes and clans, which we now find settled in Jaffna and the Vanni including Tampalakāmam and Koddīāram. Eventually, fifty-four of the Vannias are slain in a battle with the Parankis (!) and the remain-

4. By Mr. T. Kayilasapillai of Jaffna in 1905.

See also Brito *op. cit.* pp. xlv—xlvī.

5. By Mr. Arudpiragasam of the Central College, Jaffna. I possess two MSS of the prose rendering. Mr. Brito translates the greater portion of this opusculum in his *Y.V.M.* (pp. xxx—xxxiv) and remarks: “The above is a work of no authority. It is a confusion of persons, places, dates and events.” Still, I hold that it is out of this confusion that the author of the *Y.V.M.* has endeavoured to build up the first section of his work. How far he has succeeded in accomplishing this rare task will be seen in the text.

The prose *Vaiyi* has been also quoted by Mr. J. P. Lewis in the first chapter of his *Manual of the Vanni* but under the name of *Kalveddu*.

6. We learn this from De Queyroz: *Conquista Temporal e espiritual de Ceylao*. p. 4. He couples Bengal with Siam.

ing five return to India but are drowned on their way thither. In the meantime the wives of all the sixty Vannias, with their swordsmen and other attendants, leave India in order to meet their husbands in Ceylon. Hearing, on the way, of the death of the fifty-four, an equal number of the Vannichis mount the funeral pyre, one goes to Kandy to find her lord, and the remaining five reach the Vanni unaware of the tragic end of their husbands, and subsequently become Vannipam (rulers of the Vanni), their new husbands being known as Ayutanti.⁷ Into this story is woven an episode of two pirate chiefs, Vedi-arasan and Meerá. They are defeated by Meekáman, a fisher chief, who was sent to Ceylon from Madura to obtain Nága-rubies for the anklet of Kannaikai (!) and form the Mukkuwa colony of Batticaloa and the Moorish one of Vidattaltivu.

Thus far the *Vaiyá-pádal*. The writer of that opuscle had put the different legends of his day pell-mell, without any regard to chronology. Mayilavákana-pulavar, on the other hand, had to fit them with the statements of another document which doubtless he had before his eyes. This was *Koñésar-Kalveddu*,⁸ or at any rate the tradition derived from it. Thus we find him following this document with regard to the Vannias who, according to it, were brought down in connection with the Koñésar temple by Kuļak-kóddan, another nebulous hero about whom more in the sequel. But before bringing Kuļak-kóddan and his temple to the notice of his readers, he takes care to safeguard what to him appears the greater antiquity of the Nakulésar temple by throwing in a word on Kiri-malai and on the legend of a mungoose-faced sage which has grown round that temple. Then, harmonising the *Vaiyá's* statement and that of the *Kalveddu* with regard to the Vannias, our author declares that the Vannias invited by Kuļak-kóddan also received "an accession of fifty nine new families from Pánda" (p. 7).

This number "fifty nine" is unquestionably from the *Vaiyá-pádal* as the story of Kuļak-kóddan bringing the Vannias is from the *Kalveddu*. He then takes up the episode of the pirate chiefs, now metamorphosed into Usuman and Séntan (probably to account for the two village names: Usuman-turai and Séntan-kaļam), and succeeds in tracing out a cause for these chiefs afterwards migrating to Batticaloa and to "the sea-coast far removed from Kiri-malai" (p. 5). The circumstances of five Vannias being drowned, sixty Vannichis coming out to meet their husbands with their swordsmen, &c., and fifty-four of them committing suicide, reappear in the reign of Sankily transformed into the following: Forty-nine Vannias come out to join their caste in Ceylon. They are all lost at sea except one Karaippiddy Vannian who reaches Jaffna; he is stabbed to death and his Vannichi commits suicide; the sixty swordsmen in their pay are degraded into Naļavas. (pp. 34-35). The transmutation of numbers in the two stories, which nevertheless present the same chief events faithfully, is interesting.

As for Márutap-piravíka-valli herself, the *Vaiyá-pádal* tells us that she was the daughter of Tisai-ukkíra-chóļan, father-in-law or uncle of Kooļankaich-chakkaravarti. She and her brother, Sinka-kétu, visited Ceylon for the purpose of bathing in the sacred spring of Kiri-malai. Here she was cured of a deformity in the face which had resembled that of a horse. From this marvel the country came to be known as Má-vidda-puram. They travelled on to Katir-kámam and on their return journey Márutap-piravíka-valli had, by Ukkirasinkan, a son born with a tail, who resembled a man lion.

7. Portuguese: *Ajudante*—Adjutant.

8. Printed with the *Takshina-kayídsa-puránam*, about which see Note 12. The prose portion of the *Kalveddu* looks older on the whole than the verse. It is attributed to a certain Kavirásar who appears to contribute a "Special preface" to the *Takshina-kayídsa-puránam*. If so, it is as old as this work. Mr. Brito who gives a good summary of the *Kalveddu* in his *V.V.M.* (pp. xxxix—xliv), says that it is unquestionably a work of great antiquity, but it bears evident marks of having received additions from time to time up to very recent dates.

Before Mr. Brito Mr. Casie Chitty had given a summary of the *Kalveddu* in the Govt. Gazette of 1931. See this reproduced in the *Ceylon Literary Register* 1, 63.

This is what the *Vaiyá-pādal* has. The *Kailāya-mālai* introduces a slight change. According to it, the daughter of a Cholan—apparently named Rása Rásan—bathed in the sea-tirtam of Ceylon to obtain a cure and was encamped with her attendants and a large army. The lion-faced king of Katirai-malai (=Katirkámam) stealthily carried her away to his mountain capital and made her his queen. She gave birth to a beautiful⁹ son called Varasinka-mahá-rása Narasinka-rásan. The queen next gave birth to a daughter. When the children grew up they were married to each other.

The *Vaipava-mālai* version is much more developed. Ukkira-sinkan appears here with a fuller previous history. He is "a prince of the dynasty founded by king Vijaya's brother." (p. 8.) He makes a descent on Ceylon with a numerous force, conquers one half of it and reigns from Katiraimalai. He has the face of a lion and makes a pilgrimage to Kiri-malai where he encamps in Vaļavar-kon-paļlam, "so named from Vaļavan (Chola-rásan) who had formerly encamped on the same spot." (p. 8.) At this stage comes the incident of Tondaimán (no doubt invented by folk-lore etymologists to account for Tondamanáru) who pays him a visit. On his returning to Katirai-malai he passes through the Vanni, receiving the voluntary submission of the Vannias and imposing on them a tribute "which he enjoined should be paid to the temple of Konésar" (p. 9). Then comes Mārutap-piravika-valli; she encamps at Kumárátti-paļlam, bathes in the holy spring under the direction of Nakula-muni, and her cure gives Má-vidda-puram its name. She builds the Kandaswámi temple, her father Tisai-ukkirachólan sending the men and the materials.

There is then introduced a detailed story about the Brahmin, Periamanat-tullar, who is miraculously sent from the opposite shore to officiate in the new temple. This furnishes the author with another opportunity for propounding the popular etymology of Kankésan-turai and for appending some traditions concerning the origin of "the Káshi and Tillai races of priesthood." (p. 12) Again, Ukkira-sinkan visits Kiri-malai once more—presumably hearing of the building of the temple by a Chola princess—and a circumstantial account is given of how he possessed himself of Mārutap-piravika-valli and how, in deference to her wishes, he tarried at Maņaltidal until she had completed the sacred edifice. (p. 11) Subsequently he takes her to Katirai-malai and there celebrates the nuptial ceremonies. Soon afterwards he abandons this city and makes Senkada-nakari his capital. Here the queen brings forth a son and a daughter. The son, who was born with a tail, was named Narasinka-rásá and the daughter Senpakavati. Their parents unite them in marriage and crown the son sub-king under the title of Vála sinka-rásá; but on his father's death he ascended the throne with the name of Jayatunka-Vararása sinkan (pp. 12-13.)

Thus we find that the original story as found in the *Vaiyá-pādal* and the little more expanded version of *Kayilāya-mālai* have undergone a great many developments in the *Vaipava mālai*. What are the sources of these developments? It is, again, the *Kalveddu* in combination with folk-lore etymology and the popular evolution of ideas which have given the Pulavar his data. The ground-work of the story of the miraculous cure of an Indian princess and the building of a temple by her is found ready-made in the account of Kulak-kóddan and the temple of Konesar.

A Chola prince called Kuļak-kóddan (the name simply means one connected with tank and temple) comes to worship at Tiri-kayilai, i.e. the shrine at Trincomalie. Here another

9. Mr. Brito translates: "a son of great personal beauty but having a tail." *Y.V.M* p. xlv) The text does not justify this. செய்வவடிவாலழகு means "the great beauty of the rosy feet." The *Vaiyá pādal* is solely responsible for the prince's cumbersome appurtenance.

Cholan, Vararāma Tevan, has worshipped before him. He builds the temple and its towers, makes the sin-dispelling well, and appoints a line of Vannias to see to the maintenance of the temple and its worship. He invites Brahmins from India to officiate in it. Now there comes another character on the stage. Ādaka-savuntary¹⁰ was a Kalinga princess born with a deformity and on that account committed to the waves enclosed in an ark. The ark was wafted on Ceylon shores and picked up by the king of Uṅṅāsa-kiri. The child was adopted by the king and in course of time succeeded him as ruler of Ceylon. It was during her reign that Kuḷak-kóddan was busying himself with the pious work of restoring the temple. The report of his activities reaches her ears and forthwith she despatches an army to drive him out of the island; but this only results in a friendly understanding and Kuḷak-kóddan marries her at Uṅṅāsa-kiri. They both retire to Tiri-kayilai where a son named Sinka-kumáran is born. Afterwards they return to Uṅṅāsa-kiri and make him king.

Now it will appear at a glance that the two accounts are not independent of each other. Both are, in fact, substantially the same, if we make allowance for a confusion of names and places. In the one case it is a Chola princess who builds a Ceylon temple¹¹ and espouses a prince of the Kalinga family. In the other, it is a Chola prince who builds a Ceylon temple and espouses a princess of the Kalinga family. In both the cases the princess is sent to Ceylon on account of a personal deformity. But what is a conclusive argument for the identity of both the stories is that both point to the head of a new dynasty in Ceylon practically with the same name, i.e. Vála-sinkan and Sinka-kumáran.

On the other hand there can be no doubt that the story of Kuḷak-kóddan and Ādaka-savuntary is earlier than that of Ukkira-sinkan and Mārutap-piravika-valli, just as the shrine of Kónésar is older than that of Nakulésar. We know that the former temple was of equal celebrity with Tirukkétichchuram as early as the seventh century A.D.; for, Tiru-Gnána-sambantar has sung them both in his *Teváram* hymns. But we hear nothing of Kiri-malai till such comparatively recent times as the *Vaiyá-pádal* and the *Kayiláya-málai* represent. As for Mārutap-piravika-valli the *Takshina-kayilása-purānam*¹² makes no mention of her, not even in the incoherent episode¹³ of the Kántaruvan or lutist connected with the Rávaṇan myth, in which Kiri-malai figures as an ordinary *tirtam*. The *Tiruk-kónásala-purānam* does indeed represent her as visiting Kiri-malai in the course of her peregrinations through the many sacred places of Ceylon. But this work is of our own days¹⁴ and the story is again different in details

10. Her name, the deformity in question, and some other details disclose the fact that this legend has much in common with those of Tádakai in the *Rámáyana* and Tádatakaip-piráddy in the *Tirvilatyadai-purānam*. The author of the *Y. V. M.* makes Ādaka-savuntary the queen of Pándu (p. 6). See how this equation enables him to fix some dates: pp. 7 and 9. This is clearly a device to make a distinct personage of Mārutap-piravika-valli whereas she is actually identical with Ādaka-savuntary.

11. Kulak-kóddan repaired the temple of Tambala-Kámam and the old temple of Kirimalai is called by the *Y. V. M.* Tiruttampala-Isuran-koil (p. 3). There is surely some identity behind this resemblance of names.

12. First edition printed at Madras, 1837. A second edition, which seems to follow older MSS, was printed at Jaffna, 1914. Internal evidence shows that this work could not have been written after the period of the native kings i.e., after 1620. Its "Special preface" is attributed in the first edition to Arasa-Késari and in the second to Kavi-virarákavan. If the latter is the blind poet who visited Pararása-sékaran's court, his time should probably be placed before 1591. This is the Pararása-sékaran nicknamed *Ret torto* who was a friend of letters and who could have composed the verses attributed to the Jaffna king in Kavi-virarákavan's life. It was also under this king that Arasa Kesari composed the *Iraku Vammisam*. See my *Kings of Jaffna during the Portuguese period of Ceylon history* p. 54. Also Mr. S. W. Coomaraswami's *வடமாகாணத்தின் சில இடப் பெயர்களின் வரலாறு* pp. 123-6. A certain Kavi-rásar too contributes a "Special preface" to the *Takshina-Kayilása-purānam*. If he is identical with the author of the *Kónésar Kalveddu* (as the editor of the former work thinks), then both the works belong to the same period.

13. It is clearly an interpolation as the editor remarks. See page 210

14. "Its author, Mr. Masilamany Muttukumaru, is a native of Trincomalie where he still lives" Mr. Brito in his *Y. V. M.* Page xxviii.

from that of the *Vaipava-málai*. Certain it is that both these works have each spun its own yarn from the legend handed down by that most uncritical document ever put on paper—the *Vaiyá-pádal*.

In all probability the legend of Márutap-piravíka-valli originated as folk-lore in connection with a noted shrine of old days. We have a parallel to this in all the ruins of old buildings in Jaffna being popularly attributed to some princess or other. Compare the legend concerning Alli-arasány and Kumáratty. The circumstance of Márutap-piravíka-valli's miraculous cure is probably to be traced to the influence of the legend of Adakasavuntary, which itself owed its origin to some ancient floating myth, while her equine face would be naturally suggested by the place name Má-vidda-puram.¹⁵ But folk-lore went a step further. It would connect this beautiful legend with another not less beautiful—that of Yálpádi. And nothing was easier. The Kuḷak-kóddan tradition was there, ready to furnish all the missing links. That celebrated Chola prince who married a princess of his own country miraculously brought to Uṇṇása-kiri was no other—it was discovered—than the lion-faced Ukkira-sinkan who married Márutap-piravíka-valli at Katiraimalai¹⁶ and reigning as the sole monarch of Ceylon bestowed the Northern peninsula on the Yálpádi!

But who was this Yálpádi? I find it a clumsy attempt to derive Yálpáṇam from Yálpádi. If there was question of a Yálpáṇam as the coloniser of our peninsula all would be well. Yálpáṇam is a classical word meaning one whose occupation and caste-duty is to play on the lute. And a country connected with a Yálpáṇam can very correctly be called Yálpáṇam.¹⁷ Again, it is contrary to fact to say that Jaffna was made habitable and colonised only so late as the epoch assigned to Koolankaichchakkaravarti. Mayilvákana-pulavar corrects the *Vaiyá-pádal* with regard to the previous inhabitants of Jaffna, but adheres to the legend of the Yálpádi as all native writers have ever since done. He ventures even further in search of the antecedents of his hero and commits an anachronism by identifying him with the blind poet, Vira-rákavan, who indeed seems to have actually visited the court of a Ceylon king but as late as the sixteenth or the seventeenth century.¹⁸

The mention of the Yálpádi, however, is met, for the first time in native writings, only in the *Vaiyá-pádal*.¹⁹ The original *Takshiṇa-Kayilása-purāṇam* has no reference to it. There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that the entire legend was conjured up as an explanation for the place name Yálpáṇam. But unfortunately for the etymologists who built up such a romantic story on a name, Yálpáṇam is probably in no way connected with

15. I venture to think that "puram" in this name actually represents "Veram" (for *vihāre*) as in Suddi-puram, Suli-puram and Tol-puram. See this discussed by me in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, III, 192. "Mávidda" stands perhaps for *Mahá-wata* or sacred Wata-tree as suggested by Mr. S. W. Coomaraswamy in his *op. cit.* p. 132. There are many pulams or arable lands in Jaffna known as Mávattai and it is quite conceivable that a Mávattai-pulam came to be called Mávattai-puram—which would have given a chance to popular etymologists to connect a horse with it. I notice a Vadda-Kaladdy in Póyiddi (or *Bó-sittiya*) near Achchelu. Póyiddi itself is known as Seddi-puram, no doubt with reference to a Vihara which stood on the *sittiya*.

16. A plausible suggestion has been made by Mr. H. W. Codrington C. C. S. in his lecture before the Jaffna Historical Society (on 12th Feb. 1920) to the effect that Ukkirasinkan and Jayatunkan might be identified with Mágha and Jayabáhu (1215-1236).

17. See this discussed at length by Mr. Coomaraswamy in *opus cit.* pp. 128-30.

18. See Note 12 *supra*.

19. It would seem that the *Vaiyá* was composed during the times of the last Jaffna kings. See the traditions about the writer of this work in Mr. Mootootamby Pillai's *Jaffna History* 2nd edition, p. 49. The Portuguese knew the story of the Yálpáṇam. For De Queyroz (p. 37) speaks of "the colony of the lord Jafana which is the name of the first coloniser."

either *Yá!* ²⁰ or *pánan*. Learned opinion is now in favour of a Sinhalese origin to the name of the Ancient Tamil apital. ²¹ *Yápá-ne* is a good Sinhalese equivalent for Nallur: "Yápá" means good and "ne" is a common Sinhalese ending for village names. The earliest mention of the name is, in fact, in the Sinhalese. ²² Tamil works of the period of Jaffna kings always speak of Sinkai-nakar as the capital of the North, while later ones call it Nallur. All this shows that the story of the *Yá!ppádi* is to be abandoned root and branch.

The real historical portion of the *Vaipava-málai* begins with Kooḷankaich-chakkara-varti. On the alleged colonisation of Jaffna once more under him (pp. 14-18) little need be said here. The author has closely followed the *Kayiláya-málai* which represents the local traditions of each village with regard to its reputable or perhaps reputed ancestors.

There follows then (pp. 18-27) a list of kings—is it complete?—with brief chronicles on the reign of each and this looks firmer ground to tread. The author has, in all probability, bodily "lifted" the *Irásamurai* into his work, slightly abridging it, perhaps, as he has done in the case of the *Kayiláya-málai*. But from *Pararása-sékarán* ²³ onwards he seems to have entirely depended, as already stated, on oral traditions for his information—hence his glaring inaccuracies with regard to the kings of the Portuguese period of Ceylon History. ²⁴

The greater portion of the "prophecy" of *Supatiddamuni* is from *Vaiyá-pádal* which ascribes it to the time of Kanakachakkaravarti son of Kooḷankaichchakkaravarti! Additions to the "prophecy" have been made from time to time down to the coming of our present rulers and we are bidden, by the latest interpolator, to look forward to the appearance of king *Válasinkan*, to whom the *Piránchu* and *Ulantésu* kings will deliver the kingdom of Lanka which they will have wrested from the *Intirésu* man!

20. My esteemed friend Mudaliyar C. Rásanayagam would see the Kingdom of Jaffna in a reference to the Veenal flag in *Kalingattupparani*, (I. 8) But there is no evidence for the lute having ever been on the standard of the kings of Jaffna. Mr. Brito says somewhere that the sign *gemini* was the emblem for Jaffna. How he made that out is not clear to me. The *Sarasóti-málai*, a work of the 13th century, gives the *Yá!* as the auspicious sign of Tundi and makes no mention of Jaffna at all. On the other hand we know from *Sekarása-sékara-málai* and other sources that the Bull and Setu were on the Jaffna flag, and the Jaffna coinage bore the same emblem. See my paper on the "Forgotten Coinage of the kings of Jaffna": *Ceylon Antiquary* V pp. 172-79.

21. See the *Ceylon Antiquary*, II 58, 173.

Also Mr. Coomaraswamy *op. cit.* p. 130.

22. The *Selalihini Sandesaya* (15th century) has *Yápa-patuna* (Stanza 28).

Also the *Kókila Sandesaya* of the same period (stanza 9).
Is there an earlier instance?

23. The author of the *Jaffna History* says that "the *Irásamurai* was compiled a little before the Portuguese conquest of Jaffna." (p. 7). But he does not give his authority for it.

24. See "The Kings of Jaffna during the Portuguese period of Ceylon History." Jaffna, 1920.

THE FIRST CEYLON POET⁽¹⁾—CAPTAIN THOMAS AJAX ANDERSON.

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

TO His Majesty's 19th Foot belongs the distinction—of importance from the point of view of the Colony—of having produced from among its commissioned officers, not only the first Englishman of the British *régime* to write a book on Ceylon, but also the first to publish a volume of poems on the subject. These were contemporaries, Capts. Robert Percival (1765-1826) and Thomas Ajax Anderson (1783-1825). Both are, of course, included in that monument of industry and accuracy, Major Ferrar's *Officers of the Green Howards*; Percival has a short biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Anderson has none anywhere—beyond the outline of his services that is happily now the memorial that every 19th officer has received.

Anderson was born in 1783 and received a commission as ensign in the 19th on July 15th, 1799. The regiment was then in India and Ceylon, and Anderson must have proceeded to join it either in India or Ceylon at once, for in 1817, when he published his *Wanderer*, he tells his readers in the preface that for "eighteen years the author, in his military career, has been doomed to wander over the interesting island of Ceylon," and in his "Adieu to Ceylon," too, written on the voyage home towards the end of 1816, he remarks:—

"Oh! I could dwell on friends below'd,
For ever from my life remov'd,
Who eighteen summers since with me,
First gaily ploughed this smiling sea."

In another poem in the same volume, which was published in 1817, he makes the period of his sojourn in the East still longer:—

"Some twenty years of chequer'd die
Have since in various climes gone by;
For I was doom'd with sail unfurl'd,
To seek the distant Indian world,
My country's standard to display,
Where Timor once held regal sway,
Where mosques, with moon-crown'd columns gleam,
On that imperial hallow'd stream."

But it cannot have been so long as eighteen or twenty years if he went out in 1800. Either he has exaggerated, or, which is possible, for he seems to have had relatives living in India, he was already there or in Ceylon when he was gazetted to the 19th. One of these relatives was probably "Alexander Anderson, Esq., late Superintending Surgeon in Mysore,"

1. By this expression is here meant the first Englishman to write poetry on the subject of Ceylon.

to whom he dedicated one of his "Poems written chiefly in India." He has some lines also in his other book "To the Memory of a Young Lady," a relative of his "who died upon her journey from Madras to a distant part of India."

It seems likely that it was the half-battalion of the regiment that was in India that he joined. It should be explained that five companies of the 19th embarked for India from Ceylon in February, 1799, to join the army operating against Seringapatam and rejoined at Colombo early in 1800. But he must have spent some time in India, either before he joined or on leave,² for in 1809 he published in England *Poems Written Chiefly in India*, and both this and his later book of poems contain descriptions of Indian life and scenery. For instance, one in the former book, entitled "The Delights of India," describes that country of "the burning land wind," as one

"Where everlasting tom-toms sound,
And with their barb'rous noise confound,
And quite destroy your rest."

It was no doubt on his way to Ceylon that he stopped at Ramnad, and in a "choultry," where he wrote this sonnet:—

"Hail, pious Fane! majestic in decay,
The way-worn traveller's solace and delight!
There may I pass the burning noon away
And rest my fainting frame till fall of night!
The child of poverty may enter here,
Without a bribe a shelter may obtain,
Nor wilt imploring eye look round in vain
And dread a venal landlord's scornful sneer!
A thousand blessings on the land that rear'd
This grateful shelter in a scene so rude!
Now can I journey through this solitude
With strength recruited, and with spirits cheer'd.
Blush! Britain! blush! Beneath thy gloomy skies
The wretch that cannot purchase shelter dies!"

From which it appears that though he disliked some native customs, such as tom-toming, he much approved of this one of providing rest-houses for travellers of all classes.

He sings the praises of a Ceylon "choultry," or "amblomb," too, in the *Wanderer*, and points for the benefit of

"England, my country though thou art
Entwin'd around my very heart,"

the same moral.

On his arrival in Ceylon, whether from England or India, he was for a year quartered at Colombo, and liked the place:—

"How passing strange the compass of a year
A foreign residence should so endear."

2. He did not accompany the 19th when it went over from Ceylon to India to take part in the operations in Travancore in 1809, for he had gone on leave to England 1st October, 1807, and did not return till the end of 1810.

He writes a sonnet to Julia "On leaving Colombo" :—

"At early morn how often have I stray'd,
Amid thy pleasure-giving gardens where
The cinnamon perfum'd the balmy air,
And all its aromatic sweets display'd.
How oft at eve, what time the moon-beam smil'd,
Upon thy silver lake's unspotted breast,
Have I with thee, sweet maid, the hour beguil'd,
While thou hast lulled each busy thought to rest.
Julia, farewell, enchanting scenes, adieu!
I feel the rising tear my cheek bedew,"

and when he had finally left the island, he had his regrets :—

"Ceylon! I envy still thy spicy shores."

What, however, is certain is that, having been gazetted Lieutenant on November 17th, 1801, he was, in June 1802, quartered at Trincomalee, and that, in 1803, though only twenty years of age, he was already married, for he and Mrs. Anderson both put their names down among the Trincomalee subscribers to the "poems" of Mrs. Grant, of Laggan—the lady whose sole claim to remembrance in the literary world is that she was the author of "Where, and oh where is my Highland laddie gone?" He accompanied a detachment of the 19th Regiment that marched with Lieut.-Col. Barbut's force from Trincomalee to Kandy, leaving the latter place on February 14th and reaching Kandy on February 21st, 1803. Here he remained for a month, keeping a diary of his daily movements and of events in the life of the gradually diminishing garrison, but fortunately for himself he was sent back on March 20th to Trincomalee with twelve convalescent Europeans and an escort of thirty men of the Malay Regiment, and thereby escaping the debacle which overtook the garrison at the end of June. This diary, with letters to himself after he left Kandy, written by officers of its garrison during the harrowing time that succeeded, he published as an appendix to his *Poems Written Chiefly in India*, of which, it must be admitted, it forms the most valuable portion.³

He was back at Trincomalee on March 28th, and here he probably remained for the next four years, during which the only eventful things that happened were the march of a detachment to Kandy under Capt. Arthur Johnston and its wonderful retreat therefrom when that gallant officer found, on his arrival, the place entirely abandoned by the British, an achievement in which Anderson had no personal share; and in the next place the birth in the same year at Trincomalee of a daughter (March 26th).

At some time during this period he was "Paymaster and adjutant to a Corps of Pioneers."⁴

On September 24th, 1807, he left Trincomalee, and on October 1st, Ceylon for England. On his return to Ceylon, after a furlough of over three years, during which he obtained his company (October 4th, 1809), he was appointed (December 1st, 1810) to the command of Calpentyn, a place of importance in the time of the Dutch, with an old 17th century fort, situated on the western shore of an extensive lagoon on the west coast, half-way between Colombo and Mannar. But he was not suffered to remain here in peace, for on April 3rd, 1811, he was tried by court-

3. This appendix is not found in all copies of the book; it is wanting, e.g., in the British Museum copy

4. So he states in his *Poems*.

martial on the curious charge of "having submitted to be told by his commanding officer, Lieut.-Col. Stuart, that he had told a lie, and secondly for not having fulfilled his written promise to leave the regiment within a year of his leaving for England on September 24th, 1807."

Possibly it had been made a condition of his obtaining his prolonged leave that he should not return and thereby disturb other arrangements made to facilitate it, or possibly he was unpopular in consequence of his practice of writing verse on all occasions. But these proceedings against him virtually came to nothing. He was acquitted on the first charge but convicted on the second. He was, in April 1812, "publicly reprimanded," but he was not required to leave the regiment. Nor is it certain that he was unpopular in the regiment. The "Appendix to his Poems," already mentioned, contains letters from several officers of the 19th; the book itself is dedicated "To W. S. Andrews, Esq., late His Majesty's 19th Regiment of Foot in token of grateful attachment by his affectionate friend and fellow soldier, the Author." This officer was a surgeon who had served with the 19th in the Kandyan campaign of 1803, and had very likely been with the latter on leave in England, for, having during Anderson's leave been gazetted to the 67th Foot, he was on December 24th, 1808 "superseded for absence."

Anderson had friends, too, in the Ceylon Civil Service, for he describes as a friend of his one of the most distinguished members of it, William Tolfrey, who had fought at Assaye as a captain in the 73rd, had written, referring to the Kandyan War of 1815, *A Narrative of Recent Events in Ceylon, by a Gentleman on the Spot*, and had devoted all his spare time in Ceylon to translating the New Testament into Sinhalese. He was also a friend of Simon Sawyer, the Collector of Batticaloa, and was one of the signatories to the address given to the latter on his departure from Trincomalee in 1816. He was full of appreciation of the first Governor, the Hon. Frederick North—

" This darling of Ceylon,
Whose talents all admire,
Whose virtues few attain,"

and wrote lines on his illness.

But the civil and military authorities of the later period of his Ceylon career do not seem to have appreciated him, and the staff is his *bête noir*.

He bids them farewell with some bitterness:—

" Farewell, ye Staff with formal face,
In all the pomp and 'pride of place,'
Of you I have not much to say,
I never touch'd your double pay,
But ever was a luckless sinner
Who seldom shar'd a King's House dinner,
While every idle word that hung
Upon my heedless pen or tongue
Was deem'd a sly intended hit
To show my wicked wanton wit."

These lines addressed to the Staff seem to support the view that he owed some unpopularity to his poetry, but the reason for his dislike to the Staff is perhaps to be found in the fourth line. He was a married man with a family, and the "double pay" no doubt would have been useful.

He had his likes and dislikes and they seem to have been violent. The Wesleyan missionaries arrived at Batticaloa—the first British missionaries to come to the island—while he was quartered there in 1816, and he took a decided dislike to them, not unnaturally perhaps in an age which read Sydney Smith and disliked "enthusiasm" in religious matters. He expresses this in the following lines in his "Adieu to Ceylon" :—

"Farewell, ye missionary crew,
Though ye a heavenly call pursue,
Ye hold self-interest still in view,
I deem you all a whining tribe,
Nor to your creed, or fund subscribe."

Of his domestic experiences we have but slight hints and scanty information. He was twice married, but of his first wife's maiden name and Christian name we know nothing. Reference has been made to a daughter born at Trincomalee in 1804. It seems to have been this daughter who, with another daughter by "Sarah his (second) wife," was baptized at the Fort Church, Colombo, on April 10th, 1808.⁵ She is entered in the register as "Julia, daughter of Capt. T. A. Anderson and—his wife." We hope his first wife was "Julia," too, for in a very passionate, if not erotic poem, he apostrophises a lady in these terms :

"Then come, my Julia, bless my sight,
In all thy heavenly beauty bright.
Let me once more, in these fond arms,
Enfold thy nectar-breathing charms :
Oh, haste to fix thy lips on mine !
We'll taste of blisses all divine.
Nor quit the love-exciting strife,
Till fainting on the verge of life,
And pillow'd on each other's breast,
By slow degrees we sink to rest."

And he tells another, Camilla, how strangely she recalls Julia to him :—

"Thy native elegance and ease,
So void of affectation,
That faultless form, that polish'd mind,
So passing expectation !
These, these are beauties that recall
My absent fair to me !
I see my Julia's long lost charms,
Camilla, all in thee."

He talks, too, of "my Julia's last farewell." But perhaps too much significance should not be attached to these reminiscent flights, for elsewhere he speaks of "the lamented Charlotte," and, besides Camilla, has appeals to Mary and Emma. He was evidently an admirer of the sex, and seems to have found perfection, for in "Lines to Three Sisters," he vows that in one or perhaps each one of them—

"All these bright accomplishments combine,
And in one interesting female shine."

⁵ In English baptismal registers the maiden name of the wife is never given, but in Dutch it is never omitted.

But it was not she alone that deserved this adjective—one of the most eulogistic epithets of Georgian times. Elsewhere he bids adieu to another

“ Sweet, interesting maid.”

By his second wife, Sarah, he had other children. A son, Danvers Wentmore, was baptized at the Fort Church, Colombo, on September 6th, 1811, and a third daughter, Victoria Maria Frances Molesworth, was buried at Trincomalee on June 24th, 1816. Her godfather was probably Viscount Molesworth, of the 1st Ceylon Regiment,⁶ who had been commandant at Trincomalee, and, who, with the Viscountess, was lost in the transport *Arniston* in 1815; but this wife seems to have either died in Ceylon like the first, or else to have preceded her husband to England, for in his “ Adieu to Ceylon ” of 1816, he bewails his solitary condition :—

“ While I, now friendless and alone,
With blighted health and prospects flown,
Am left to pour this joyless lay,
O'er early ties, long swept away.”

He alludes to it again at the end of *The Wanderer* :—

“ For I, o'er all I love have wept,
Untimely from my bosom swept.”

To return now to Anderson's military career. In the Kandyan War of 1815 he commanded the “ 7th Division,” which marched from Batticaloa to Kandy. It did not arrive there in time to be present at the entrance of the British troops into the hill capital. He seems to have had an accident while at Kandy, for he was, on June 25th, 1821, awarded a temporary pension of £100 “ for injuries sustained in the performance of military duties there.”

In 1815 and 1816 he was commandant of Batticaloa. He embarked with his family for England on the *Alexander* on November 7th of the latter year. He was placed on half-pay of the 60th Foot on April 8th, 1819. Where he lived, where he died in England is not known to me. He writes the “ Introduction to the Wanderer ” from “ Chelsea, 1st June, 1817.” His death took place on January 8th, 1824, in his forty-second year.

During the first period of his sojourn in the East, Anderson had tried his hand at “ Poems ” of sorts, translations of Tamil songs, and epitaphs on his friends, Major Blair, Capt. Napper of the 51st, and Lieut.-Col. Hunter of his own regiment. At the beginning of the second period he was contemplating something more ambitious.

In April 1812, he announced in the *Ceylon Government Gazette* the speedy publication of “ *Ceylon ; A Poem in Three Cantos*, by Captain Anderson, H. M.'s 19th Regiment.” But it did not appear until 1817, after his arrival in England, and a change was made in the title. It was published as *The Wanderer in Ceylon ; A Poem in Three Cantos*, and in 1819 it reached a second edition. So it must to some extent have been appreciated.

It is not surprising that the book met with a favourable reception from the British public, which had become interested in Ceylon from the recent acquisition of the island and the conquest of Kandy; the descriptions published by Capt. Percival, the Rev. James Cordiner and Viscount Valentia, and the article in the *Edinburgh Review* by Sydney Smith. People wanted to know more about it, and Anderson's poem was easy reading and was reminiscent of Sir Walter Scott, the leading poet of the time. But like other and better poetry, it is now forgotten.

6. The alternative is that the Viscountess was her god-mother.

The novelty has worn off, and Ceylon does not attract much attention in the literary world or inspire a greater poet.

From the *Wanderer* and the other poems included in that book as well as in his first book, it is possible to obtain some inkling of his birth, nationality and upbringing, though even these suggestions may be misleading. In the first place there is no doubt that he was born in Scotland :—

“ Dear Scotland, hail ! where oft my infant feet,
In playful mood have rov'd along the burn ” ;

And his “ harass'd bosom ” would beat with joy if he could return once more to its “ dark heaths,” but fate has decreed that he should never see them again,

“ Or glad an ancient helpless parent's aged eye.”

It might be possible even to identify the town or village in whose neighbourhood he was born—

“ Even now I view the rising down,
That joins the outskirts of the town,
Where once I stood and bade farewell
To scenes and objects lov'd so well.”

His birthplace was a mere hamlet, quite in the country, and with an old castle near it,
a. “ embattled time-worn tower ”—

“ His unambitious kindred lived
Far from the world, within a social dell,
For near the style (*sic*) that bounds yon field,
My long-lost dwelling lies conceal'd.”

It was in a thatch'd house, by a grove of elms—

“ Those spreading elms near which it stands,
Were planted by my father's hands,
And now I view its roof of thatch ” . . .

The village was some distance away—

“ But hark once more the distant village bells.”
One might suppose that he had been at Eton—

“ Imprison'd here, no more I share
The twilight converse of the fair,
No more prolong the social walk,
Intent on tender theme to talk,
Where Eton throws her classic shade,
And once my frolic boyhood stray'd ;
No more those well-known turrets seem
Reflected in the willowy stream.”

But an examination of the school registers, made at the instance of Major Ferrar, failed to discover any record of his name in them.

The Wanderer is written in the metre that had recently been made popular by Sir Walter Scott—the octo-syllabic or romantic rhyming measure, adopted earlier by Southey, later

by Byron and Tom Moore.⁷ It describes Ceylon scenery and life with considerable facility of diction, accuracy and animation, and altogether is a pleasantly written poem—though it is true that it may not contain much that can be strictly called poetry. There are “word pictures”—this sounds like one of the *clichés* of the reviewer, but it is exactly what they are—of the more familiar Ceylon scenes, all set out with a never-varying regularity that becomes monotonous, for Anderson did not follow his master by judiciously varying the rhythm, as Scott did, thereby “triumphing,” as Byron said, over the “fatal facility of the octo-syllabic verse.”

We have described for us, Colombo at dawn and at midday, with the Fort, the Pettah, Wolvendahl Church, Slave Island, the Kelani River with its mangroves, the harbour with its fishing canoes and its dhonies, the paddy-field, the huts and boutiques of the natives, cocoa-nut topes, the primeval forest, the *bo* tree, the talipot, the forests and rivers of the dry regions, a rock temple, the Kandyan country, Adam's Peak, the debacle at Kandy in 1803, and its recent conquest, Buddhist temples and rites as contrasted (much to their advantage) with those of the Hindu religion. He ends with reflections on the Pettah Burial Ground and his comrades resting there with the gallant naval men :—

“ Who, at their country's beck,
Have firmly trod the reeking deck.”

“ Some to these distant shores who came
In tented fields to purchase fame,
Who proudly hop'd a name to raise,
That bards might harp in future days,
But found, too late, these forests yield
No glorious wreath, no hard-fought field ;
Disease, the warrior's wily foe,
Has laid their sanguine ardour low ;
And with the coward and the slave
They share one undistinguished grave.”

These lines might well form the epitaph on the memorial of the officers and men of the 19th and 51st and of native regiments who perished in the Kandyan Expedition of 1803—that monument that has still to be erected.

He loves these Ceylon scenes :—

“ Yon purple hills that nobly swell,
The sunny plain, the shady dell,
The rifted rock, the trackless wood,
The sleeping lake, the rushing flood,
The ocean bright as burnished steel ” ;

but still he is not happy ;

“ Yet all this glowing scenery
Imparts no sense of joy to me
No social, sympathetic band,
Endears to me this lovely land.”

7. “The Lay of the Last Minstrel” had appeared in 1805 ; “Marmion” in 1808 ; and “The Lady of the Lake” in 1810. No doubt Anderson had been studying them, when, in 1812, he issued his prospectus of *Ceylon : A Poem in Three Cantos*.

He misses the singing birds of his native land, the blackbird, the thrush, the lark (but this could have been heard at Trincomalee), the linnet, and the nightingale (but there are no nightingales in Scotland). It was on account of this home sickness that he took to writing poetry, but still though deprived of these "sweet-toned warblers of the grove,"

"Yet not unmusical to me
The evening murmurs of the bee.

And I can view with deep delight
Those fire-flies sparkling on my sight."

and he finds some satisfaction—"a ray of pleasure" when in melancholy mood,

"In listening to the forest dove,
Who seems to wail her absent love."

But it is writing poetry that has saved him when he had

"... lost all energy of mind
To apathy my soul resign'd."

And this is a sufficient excuse for his attempting to write it too. For one result, the publication of *The Wanderer in Ceylon*, we of a century later are grateful, and we should be sorry if the author's forecast that he and his *Wanderer* be completely forgotten came true; that

"E'en he a trifler 'mid the throng
Who boast the melody of song,
Who pours this meditative lay,"

should, besides having no memorial like the unrecorded dead of the Pettah,

"... as vainly claim
Some slight memento of his name."

"And not a living soul retain
The memory of his idle strain,
Fled like a summer's morning haze,
That vanishes e'en while we gaze."

ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

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

(*Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon*)

WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA

(*Continued from Vol. VI., Page 93*).

STAR FORT, MATARA.

5-3-14 Went to Star Fort and was shown over by Drieberg, D. E. This small Fort is almost perfect and such a gem that it should certainly be kept clean and as a show place. The D. E.'s house should be removed *completely*. It is a cadjan roofed house and thick walls. The woodwork over the doorway at the entrance—a fine coat of arms—should be painted and white ant destroying paint should be pumped in to the wood. The walls of the Fort on the south side of the river are in good preservation.....

DONDRA TEMPLE.

6-3-14. Went out to Dondra and up to the temple.

Mahāvansa : LX. 58 ; LXXV, 49-50 ; LXXXV. 85-86 ; XC. 94.

Mah : LX-58. *Vijaya Bāhu I.* " And he made repairs to the.....Uruwéla Vihāra at Devanāgara."

Mah : LXXV. 49-50 : In campaign of *Parākrama Bāhu I* it is called " Dévanāgara."

Mah : LXXXV. 85-86 : Of *Parākrama Bāhu I* : " And it came to the ears of the lord of the land that at the noble city of Dévanāgara, which is like unto a mine of merit, there lay decayed the temple of the lily-coloured god, ⁷ who is king of the gods. And indeed it was an ancient temple, in that it had been built many years ago. And he went up to that beautiful city, and made the temple of the king of the gods that stood there look as new and bright as the palace of Sakra, ⁸ and made it like unto a storéhouse abounding with all wealth. And after that, the chief of men made that city to abound with all prosperity, and to be as goodly as the city of the gods (Devanāgara). And he ordained that an Asālhi ⁹ festival should be held every year in that city in honour of the god. "

Mah : XC. 94 : *Parākrama Bāhu IV.* " Then at Dévapura he caused a long two-storied image house to be built with two exquisite doors, containing a sleeping image (of Buddha) and caused the surrounding grove and the village Ganṭhimāna ¹⁰ to be dedicated to Buddha."

Cave. *Book of Ceylon*. I. p. 177: " In the Portuguese period (16th century) it was the most renowned place of pilgrimage in Ceylon."

7. Vishnu, the second person of the mythological Hindu triad, and now the most celebrated and popular of all the Gods of India.

8. An epithet of Indra, King of Heaven and of the Devas.

9. Ásálha = June-July.

10. Pali Ganthimāna = Sinh. Getamāna.

Nikāya Sangrahawa, p. 29: *Bhuvaneka Báhu V*: "Mahá Théra Maitréya of Galaturamula."

Nikāya Sangrahawa, p. 24: *Bhuvaneka Báhu IV*. of Gampola. "A certain minister called Sénálankádhikára Senevirat, born of Mehenavaravansa.....got a three-storied image house for the standing image (of Buddha) built at Devnuvara."

Pújávaliya, p. 47. *Pandita Parákrama Báhu* hears that the Vishnu temple at Devnuvara was dilapidated, levelled it to the ground, made all repairs and instituted festival in month of Ēsaḷa.

Muller. *A.I.C.* p. 69 and p. 138. No. 159.

159. Dondra I.—"In the 10th year of His Majesty Siri Sanga Bo Parákramabáhu a coconut tope bought for a *tumba* (?) of gold to the Bhúmi mahá. Vihára and to the image house, and 200 coconut trees to the Lord Déwarája....."

P 140. Dondra II. 163. "In the year 1432 of the auspicious, revered and correct Saka, ¹¹ in the 4th year of the auspicious Lord of Ceylon, the fortunate Siri Sangabo Siri Vijaya Báhu, born in the family of the Sun, descended....., on the 5th day of the dark half of the month Poson, granted to the Nagarísa Níla temple in Dondra 20 amunas sowing extent of the fields in Náwadunne and Pategama and the produce of Batgama where the Atapattoo Aracci made the dam....."

7-3-14. Went to Deniyaya by motor coach (10 A.M. arr. 1 P.M.)

2-30 P. M. started out westward by bicycle to Pallegama (4 m.) and visited the **Meda Vihare**, a new building of no interest.

Went with the Aracchi $\frac{1}{4}$ mile across the Gin Ganga by tree-bridge to

MALWATTEGODA.

(List of 1887—Malwatte.Bogoda or Bogoda). A small hill had been cut into terraces. On the top stand a ruined *dágaba* of cabook and brick and a few pillars. A flat stone on south serves as a flower altar. On a lower terrace is a stone socket for a wooden pillar.

The place is quite abandoned, some cabook blocks lie near the pillars which are rough with wedge marks. In the ferns near the *dágaba* was found a large chatty with the anklets of a Kapurála, ¹² hidden here since their presence in the house would be unlucky for his wife during her periods. The *dágaba* has been broken into from above

Nothing need be done here. Returned to Deniyaya.

8-3-14. Cycled to Kotapola (6 m. south) and then went east app. 5 m. to

TUMBÉWALA VIHÁRE.

Here an old cave contains a modern Buddha and *dágaba* in front, now completely abandoned.

Our guide said that 25 years ago his uncle restored an old Buddha (supposed to date to Duttagámini's time) and erected a roof and walls to the cave. He also built the *dágaba*. A field of one acre was given by the Temple Lands Commissioners, but on death of the founder the priest left from lack of support and the place decayed and the land reverted to Government. The Buddha still retains its bright colouring, but the roof of rounded tiles has fallen and the walls are crumbling. The eyes are not painted nor is the couch completely finished. The founder was Korawage Don Andris Appu Kotapola.

I cycled on to Morawaka since there was no place to see. Mr. Fernando inspected Geṭabaru Viháre ($\frac{3}{4}$ mile from Kotapola). Cf. 1887 List.

11. That is, in the year 1510 A.D.

12. Priest of a *Dévāle* which is the temple of a God, as opposed to a Viháre or temple of Buddha.

GETABARU VIHÁRE.

A rock cave. Restored. Rock groove 9 feet above ground level. Recumbent Buddha with Vishnu on the right, and a god with four arms holding lotus in right hand (called the "Western God") on the left.

High Priest Siambalagoda Sumangala Therun Wahanse. 75 years old. 50 years as High Priest here. He is 2nd priest since restoration. The priest's residence is 30 fathoms app. N. W. from Temple. 1m. from main road to Deniyaya. S. W. of Post Office.

Buddha 24 feet long. Vishnu is of mud painted blue and is in the East room. The Western God is for this District what Kattragam is for his district. Geṭabaruwa is the residence of the "*Basná-ira Deviyo*."

Formerly an elk with a white $\frac{1}{2}$ moon on its forehead was the guardian of the place. It was seen by two hunter brothers, who told their father who went with a party to shoot and discovered this place. Only fragments of a sleeping Buddha were in the cave which was called Geṭabaru Lena. The Mōhandiram A.A. Gunaratne is the Vidane Aracchi of Geṭabaruwa, 78 years old, in service 59 years.

9-3-14 : Returned to Mátara from Morawaka.

10-3-14 : Despatched all negatives and squeezes to Anuradhapura and sent coolies with tents to Dondra.

11-3-14 : Started clearing jungle round Gal-ge, making plan of Dondra Temple and photographing the old remains.

12-3-14 : Went on with the work at Dondra.

(To be continued)



Notes & Queries.

WHO WAS WHO IN CEYLON. DURING THE FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH RULE.

MR J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired), is engaged in compiling, and the *Times of Ceylon* Co., Ltd., in due course will publish, a BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD OF ALL PERSONS, of every nationality (whether Soldiers or Civilians), who were in any way prominently connected with Ceylon during the FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH RULE.

The assistance of all who are interested in the completeness of this record will be much appreciated, and Biographical Notes, Old Documents, Sketches, Maps, Deeds of Appointment, etc., etc., submitted to the Publishers will in all cases be most carefully preserved and returned undamaged as early as is possible: Communications should be addressed to the MANAGER, *Times of Ceylon*, Colombo.

This publication will seek to co-ordinate the information hitherto available only to students, and its purpose is to record for all time matters of interest which will otherwise be lost in obscurity.

A JAFFNA CANNON.

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

WITH reference to the last inscription upon a cannon at Jaffna which appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VI, Part I, I have received from Lieut-Colonel, J. H. Leslie of Gunners holme, Melbourne Avenue, Sheffield, the historian of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, the following information.—In the Rotunda Artillery Museum at Woolwich, there are four guns made by Kinman. They bear "Francis Kinman, 1794," a brass gun; F. K. Kinman, 1817." And two of the Royal Irish Artillery made by him in 1794 and 1796.

COMBS.

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

MR A. ALVIS, in Vol. VI, Part II of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, has referred to the tradition that the comb worn in the Low-Country was "introduced into Ceylon about the 18th century by some Malay Prince who was deported from Java."

As far as I am aware there is no mention of the comb in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The following extract from Raffles' *History of Java* (London, 1830), Vol. I, p. 99, tends to confirm the Javanese origin of the ornament:

"Neither men nor women cut their hair, but allow it to grow to its natural length: in this they differ from the *Malâyus* and *Bûgis*, who always wear it short. The men, except on particular occasions, gather it up on the crown of the head, twist it round, and fasten it by means of a semicircular tortoise-shell comb fixed in front."

OLD BOTANIC GARDENS.

By ARTHUR ALVIS, M.M.C.

I HAVE an idea that Governor Van Angelbecks's country residence, subsequently occupied by General MacDowall, was on the site near the Grandpass Municipal Market, on which stand the house belonging to the Gomes Abeyesinghe family, and the neighbouring buildings. The place was known as Malwatte, and Mr. Abeyesinghe was to my knowledge commonly called and referred to as "Malwatte Ralahami."

I am also inclined to think that D'Jonville's garden was the one attached to, and forming part of, Hill House. These premises originally belonged to A. H. Marshall, at one time Auditor General, known as Iniquity Marshall. They were purchased by Mr. Beling, Registrar of the Supreme Court, and the Crown acquired the same about twenty five years ago from the Beling family. When I first knew this garden in 1868 it was planted with many fruit trees—different kinds of Mangoes, Guavas, Jambus, &c., nutmeg and a variety of other trees.

The title deeds of this property are probably with the Government Agent of the Western Province. If so, they might disclose some information on the point.

A CEYLON CELEBRITY: LT.-COL. A. JOHNSTON.

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

FOR the following copy of the epitaph on Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Johnston, celebrated in Ceylon for his expedition to Kandy in 1804, and "*Narrative*" of it published in 1810, I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. R. B. Miller, Rector of Shalden, near Alton, Hampshire. The inscription is on a tablet in the church of that parish.

"Sacred to the memory of Lieut.-Col. Arthur Johnston, of Clare in the County of Tyrone, Ireland, formerly of the 19th Regiment of Foot, and 2nd Ceylon Battalion, late of His Majesty's Regiment of Royal Corsican Rangers, and Assistant Commander at the Royal Military College at Farnham.

His services in Ceylon (where he signalized himself on many occasions, but particularly in the command of an Expedition to Candy in the year 1804, which place he captured under difficulties the most appalling), laid the foundation of a disease which, after many years of severe suffering, terminated his life on the 6th June, 1824. He was born on the 7th of July, 1776, and married Martha (daughter of Thomas Smith, Esq.) by whom this tribute of affection is erected to his memory."

It may be noted here that the title of the old 19th Foot was on January 1st this year changed from "H. R. H. Princess Alexandra of Wales's Yorkshire Regiment," to "the Green Howards, Princess Alexandra of Wales' (Yorkshire) Regiment." "2nd Ceylon Regiment" was the official designation of Captain Johnston's Ceylon corps.

THE TOWN OF ALUTNUWARA.¹

By R. N. THAINE, C.C.S.

(10th Sept. 1920) : Inspected the "town"—so called I suppose from its size—Alutnuwara *alias* Bintenne, has been described by many European Travellers dating from 1600 as "one of the most interesting places in Ceylon." It is said to be older than Anurádhapura. Buddha visited it and founded the famous Dágoba. The kings of Ceylon paid frequent visits. Knox looked down at it with wonder from Dumbara.

"There the Emperors of Ceylon held Court : There were fine streets, handsome buildings and noble pagodas painted white and brightly gilt. There was a large palace. Ships were made here. . . . and the city extended for a mile on either side of the river. It was one of the handsomest cities of the whole Island where everything that one can think of is to be found."

But the modern traveller would leave Alutnuwara with a very different impression, assuming that he ever wandered as far. The dágoba is a massive work and should be a fine monument when it is restored. At present it consists of the usual brick-work and will, I think, take years to complete. As for the town, it is the most unkempt, squalid and stinking place I have seen in the Province. It is littered with rubbish, cattle-dung and broken bricks. The once famous roads are sand tracks, the dwellings are of the poorest description.

It is obvious that no serious attempt is ever made to keep the place clean, and yet, at certain seasons of the year, thousands of pilgrims visit this famous shrine. It would take an army of scavengers to keep it clean, and, as for conservancy, considering the number of pilgrims visiting this locality, it is a marvel that there has never occurred any serious outbreak of epidemic disease. I suppose the dryness of the climate and the sandy soil have contributed to its freedom from epidemics.

The one redeeming feature of this locality is the marvellous views of the Uva and Kandy mountains, especially from the banks of the Mahaweliganga which, at this spot, is a fine piece of water. But the views do not help one to bear the blazing heat and the clouds of eye-flies and dust, and Alutnuwara, though worth a visit for a few hours, is not a place to live in.

ITS SANITATION AND INACCESSIBILITY :—Alutnuwara is a locality which should undoubtedly be brought under the Sanitary Town Ordinance, though I would hesitate to adopt this step until it is made more accessible. Sanitary towns must receive constant supervision if any real progress is to be made. It would be impossible to supervise this town, so long as it is without a good road leading to it. To leave this work entirely to headmen is almost equivalent to doing nothing at all. Considering the religious importance of the locality and its nearness to the magnificent Sorabora Tank where, given a population or Colony, prospects of food production will increase, I consider it essential to make it accessible by means of a good road. The cart road from Bibile goes within 12 miles from the town and I hope, after an inspection of the trace, to persuade Government that, in the interests of sanitation and food production, the extension of the road is a work of real urgency.

Alutnuwara was at one time a small Military Station. All that appears to remain of its military occupation are three cannon, of which two are used as gate posts and the other as a fence stick ! It is said that there are other cannon in the town but buried in sand and their locality is uncertain. I think these cannon might be mounted at the resthouse, which is said to be the site of the Emperor's palace.

1. Being an extract from the Diary of the Government Agent, Province of Uva, for the month of September, 1920.

MR. ALEXANDER OSWALD BRODIE.

By D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

IN a note appearing in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. Vi. Part 1, p. 52, Mr. J.P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S., (Retired) calls for "any particulars" about the late Mr. A. O. Brodie, who, as Assistant Government Agent first of Nuwarakalawiya and again of Matale, was known to have been a very popular, learned and independent member of the Ceylon Civil Service.

The following account of his record appears in the *Ceylon Civil List* for 1864, the year in which he retired from the Service :—

"Mr. Brodie was appointed Assistant Civil Engineer and Commissioner of Roads at Puttalam, May 3rd, 1845 ; Acting Police Magistrate and Commissioner of Requests, Calpenty (provisionally), Jany 30th, 1847 ; Stipendiary Justice of the Peace for the suppression of cattle stealing in the Eastern, Northern, and North-Western Provinces, Octr. 16th, 1848, which appointment he held till selected to act as Assistant Government Agent, etc ; at Nuwarakalawiya in Jan. 1850, on a salary of £550 which he continued to hold when formally appointed to the Civil Service in Sepr. 1851 ; Commissioner of Requests and Police Magistrate at Point Pedro, Decr. 9, 1852 ; Acting District Judge, Kurunegala, Decr. 9, 1852 ; Acting Assistant Government Agent at Kurunegala (provisionally), Jany. 24th, 1853 ; Acting Commissioner of Requests and Police Magistrate at Madawalatenne, Feb. 4, 1853 ; Acting Assistant Government Agent at Kandy, March 3rd, 1853. Proceeded to England on leave of absence, Aug. 16th, 1853. Resigned the service Aug. 24th, 1855. Specially re-appointed to the service in a position analogous to that which he occupied previous to his resignation, July 11, 1857 ; Additional District Judge, Matara. Decr. 1, 1857 ; Acting Assistant Agent etc., Matale, May 1st, 1858 ; Appointment confirmed, May 1, 1860. Proceeded to England on leave of absence, Feby. 16th, 1864. Retired 28th Decr. 1864 on a pension of £220."

The late Mr. Brodie may be called a "Regenerator" of Nuwarakalawiya. According to Mr. R. W. Ievers' *Manual of the North-Central Province*, it was Mr. Brodie who started the first school at Anuradhapura in 1850. "Mr. Brodie did much to induce the people to grow fruit trees, and with Mr. Dyke's assistance and that of Mr. (now Sir) Twynam, his assistant, various timber trees, ornamental and useful, were introduced. Mr. Brodie himself gave a money prize to the men in each division who should have the best show of young Jak trees.....Mr. Brodie pressed upon Government the necessity of tank restoration as the only means of improving the condition of the people."

Mr. Brodie's contributions to the *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society include :—

1. The manufacture of Salt by Solar Evaporation. (Vol. I. No. 3, p. 99).
2. Notes on the climate and salubrity of Puttalam (Vol. I. No. 3, p. 163).
3. Statistical Account of the Districts of Chilaw and Puttalam (Vol. II. No. 6, p. 26).
4. Rock Inscription at Gurugoda Vihàra, in the Magul Korale, Seven Korales (Vol. II^o No. 6, p. 51).
5. Two Rock Inscriptions (Vol. II. No. 7, p. 81).
6. Notice on some Rock Inscriptions in the North-Western Province (Vol. II. No. 8, p. 181).
7. Topographical and Statistical Account of the District of Nuwarakalawiya (Vol. III. No. 9, p. 150).

A very interesting letter dated "Puttalam, 18th October, 1849" from Mr. Brodie to the Colonial Secretary conveying the results of his personal observations respecting the nature and

causes of the Rebellion of 1848, appears in the Appendix to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Ceylon, 1851. (*Vide* p. 196).

There is in the Colombo Museum Library a Manuscript Book by Mr. Brodie, which, according to the label affixed, has been purchased from Messrs Maggs Bros, of 109, Strand, London, W.C. The book seems to be a continuation of a similar volume as the pagination runs from 353 to 632. It is profusely illustrated with pencil and ink sketches. Some of its contents are :—

Notes on Nuwarakalawiya, Coconut, Paddy, Cotton and Sesame cultivation; woods of Ceylon; Palmyra Toddy; Stories and fables as written by the school boys at Calpentyn; Medical Notions of the Sinhalese; Dyeing as practised at Calpentyn; Names of Sinhalese Demons; Ruins near Pomparippoo, etc., etc., etc.

Several pages of this MS Book are also devoted to a careful description of the Sinhalese and Indian coins with drawings. It may here be worthy of notice that in describing a "Purana" (cf. Parker's *Ancient Ceylon* p. 474), Mr. Brodie has the following note added :—

"The natives do not know what these are, but Simon Casie Chetty tells me that they are amulets and being buried with sundry ceremonies were supposed to ensure the gradual wasting away and ultimate death of the person shadowed forth by the standing figure."

Mr. Brodie's death is chronicled in the *Ceylon Observer* of December 10th, 1874, as follows :—

"Mr. A. O. Brodie died on 6th November at 5, Roseberry Crescent, Edinburgh; only surviving son of the late Brigadier General Brodie, C. B., of the Madras, N. I. aged 53."

(*Times of Ceylon* of December 8th, 1874, says he died on the 5th of November in the 58th year of his age.)

The following paragraph appearing in the *Ceylon Observer* of December 7th, 1874, throws more light on the subject :—

"Some at least in Ceylon will share our recollections of Messrs. Emerson and Oswald Brodie, whose deaths are recorded in the papers received by this mail. Mr. Emerson was nephew to Sir Emerson Tennent and engaged extensively in coffee planting Mr. Emerson was a gentleman of very considerable talent and energy, whose life was guided by religious principle. The same may be said of Mr. A. Oswald Brodie, a biblical work from whose pen we reviewed sometime ago. Mr. Brodie's connection with the Ceylon Civil Service was singular. In view of favourable prospects offered by an uncle in America, he resigned the Service. His expectations not having been realized he was able, largely, we believe, through the influence of his friend Mr. John Bailey with Sir Henry Ward, to obtain re-admittance to the service. He will be remembered by some of the older planters and others as the popular Assistant Agent of Matale and commander of a very promising body of volunteers before the volunteer movement in our Island finally collapsed."

Lastly, it may be added that in the *Autobiography* of Sir William Gregory, Governor of Ceylon, mention is made of a Benjamin Brodie, son of Sir Benjamin Brodie, afterwards Regius Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, as Sir William's school fellow and friend (*vide* p. 30). It will be interesting to find out whether the late Mr. A. O. Brodie was a kinsman of this distinguished man of science.

BOOKS ON CEYLON.

The EDITOR,

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

Sir,

WILL you be good enough to publish the attached list of books dealing with Ceylon with a request that any other books dealing with this subject which may have been omitted from my list, may be notified by your readers.

Yours, etc.,

"BIBLIO."

[NOTE BY ED., C. A.—We publish the List with pleasure and trust that our readers will supply the omissions.]

- Alwis, Rev. C., *History of Lanka*, 1876.
- Andrews, *Journal of a Tour to Candia in the year 1796*.
- Anthonisz, R. G., *Translations of the instructions by the departing Governor to his successor and some archaeological productions*.
- Annals of Royal Botanical Gardens, Peradeniya*.
- Austen, H. H., *Land and Freshwater Mollusca of India, etc.*, Text 1 vol. 8vo., Plates 1 vol. 4 to London, 1889.
- Azeez, I. L. M. A., *Enthnology of the Moors of Ceylon*.
- Baker, Sir S. W., *Eight years' wanderings in Ceylon*.
- Baker, Sir S. W., *Rifle and Hound in Ceylon*.
- Baldaeus, P., *A description of the Isle of Ceylon*.
- Baldaeus, P., *A Short Account of Jaffnapatam, Ceylon, 1672*.
- Ballou, M. M., *An account of the Island of Ceylon*.
- Barrow, Sir Geo., *Ceylon Past and Present, 1857*.
- Bartolomeo, *Voyage to the East Indies, 1800*.
- Beddome, Col. C. R., *Handbook of the Ferns of British India, Calcutta, 1883*.
- Bennett, J. W., *A selection of rare and curious Fishes found upon the coast of Ceylon, 1851*.
- Bennett, J. W., *Ceylon and its Capabilities, 1843*.
- Berkeley, and Broom, *Fungi of Ceylon*.
- Bertolacci, Anthony, *An Account of Ceylon*.
- Berwick, Judge T., *British Rule in Ceylon*.
- Blandford, W. T., *The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon, 1888*.
- Boake, B., *Brief Account of the Origin and the nature of the connection between the British Government and the Idolatrous Systems of Religion in Ceylon*.
- Boake, W. J. S., *Mannar : A Monograph, 8vo 1888*.
- Bonavia, E. M. D., *The Cultivated Oranges and Lemons of India and Ceylon, 1890*.
- Boulenger, G. A., *Fauna of British India ; Raptilia and Batrachia, 1890*.
- Burrows, S. M., *Buried Cities of Ceylon*.
- Butts, Lieut. de., *Rambles in Ceylon, 1841*.

- Cave, H. W., *The Ruined Cities of Ceylon*, 4to.
 Cave, H. W., *Picturesque Ceylon*, 3 vols., 4to, 1895.
 Cave, H. W., *Golden Tips ; a description of Ceylon and its Great Tea Industry*, 1905.
 Cave, H. W., *Book of Ceylon*.
 Campbell, Mrs. R. B., *Palm Leaves from Ceylon*.
 Campbell, R. H., *Night's Fishing on the Wye, Sinhalese Devil Dance, etc.*, 1884.
 Campbell, Lieut.-Col. J., *Excursions, Adventures and Field Sport in Ceylon*, 2 vols.
 Capper, John, *Old Ceylon, Sketches of Ceylon Life in olden times*.
 Capper, John, *The Duke of Edinburgh in Ceylon*.
 Capper, John, *Pictures from the East*, 1854.
 Carpenter, Edward, *Adam's Peak to Elephanta*.
 Casie-Chetty, Simon, *The Ceylon Gazetteer*, 8 vol., Colombo, 1834.
 Casie-Chetty, Simon, *The Tamil Plutarch, Jaffna*, 1849.
 Ceylon (The), *Calendar for 1827*.
 Ceylon, by an Officer late of the Ceylon Rifles, 2 vols.
 Chapman, Capt. J., *Remarks upon the Ancient City of Anuradhapura*.
 Clark, Alfred, *Sport in the Low-country of Ceylon*, 1901.
 Clutterbuck, W. I., *About Ceylon and Borneo*.
 Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, being a Monograph on Mediaeval Sinhalese Arts and Crafts mainly as surviving in the 18th Century, with an Account of the Structure of Society and the Status of the Craftsmen*, 1908.
 Coomaraswamy, *Borrowed Plumes, Kandy*, 1905.
 Do *Some Kandyan Crafts*, 1904.
 Coomaraswamy and G. K. Duggirala, *The Mirror of Gesture*, 1917.
 Copleston, Bishop, *Buddhism in Ceylon*.
 Cordiner's *Description of Ceylon*, 1807.
 Cumming, Mrs. C. F. Gordon, *Two happy years in Ceylon*, 2 vols., 1892.
 Cunha, J. D. da, *Memoir on the History of the Tooth Relic in Ceylon*, 1875.
 Cross, A. L., *First Year's work on a Coffee Estate*.
 Dalboquerque, A., *The Commentaries of*, 3 vols., 8vo (Hakluyt Society).
 Daniell, W., *Elephant Hunting, a Panoramian View of the Capture and Training of Wild Elephants in Ceylon*, 1835.
 Daniell, Sam., *Picturesque illustration of the scenery, animals, etc.*
 Davy, John, *An account of the interior of Ceylon*, 1821.
 Day, Surgeon-Major Francis, *Fauna of British India, including Burma and Ceylon*, 2 vols., London, 1889.
 Day, Surgeon-Major Francis., *Fishes of India*, 2 vols., 4to, Text and Plates, 1878.
 Deschamps, John., *Scenery Reminiscences of Ceylon*, 1845.
 Dickman, *Civil Service Manual and Peterson's Directory*.
 Digby, Sir William, *Life of Sir Richard Francis Morgan*.
 D'Oyly, Sir John, *Diary, 1796-1851*, 1917.
 Farmer and Freeman, *Structure of Helminthostachys Zeylanica*.
 Farrar, Reginald., *In Old Ceylon*, 8vo, 1908.
 Ferguson, A. M. and J., *All about Gold, Gems and Pearls in Ceylon and Southern India*, 1888.

- Ferguson, John, Lectures on Ceylon.
Ferguson, John, Ceylon in the Jubilee Year.
Frauenfeld, G., Ausflug nach dem Adamspik auf Ceylon, 1859.
Forbes, (Major). Eleven years in Ceylon.
Gardner, G., Contributions towards a Flora of Ceylon, 1845.
Gautier., Ceylon.
Gooneratne, Mudaliyar E. F., Dutch Times.
Gordon, A., Uva.
Gray, A., Backwoods of Ceylon.
Gregory, Lady H., Autobiography of Sir Wm. Gregory.
Green, E. E., The Coccidae of Ceylon, Part 1 with 33 Plates, 1896.
Griffith, Major G. S. and Mrs., A Journey across the Desert, 2 vols., 1845.
G. W., Catalogue of Ferns indigenous to Ceylon, 1873.
Haafner, J., Travels on foot through the Island of Ceylon.
Haeckel, A Visit to Ceylon, 1883.
Halliwell, The Voyage and Travails of Sir John Maundeville, Kt., 1839.
Hamilton, Vereker M. and Stewart M. Fasson, Scenes in Ceylon, 1881.
Hardy, Spence, Eastern Monachism.
Hardy, Spence, Ceylon Quarterly.
Harvard, W. M., Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India, founded by the Rev. Thomas Coke, with History of the Island, 1881.
Haweis, L. T. J., Island Tales of Ceylon.
Haweis, Rev. H. R., Travel and Talk, 2 vols., 1896.
Heber, Rt. Rev. R., Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, 3 vols., 1828,
Henderson. The History of the Rebellion in Ceylon.
Hensholdt, H., A Naturalist's Rambles in Ceylon, 1889.
Hoffmeister, Dr. W., Travels in Ceylon and Continental India.
Hull, E. C. P., Coffee Planting in S. India and Ceylon, 1877.
Hume and Marshall, The Game Birds of India, Burma and Ceylon, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1878.
Hunter, W., Ceylon.
Ievers, R. W., C. M. G., Manual on North Central Province.
Jacalliot, L., Voyage au Pays.
Jameson, H. Lyster, On the Identity and Distribution of the Mother-of-Pearl Oysters, 8vo., 1901.
Johnston, Major A., Narrative of the Operations of a Detachment on an Expedition to Kandy in 1804, Dublin. 1854.
Kelaart, E. F., Prodrromus Faunae Zeylanicae, being contributions to the Zoology of Ceylon, 1852.
Kelaart, E. F., Introductory Report on the Natural History of the Pearl Oyster in Ceylon for 1858-9.
Kelaart, E. F., Introductory Report on the Pearl Banks of Arripoo.
Knighton, W., Forest Life in Ceylon, 2 vols., 1854.
Knighton, W., The History of Ceylon, 1845.

- Knox, Robert, *An Historical relation of the Island of Ceylon, etc.*, 1681.
- Langdon, *Men of Devon in Ceylon.*
- Laurie, A. C., *Gazetteer of the Central Province.*
- Legge, Capt. W. V., *Birds of Ceylon (with plates).*
- Legge, Capt. W. V., *Memorandum on the Birds found in the Hambantota District, Ceylon.*
- Leighton, W. A., *Lichens of Ceylon.*
- Le Mesurier, C. J. R., *Manual on Nuwara Eliya.*
- Leschenault, de La Tonr., *Sur la Cannellier de Ceylon*, 1822.
- Lethbridge, Sir R., *Golden book of India and Ceylon.*
- Lewis, J. P., C. M. G., *Manual of the Vanni District of the Northern Province of Ceylon*, 1895.
- Lewis, J. P., C.M.G., *Ceylon in Early British Times.*
- Liesching, L. F., *A Brief Account of Ceylon, Jaffna*, 1861.
- Linnaeus, C., *Flora Zeylanica, etc.*, 1747.
- Lock, Mrs., *How to see Ceylon.*
- Lorensz and others., *Young Ceylon.*
- Lorensz and others., *Muniandi.*
- Ludovici, Leopold, *Lapidarium Zeylanicum, being a collection of Monumental inscriptions of the Dutch Churches and Churchyards of Ceylon*, 1877.
- Macmillan, H. F., *Handbook of Tropical Gardening, etc.*, 1910.
- Macready, W. C. *Sellalhini Sandesa, Colombo*, 1865.
- Marshall, H., *Ceylon, A General Description of the Island and its Inhabitants*, London, 1846.
- Marshall, H., Major G. F. L. and de Niceville, *The Butterflies of India, Burma and Ceylon*, 3 vols, Calcutta, 1882-1890.
- Millet, Marcus W., *Jungle Sport in Ceylon from Elephant to Snipe.*
- Millie, *Thirty years ago or Reminiscences of the Early Days of Coffee Planting*, 1878.
- Mitton, Miss G. E., *The Lost Cities of Ceylon.*
- Mitten, W., *New Species of Musci from Ceylon*, 1872.
- Mitford, Edward Ledwick., *A Land march from England to Ceylon forty years ago*, 1884.
- Modder, Frank H., *Manual on Puttalam.*
- Modder, Frank H., *Gazetteer of the N.W.P.*
- Moor, *A Catalogue of Ceylon Plants.*
- Muller, Edward., *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, 1883.
- Murray, J.A., *The Edible and Game Birds of British India*, 1889.
- Muttu Coomara Swami, Arichandra, *The Martyr of Truth*, London, 1863.
- Muttu Coomara Swami, Arichandra, *The Dathawansa*, 8vo.
- Nell, L., *Portuguese Words adopted by the Cingalese.*
- Oates, E.W., *The Fauna of British India, including Burmah and Ceylon Birds*, 2 vols., London 1889-90.
- O'Brien, Capt C., *Views of Ceylon.*
- Osorio, J., *History of the Portugese, Their Discoveries, etc.*
- Parker, H., *Ceylon Village Tales.*

- Parker, H., *Ancient Ceylon; an Account of the Aborigines and of Part of the Early Civilisation*, 8vo, 1909.
- Payne, C.W., *Ceylon, its Products etc.*, 1854.
- Percival's account of the Island of Ceylon, 1803.
- Perry, Allan, *A Medical History of (Boer) Prisoners of War in Ceylon (1900-1903)*.
- Petch, T., *Physiology and Diseases of Hevea Brasiliensis*, 1911.
- Phear, Sir J.E., *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*.
- Philalethes' *History of Ceylon; including Knox's Historical relation of the Island*, 1817.
- Pybus, J., *Account of Mr. Pybus' Mission to the King of Kandy*, 1862.
- Ransonnet, Baron E. De., *Sketches of the Inhabitants etc. of Ceylon*, Vienna, 1867.
- Ribeyro, *History of Ceylon*.
- Rhys Davids, T.W., *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*.
- Rhys Davids, T.W., *Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka Tales*, 1880.
- Rhys Davids, T.W., *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, 1881.
- Russell, J., *Journal of a tour in Ceylon*.
- Sabonadiere, *The Coffee Planter in Ceylon*, 1870.
- Seligmann, *Veddahs*:
- Selkirk, Rev. J., *Recollections of Ceylon*, 1844.
- Sirr, Henry Charles, *Ceylon and the Sinhalese*, 2 vols.
- Skeen, W., *Adam's Peak with a descriptive account of the Pilgrim's route from Colombo*, 1870
- Skinner, Major Thomas., *Memorandum with reference to the Past and Present Social conditions of the Native Populations of Ceylon*, 1849.
- Selvogt, J.H., *De Bandura Ceylonensium*, 1719.
- Smith, V.A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.
- Smither, J.G., *Architectural & Archæological Remains in Ceylon*.
- Sport in Ceylon, *Extracts from a Diary of four trips to the North-Central Province, by a Planter*, 1888.
- Steuart, Mrs., *Every day life in a Ceylon Cocoa Estate*.
- Stewart, James, *An account of the Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon*.
- Stewart, James, *Notes on Ceylon and its affairs during 38 years ending 1855*.
- Storey, H., *Hunting and Shooting in Ceylon*.
- Suckling, Capt. H., *Ceylon, Historical, Physical, Statistical*.
- Sullivan, Sir E., *A Visit to Ceylon*.
- Taprobanian (The) *A Dravidian Journal of Oriental Studies in and around Ceylon, in Naval History, Archaeology, Philology, History, etc., Vols. 1, 2 and Parts 1-3 of Vol 3 in one Vol. 4 to, Bombay, 1885-88*.
- Tennent, Sir J.E., *Christianity in Ceylon*, 1850.
- Tennent, Sir J.E., *An account of the Island*, 2 vols, 1860.
- Tennent, Sir J.E., *The Wild Elephant and method of capturing in Ceylon*.
- Tennent, Sir J.E., *Sketches of the Natural History of Ceylon*, 1861.
- Thurstan *Coins Catalogue No. 2, Roman Indo Portuguese and Ceylon Government Central Museum, Madras, 8vo., 1 Plate, 1888*.

- Thwaites, G.H.K., and Hooker, J.D., Enumeration Plantarum Zeylanica, an Enumeration of Ceylon Plants, 1864.
- Tombe, C.F., Voyage aux Indes Orientales, 1796 (with siege of Colombo).
- Trewin, Life of Governor Maitland.
- Trimen, Dr. H.M.B., A Handbook of the Flora of Ceylon, containing descriptions of all the Species of Flowering Plants indigenous to the Island, 5 vols., 8vo. 1893-1900.
- Trimen, Dr. H.M.B., A Systematic Catalogue of the Flowering Plants and Ferns indigenous to Ceylon, 8vo., Colombo, 1885.
- Turnour, Geo., The Mahawansa.
- Turnour, Geo., An Epitome of the History of Ceylon.
- Turnour, Geo., Account of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon.
- Upham's Sacred & Historical Books of Ceylon, 3 vols.
- Valentia, Lord, Voyages and Travels, 4to, 3 vols.
- Valentyn. An account of Ceylon.
- Varthema. A visit to Ceylon.
- Vereker. Views of Point de Galle and Trincomalee.
- Walters, A., Palms and Pearls or Scenes in Ceylon.
- Wendt, Ceylon.
- White, H., C.C.C., Manual of Uva.
- Willey, Arthur, Contributions to the Natural History of the Pearly Nautilus, 1902.
- Willis, Dr. J.C., Guide to Ceylon.
- Woodward, F., Buddhist Ceylon.
- Wolf, S.C., The Life and Adventure of the Late Principal Secretary of State at Jaffnapatana in Ceylon, 1785.
- Yule, H. Col., The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, 2 vols, 1875.



Literary Register.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS, OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY.

HISTORY OF THE PENSIONS.

Causes of Their Origin.

(Continued from Vol. VI, Pt. II, Page 111.)

No. 3. TREATY OF PEACE.

ARTICLES of Convention entered into between His Highness Prince Moottoosawmy and His Excellency Frederick North, Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief in and over the British Settlements on the Island of Ceylon, on the other part, for the attainment of the just objects of the present war, the speedy restoration of peace, and the general security and happiness of the inhabitants of this Island.

Article 1st.—The British Government in Ceylon agrees to deliver over to Prince Moottoosawmy the town of Candy and all the possessions dependent on the Crown of Candy, now occupied by the British arms, excepting the Province of the Seven Corles, the two hills—forts of Giriagame and Gallegedereh—and a line of land not exceeding in breadth the half of a Cingalese Camanchy across the Candian territories, for the purpose of making of a direct road from Colombo to Trincomalee, which road shall not pass through the district known by the name of the Gravets of the town of Candy, which aforesaid Province, Forts, and line of land, Prince Moottoosawmy hereby solemnly agrees to cede in full to the sovereignty of His Britannic Majesty for ever.

2nd.—Prince Moottoosawmy further engages that he will consider the enemies of His Britannic Majesty's Imperial Crown as his own enemies, and that he will not, directly or indirectly, enter into any treaty or negotiation with any Prince or State without the consent of His said Britannic Majesty, or of the Governor of his settlements on Ceylon for the time being.

3rd.—As Prince Moottoosawmy is undoubted heir to the last lawful King of Candy, the British Government will recognize him as King of Candy as soon as he shall have taken on himself that title with the usual solemnities, and ratified the present Convention; and in case the said Prince should require an auxiliary force to maintain his authority, the British Government shall afford him troops, the expense of such troops during their employment in the service of the said Prince being to be defrayed by him, at a rate to be agreed upon.

4th.—It is mutually agreed, that duties on the common frontier shall be abolished, and none established except by mutual consent.

5th.—It is agreed by Prince Moottoosawmy that all Malays now resident in the Candian territories shall be sent with their families into the British territories, as shall likewise all Europeans and Portuguese who may not obtain a license from the Government of the British possession to reside in the said Candian territories ; and all Europeans and Portuguese who may commit crimes within the Candian territories, shall be sent to the British territories for trial.

6th.—It is mutually agreed, that all natives of Ceylon or of India, except such Portuguese as are mentioned in the last Article, shall be subject to the laws and tribunals of the country where the offence may have been committed.

7th.—Prince Moottoosawmy promises and agrees that he will protect to the utmost of his power the monopoly of cinnamon engaged by the British Government, that he will allow cinnamon peelers belonging to the said British Government to gather cinnamon in his territories to west of the Balany Candy, and that he will furnish as much cinnamon as may be required, at the price of Forty rix-dollars per bale of Eighty pounds.

8th.—Prince Moottoosawmy engages to permit persons duly authorized by the British Government, to cut wood in all his forests.

9th.—Prince Moottoosawmy engages not to prohibit, either directly or indirectly, the importation of paddy grain and arekanut from his territories, without consent of the British Government.

10th.—Prince Moottoosawmy furthermore engages to give a safe conduct to the Prince lately on the throne, to receive into the British territories with his family, and to allow him a certain sum for his maintenance, which shall be agreed upon hereafter by the parties to these Articles, provided it be not less than Five hundred rix-dollars per mensem during the term of his natural life.

11th.—And for the better establishment of public tranquillity, Prince Moottoosawmy engages to allow such persons as have rendered themselves obnoxious to him, by opposing his just claims, to retire with their wives and families, money, jewels, and moveable property into the British territories on Ceylon, there to remain unmolested.

12th.—It is moreover stipulated that every encouragement shall be given by such party to the subjects of the other in prosecuting fair and lawful commerce.

13th.—The subjects of His Brittannic Majesty duly authorized by the British Government on Ceylon, shall have liberty to travel with their merchandize throughout the Candian territories, to build houses, and purchase and sell their goods without let or hinderance.

14th.—The subjects of the Crown of Candy shall, on the other hand, be allowed to settle and carry on trade in the British settlements on Ceylon, and to purchase and send into Candy all merchandize, salt, salt-fish, &c., on the same terms with the native subjects of His Brittannic Majesty.

15th.—The British Government shall be allowed to examine the rivers and water-courses in the Candian territories, and shall be assisted by the Candian Government in rendering them navigable for the purpose of trade and the mutual advantages of both countries.

16th.—For the more perfect maintenance of these Articles, and of good understanding and amity between the contracting parties, Prince Moottoosawmy consents and agrees that a minister on the part of the British Government shall be permitted, whenever it may be required, to reside at the Court of Candy, and be received and protected with the honors due to his public rank and character.

17th.—These Articles being agreed upon between Prince Moottoosawmy and the Governor of British settlement on Ceylon, shall be immediately translated to His Majesty for his Royal confirmation, and shall in the meantime be acted upon with good faith by both the contracting parties, according to the true intent and meaning.

A Convention having been entered into between the British Government of Ceylon and his Majesty King Moottoosawmy, through illustrious Lord Palama [Pilima] Talawa, First Adegaar of the Court of Candy, the Second Adegaar and the other Nobles of the Court agree to and become parties in the* same, on condition that His Majesty King Moottosawmy deliver over the administration of the Provinces belonging to the Crown of Candy to the aforesaid Palama Talawa, with the title Ootoonkoomaroyen, or Grand Prince, during the term of his natural life, and continue to reside and hold his Court at Jaffnapatam, or in such other part of the British territories on Ceylon as may be agreed on between His said Majesty and the British Government.

And for the proper maintenance of his Royal dignity, the aforesaid Palama Talawa engages to pay annually to His said Majesty the sum of Thirty thousand rix-dollars in British currency, and to fulfil all the engagements entered into by His Majesty with the British Government.

And for the better security of the payment of the sums stipulated to be paid to the King Moottoosawmy, as well as to the King lately on the throne of Candy, the said Palama Talawa agrees to deliver to the British Government at Colombo in the course of every year the amount of twenty thousand ammanoms [amunams] of good areckanut, each ammanom containing Two thousand nuts, at the rate of Six rix-dollars in British currency per ammanom, to be paid to the Agents of the said Palama Talawa by the said British Government in coined copper to that amount, or in such other articles as may be agreed on between the parties.

And the British Government will in that case charge itself with the payment of the allowance stipulated for both those Princes.

And the Adegaar Palama Talawa agrees to cede in perpetuity to the British Government the village and district Goorivile or Eleriele, now called Fort Ellaidoowall, in exchange for the Hill Fort of Giriagame, which the British Government cedes again to Palama Talawa.

And it is still further agreed upon, that all the Princes and Princesses of the Royal family now in confinement shall be immediately set at liberty, and allowed to settle with their personal property wherever they choose, and that a general amnesty and pardon shall be observed on both sides, as well towards those who have opposed, as towards those who have supported the claims of King Moottoosawmy in the late or former contest.

And it is hereby agreed by His Majesty King Moottoosawmy on his part, by His Excellency Frederick North, Governor of the British on Ceylon, on the part of his Government, and by the most illustrious Lord Palama Talawa, First Adegaar, on his part and on that of the Second Adegaar and principal Nobles of the Court, that the Articles above agreed upon shall be carried into effect fully and completely, as soon as the Prince lately on the throne of Candy shall be delivered into the hands of the British Government, and that till then a perfect truce and cessation of hostilities shall continue between all the contracting parties.

And the said contracting parties have in faith thereof set to the said Articles their seals, and signed them with their names respectively.

(Signed) FREDERICK NORTH,
PALAMA TALAWA [in Cingalese].

No. 4.

PROPOSALS OF COLLECTOR OF TANJORE FOR COMMUTATION OF PENSIONS.

Political Department.

No. 374.

To the Hon'ble the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Colombo.

SIR,

I AM directed by His Excellency the Governor in Council, with reference to paragraphs 6 and 7 of your letter, dated the 29th December last, No. 77, to submit, for the information of His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon, the enclosed copy of a letter received from the Government Agent at Tanjore.

28th October, 1870, No. 103.

2. In this letter, Mr. Morris expresses his opinion that the majority of the Kandian pensioners of the third lives will be willing to commute their pensions for a capital sum, provided the terms are sufficiently liberal to enable them to purchase land or engage in some sort of business. Mr. Morris has given, as some guide in framing the rates of commutation, the scale which was sanctioned by Government in the case of the life pensioners of the Tanjore Raj, but he unhesitatingly affirms that these rates would prove unduly unfavourable in the case of the few third-life Kandian pensioners. As regards the remaining Kandian pensioners of the first or second life, Mr. Morris recommends the adoption of the system of commutation, but on more favourable rates than those of the third life. He suggests that the rates should be double or treble the rates fixed for the third life, according as the pensioners are of the second or first life.

3. The Government have deferred making any definite proposals to the Kandian pensioners of any of these classes, as they consider it desirable that they should previously be in possession of the view taken by the Ceylon Government of the proposal made by the Government Agent at Tanjore.

4. I am at the same time to state, that His Excellency in Council is of opinion that Mr. Morris' suggestions regarding the rates of commutation are moderate, and deserving of adoption by the Government of Ceylon.

5. While His Excellency in Council would regard with much satisfaction a measure which, if accepted, may, in some degree, afford the means of rescuing the Kandian pensioners from their present unfortunate condition, he is, for the reasons stated in his Minute, recorded in the Proceedings of this Government, dated 14th July, 1869, strongly of opinion that all the Kandian pensioners who may express a wish to return to their native country should be permitted to do so, and that a free passage should be given them.

6. His Excellency also considers that it is very desirable that the Government of Ceylon should send to this country an Officer invested with full authority to deal with the question of the commutation of the allowances of the Kandian pensioners, and able to advise them according to the circumstances of each case, and with a full knowledge of Ceylon, whether it will be for their benefit to return to their native country. This is a duty which, His Excellency thinks, can more appropriately and more successfully be performed by an Officer of the Government of Ceylon, to whom these pensioners should look for protection and relief, than by an Officer of the Madras Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed)

R. F. ELLIS,

Chief Secretary.

Fort Saint George,

23rd November, 1870.

From G. L. MORRIS, Esq., Government Agent, Tanjore, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, Fort Saint George, dated Vallam, 29th October, 1870, No. 103.

With reference to G.O., dated 24th January, 1870, No. 30, I have the honour to report on paragraphs 6 and 8 of the letter from the Honourable the Colonial Secretary, Colombo.

2. The majority of the Kandians, whose pensions have reached the third life, are willing to commute their pensions for a capital sum, provided the terms are sufficiently liberal to enable them to purchase land, or engage in some sort of business.

3. In the absence of the scale on which the capital sum is to be calculated, these Kandians are backward to commit themselves to a decided answer. I would, therefore, recommend that the rate of commutation be first fixed, and then an offer made to each Kandian to have his pension commuted, and I have no doubt but that it will gladly be accepted without exception.

4. The question, therefore, is what is the rate at which these pensions can be commuted with advantage. In the case of life pensioners of the Tanjore Raj, the following rates of commutation, according to their age, were sanctioned by Government, and is at present in force :—

Age of Pensioners	Number of years' purchase,
Under 10 years	13
" 10 to 20 years	12½
" 20 to 25 "	12
" 25 to 30 "	11½
" 30 to 35 "	11
" 35 to 40 "	10½
" 40 to 45 "	10
" 45 to 50 "	9½
" 50 to 55 "	9
" 55 to 60 "	8
" 60 to 65 "	7
" 65 to 70 "	6
Above 70 "	5

5. There are eight Kandian pensioners of the third life, as noted in the margin, whose stipend will be found to vary from Rupees 58-5-4 to Rupees 2-8-0 per mensem. I have not been able to obtain full information from these persons as to their age, &c., in order that the capital sum may be calculated at the foregoing rates; but I have no hesitation in stating that, if these rates are to be applied to their cases, the result will not be very favourable to them. I would, therefore, recommend that the rates to be allowed to these men may be somewhat more liberal.

6. With reference to paragraph 8 of the Colonial Secretary's letter above quoted, the condition of the pensioners of the third generation having thus been disposed of, I have to make my suggestions regarding the remaining Kandians. I can conceive no better plan than allowing them also to have their pensions commuted, which alone is likely to avert the contingency of their falling into a condition of hopeless poverty. These pensioners are of either the first or second life, and they should, in my opinion, be allowed the option of having their pensions commuted also, but on more favourable rates than those of the third life. I would suggest that these rates should be double or treble the rates fixed for the third life, according as the pensioners

	Rs.	A.	P.
Venkatramaswami Rajah	58	5	4
Vejayrajadevi	44	3	6
Pudmanabaswami	2	8	0
Perumal Naik	2	8	0
Bungaru Ammal	9	0	0
Thorasami Naik	3	0	0
Venkataramaswami Naik	3	0	0
Palanisami Naik	3	0	0

are of the second or first life. I may add that most of the pensioners are of the second life ; there being no less than forty-one individuals of this class, whilst of the first life there are only eight.

No. 5.

To the Civil Auditor, Ceylon, on Service at this Presidency to enquire into the circumstances of the Kandyan Pensioners at Tanjore.

(Sic in Original.)

The Humble Memorial of the Third Consort of His late Highness Wickrama Simmala Mayaraja, Ex-King of Kandy, Ceylon,

Most respectfully sheweth,

That, relying on the well-known generosity of the British Government, and the special regard shewn by them to the various royal familys in India, your memorialist respectfully begs to bring under their consideration her present distressed, embarassed circumstances, which will not be found in the history of any of the other royal families of the countries. Accustomed to be provided with all her wants, and living entirely under the protection and support of the Government, she has lived unconcerned regarding the future, and had been either ignorant of, or indifferent to, all the various measures adopted by Government regarding her allowances, and it is not till the recent death of her son-in-law, who has hitherto managed her affairs, and the refusal of Government to grant her the usual allowance for the marriage of her granddaughter, and other similar indulgences, that her eye have been opened to the distress and poverty which living upon her and her family—harrassed by the constant demands of her creditors to whom she owes a debt of Rs. 8,000, mostly contracted during the lifetime of her late son, some eighteen years back,—and of provided with a very small pension of Rs. 120, which can just pay the interest upon her debt, but out of which she has to maintain herself and her family in the present days of high prices, to provide for all her wants, and to bring up her heir and adopted son, Allagiamanawalla Simmala Rajah, who is also lineal grandson of the late ex-king, in a manner suited to his position and stolid life, the hardship of her position will, she fully trusts, be readily conceived by every English mother and father.

She can attribute her miserable condition, and the small consideration shewn to her in comparison with other royal familys in India, only to the unfortunate fact, that while she lives under the immediate protection of one authority, all her allowances have to be sanctioned by a distant Government, unacquainted with, and consequently not capable of sympathising, with her circumstances, so that, either the recommendations of local authorities in her favour were not complied with, or they were not frequently induced to treat her family in an illiberal manner, with the sole object of satisfying the economical demands of the Ceylon Government. When the late ex-king was brought down to Vellore as a State prisoner, besides allowing him liberal rations, all his wants in regard to dresses, jewels, festivities, and charities, were supplied in a manner suited to his rank and station in life. After his death the same indulgences continued towards your petitioner and her late son, Rajadeeraja Simula Maga Raja. In 1831, it being resolved to substitute fixed money allowances in lieu of the system of supplying provisions in kind, the then Officer Commanding Vellore acted rather by a desire to shew a great saving to the Ceylon Government than by a just consideration to the wants and comforts of your memorialist ; proposed very low scale of allowances, so much as even to take the Ceylon Government by

surprise, and ultimately the allowances in question were fixed at 270 Rs. to your memorialist and her late son, and 230 Rs. to the 4th queen and her three daughters, in the place of 1,041½ Rs., which was the charge previously incurred on their account, besides an annual clothes' money and other allowances. Your memorialist, inconvenienced by this arrangement, which was not known to her until it was finally carried out, brought to the notice of the Brigadier the very low scale of allowances fixed as above, and she was informed that the matter would be only considered on her son attaining his majority. Encouraged by this hope, and being under the necessity of maintaining the family, and bring up her son in a respectable manner, and having also had to maintain some of her relations who were not in the enjoyment of pensions, your memorialist was compelled to borrow a sum of 2,000 Rs., and subsequently, when her had to be married, another loan of 4,000 Rs. made by Government, being inadequate for such a grand occasion.

The above debt, with its accumulating interest, has ever since remained undischarged, the monthly subsistence allowance given to your memorialist being insufficient to meet such extra demands. Your memorialist having been so unfortunate as to lose her only son, all prospects of an improvement in her own allowance of Rs. 80 per mensem. The pension of Rs. 190 conferred on her son discontinued a portion of it above, viz., Rs. 100, being conferred upon his two widows, one of whom having also since demised, her share of the pension, or Rs. 50, have been received by Government, then your memorialist, bringing the state of her indebtedness to the notice of Brigadier in charge, the same was submitted for the consideration of the Ceylon Government, who were pleased to raise her allowance to the sum of Rs. 120 per mensem. This, however, being far from affording her any material relief, she was again induced to urge her case, and that Brigadier Commanding Vellore recommended that her allowance may be raised to Rs. 300. The recommendation however was not complied with; meanwhile your memorialist applied for permission to adopt a daughter's son of the ex-king, which was accorded to her; but she regrets that the boy was adopted to inherit her debts and poverty, and add greatly to her cares and anxieties in the way of bringing him up in the manner suited to the dignity of the family.

The foregoing is a brief candid account of your memorialist's past and present circumstances, and she seems to the generosity of the Government, to determine whether, in the event of her being thrown upon her own resources for supplying of all her wants, conveniences, and comforts of life, it is not desirable for doing so to relieve her of all her embarrassments, to make a new start in life, and proceeded with such a liberal allowance suited to the dignity of herself and her adopted son, as will place her beyond the necessity of constantly importuning the Government upon every occasion. Your memorialist seeks for no unnecessary state or pomp; she only asks for the means of living a quite and decent life during her few remaining years—she being already sixty years old—and of bringing of her adopted son and heir in respectable manner. To this end she prays, *first*, that her debt of Rs. 6,000 may be enquired into and paid off. The debt in question, as already observed, was incurred for necessary expenses during the lifetime of her late son, when your memorialist's family was in the receipt of much larger allowances, and had the prospect of ever being created with greater consideration, but when her subsequent limited means rendered her incapable of discharging. The saving of the pension of your memorialist's son during the last seventeen years will, she trusts, amply comply the funds to meet the above liberalities which were incurred on his account, and which were proved during the inquiries made by the Brigadiers Logan and White, at the time when they recommended an increase to your memorialist's allowance.

That the pension of Rs. 270 per mensem originally fixed upon herself and her son, moderate as it is when compared with her previous allowances, may be renewed, and continued to her and her adopted son.

That, unlike case of ordinary relations of the ex-king, the pension assigned to your memorialist may be continued to her and her descendants without reduction on the occurrence of lapses, so as to meet the wants a growing familys. In making the above prayers, your memorialist will only observe that the very large reductions made in the allowances of the Kandyan family, and the subsequent savings by lapses of pension, will admit of any additional consideration which may be shewn by Government to improve the position of your memorialist.

What consideration your memorialist is deserving off, she is quite content to leave it to the wisdom and generosity of the Government, and estimates of what the position of a royal family like that of your memorialist should be in the social scale, with reference to the indulgences and concessions made to royal families similarly placed under the protection of Government elsewhere in the country ; and her only earnest hope is, that the relief sought may be granted to her in time, to be a solace to her in her old age, and before she terminates the remaining days of her life amidst the anxieties and embarrassments of her present position.

Further, your memorialist begs most respectfully to state, that the allowance granted to Commarasamy and Cannoosamy Naidoo, sons of the late eldest brother, Nuketasamy Naidoo Ruketa Pudmanasamy, the younger brother of Kistnasamy Naidoo, being too small, your memorialist trusts their pension may be raised to a proper scale, as they are encumbered with a large family.

In conclusion, your memorialist begs to add, that she has not a proper dwelling place for her rest, as the present one in which she remains is not decent,—your honor is aware of the same, having personally inspected the place,—your memorialist need say no further, as much as your memorialist begs that you would be graciously pleased to recommend this her request to the kind and favourable notice of Government, for allowing her the sum of Rs. 3,500 for the erection of a decent house ; and should this request cannot be complied with, your memorialist solicits that she may be allowed to be in Vellore as Marnool, viz., with the establishment of Sibendies, &c., &c. Your memorialist thinks that your honor's arrival in the Tanjore district will be to your memorialist's good time ; therefore, your memorialist trusts that her supplications will receive your kind and favourable consideration.

Your memorialist begs to forward herewith two Proceedings for your honor's kind perusal, of Mr. W. T. Blair and R. W. Barlow. Your memorialist trusts that the above papers will also receive due consideration.

For which act of kindness,

Tanjore,

Your memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

7th March, 1871.

(Signed in Telegu.)

Political Department.

No. 322.

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 30th September, 1856.

Read the following letter from the Colonial Secretary, Colombo.

No. 47.

To the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.

SIR,

Having laid before the Governor and the Executive Council your letter No. 238 of the 11th ultimo, transmitting copy of one from the Brigadier Commanding Vellore, together with an original petition from the 3rd ex-queen of Kandy, requesting permission to adopt the son of the fourth daughter of the late ex-king, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, that, under the circumstances therein stated, His Excellency and the Council have been pleased to authorize the proposed adoption.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) P. W. BRAYBROOKE,

Acting Colonial Secretary, Colombo.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Colombo, 20th September. 1856.

Ordered to be communicated to the Brigadier Commanding Vellore, with reference to the application of the 3rd ex-queen of Kandy, submitted with his letter of the 24th July last, No. 117.

(True extract and copy).

(Signed)

T. PYCROFT,

Chief Secretary

To the Brigadier Commanding Vellore.

(A true copy.)

(Signed)

R. W. BARLOW,

Acting Sub-Collector, N. A.,

in charge of Stipend Pay Office.

Stipend Pay Office,

Vellore, 20th November, 1862.

No. 167 of 1862.

To A. J. Arbuthnot, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.

SIR,

Para. 1. I have the honor to enclose a memorial addressed to me by the 3rd ex-queen of Kandy, praying, 1st, that her debt, amounting to about Rupees 6,000, which she alleges to have been incurred for necessary expenses during the lifetime of her late son, may be inquired in to and paid off; secondly, that the pension of Rupees 270 per mensem originally granted to herself and her son, may be renewed, and continued to her and her adopted son; and, thirdly, that the same may be continued to her and her descendants without deduction on the occurrence of lapses.

2. With regard to memorialist's first request, I have to observe that her allowance was on the 30th July, 1858, raised from Rupees 80 to Rupees 120, with the express object of enabling her to liquidate her debts, which at that time, as reported in Brigadier Logan's letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 22nd June, 1858, No. 112, amounted to between 3,000 or 4,000 Rupees.

So far, however, from devoting her increased allowance to the purpose for which it was granted, it appears that the memorialist has increased her debts by about Rupees 2,000.

Extract from the Minutes
of Consultation, dated 12th
August, 1858, No. 511.

3. With regard to memorialist's second request, that the pension of Rupees 270 a month originally fixed upon herself and her son, may be renewed, and continued to her and her son, I beg to state that Brigadier White, in his letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 10th June, 1859, recommended that her pension of Rupees 120 should be raised to Rupees 300 a month, but that the Government of Ceylon, under date the 14th July, 1859, refused to entertain the application, *vide* Proceedings of the Madras Government, dated 29th July, 1859, No. 452.

4. With regard to memorialist's last request, that the increased allowance for which she applies, may, if granted, be continued to her and her descendants without reduction on the occurrence of lapses, I have only to remark, that there does not appear to be any probability of the memorialist's obtaining the increase of pension, which forms the subject of her second request, and that it is contrary to usage to grant pensions on the terms she solicits.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
 (Signed) W. J. BLAIR,
 Sub-Collector of N. Arcot,
 in charge of Stipend Pay Office

—————
Political Department.

Proceedings of the Madras Government, No. 74.—Read the following letter from the Colonial Secretary, Colombo.

To the Honorable JOHN DOUGLAS, &c., &c., &c.

Camp, Tanjore.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you that that the allowance of Rs. 125 granted to my maintenance is quite inadequate to meet the demands and the necessary wants of a queen as myself, and I am therefore obliged to incur debt, and unable to liquidate the same with the above allowances. I am sorry why Government have not taken my case into consideration, to grant me such an ample allowance as to meet my wants since my removal in 1863 from Vellore to Tanjore. I have no house of my own to live in. Moreover, the Government Order regarding the grant of allowances only to three generations, I request not to be applicable to those of the Royal family, as the British Government have once firmly promised, when Kandy has been taken possession of by them, that they will protect the royal family of Kandy until their reigning power in India, which they must not fail to do so.

2nd. As the circumstances concerning my welfare, as well as those closely and consanguinorily connected with my family, are not well brought to your notice when you were here on the 6th instant, in continuation of my application dated the 7th instant, I beg to enclose herewith a genealogical table, shewing the individuals that are closely connected, as per names below, and I request you will bring their claims to the favourable notice of Government for an increase of allowances. My adopted son marked A. in the table, Alagiamanavala Simala Rajah should be treated as a Prince. His three sisters should be entered in the second class of the revised list, and their allowances also should be increased. My nephew, Vencutaputhmanabasawmy, should be entered in the second class of the revised list, and his allowance also must be increased.

My nephews, Comorasawmy Naidoo and Cundasamy Naidoo, their allowances must be increased.

3rd. In conclusion, I request my daughter-in-law, Savethry Davy, in contrary to my will and consent, has a long desire to adopt her brother's son, through the persuasion of her parents, is quite objectionable, as I have an adopted son, Alagiasimala Rajah, who is the sole heir for both.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

[Signed in Telegu.]

Tanjore

17th March, 1871.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR in Council, Fort St. George.

The Humble Petition of the Third Queen of Streevekrama Simmala Maha Rajah, the late ex-King of Kandy, residing at Tanjore,

Most respectfully sheweth,

That, with due respect, I, Your Excellency's petitioner, beg leave to state, that after the Ceylon Government took possession of our aforesaid Province of Kandy, as well as all of our properties, they having placed me together with my husband, the said king, his mother, his other queens, 1st, 2nd, and 4th spouses, and his close relatives, in Columboo, maintained us for the space of one year as it is stated in the enclosed.

2. In 1816 the said Government committed every one of us to the care of this Government, promising to support us and our descendants, as long as the British color endureth in India, with everything needful, from generation to generation. The Government having established us in the Fort of Vellore, maintained us, our son, daughters, &c., supplying us daily with everything required for us, by the Resident of that place: besides this, in our joyful and mournful occasions a separate allowance had been granted to every one of us.

3. After the demise of our said king, such a pecuniary aid had been done to us by Government for a certain time. When the daily allowance was made by Government as a monthly stipend to us, were then overwhelmed into the depth of sorrow on account of king's death, as there was no such an able man as to plead for us with the Government about our stipends, which were made so small as to do to the family of a low officer. This is not lawful and handsome pay to a family of a king. It is not unknown to the Government. This consideration made the Government to grant allowance to every one of us separately, both in the joyful and mournful occasions. The insufficiency of such allowance granted us in our every occasions, forced us to run into debts.

4. While the case being so, the Government having formed a new act, showing that a donation shall be granted to only one in every family, but not for all in the family, sent an order to be exercised it from 1859.

5. More than this, I hear that the Government issued an order that the pension of a family shall be discontinued in the fourth generation. Should these orders be forced on the descendants of the royal family, how will they take their livelihood? How shall their joyful and mournful ceremonies be done? I beg to say that it is not lawful to establish a rule to the royal family in conformity to the persons who have no right and servants. I humbly request the Government will be kindly pleased to take into consideration my aforesaid requisition, and grant separate and lawful order about our descendants.

6. The families of other rajahs obtain high salaries, being in their native country ; besides this, they have houses, lands, estates, &c. It is perfectly understood by the Government. But our province, houses, lands, estates, &c., had been possessed by the Government. We were sent to this shore with empty hand ; we are strangers to this country. After a pension was made to every one of us, our family became large. We thereby, having suffered much distress, as we have no other means besides the small pension which we receive monthly, run into debts.

7. I have addressed a petition to the Ceylon Government on the 15th October last, representing fully that we have no houses, lands, nor estates, &c., besides the pension and the donation that which is granted in aforesaid occasion, and soliciting that the recent orders issued against the royal family about the pension and donation must be ejected. To which the Government sent an order to me, that my petition should be sent through this Government. I thereby was reduced under the necessity of enclosing the copies of the order sent to me by that Government on the 17th November last, and of the petition submitted by me to them for Your Excellency's information.

I therefore most humbly beg Your Excellency will be kindly pleased to enquire keenly with the feelings commiseration about our destitute condition, and ascertain the faithfulness of my sayings herein adverted to, and to do me the favour of making a favourable recommendation to the Ceylon Government, that they may send orders the pension to be continued to my descendants from generation to generation, and the donation to be granted separately to every member of the royal family, as was promised by the Ceylon Government to us.

In doing this great favour to us, I shall not cease to pray God for Your Excellency's long life and prosperity.

Tanjore,

12th December, 1870.

* [True copy of the Petition addressed to the Madras Government.]

To HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR in Council of Ceylon.

The Humble Petition of Third Queen of the late Stree Vikrama Simmala Maha Rajah,
Ex-King of Kandy, residing at Tanjore.

May it please Your Excellency,

That your Excellencies petitioner begs leave most respectfully to bring to Your Excellencies kind notice that the British Government pleased to take up our country Kandy, as well as all of our estates, &c., not only the late Rajah and his mother, and 1, 2, 4 queens, and also our near relations, and kept us all in Columboo, and maintained as this was done by the kind assistance of Government.

In 1816 delivered us over to the charge of the Madras Government, promising to support the royal family as long as India remain in their control. By order of Government, we were sent off to Vellore Fort, and were supported by daily allowance by the Resident of the place, not only we, but every one in connection with us. After the demise of our Maharajah the daily allowance was continued only for a short time to us and to our children, were monthly monthly paid and kindly assisted on particular occasions such as marriages, death, &c., &c., up to 1858. The pay allowed to us not being sufficient to our expenses, we were compelled to run into debts. This fact will be known to Your Excellency, if a reference be made to the diaries of 1858, and to that of the previous years will shew.

Notwithstanding this, the Government has also taken away all our fortunes, moveable and immoveable, and sent us away with empty hands to Vellore, owing to which reasons they were compelled to pay us monthly as abovementioned. But ever since 1859 the Government seems to have made a new act, showing that any donation will be allowed to only one in every family, but not for all, and moreover we hear that our monthly pension will be paid to us only up to three generations. Should this system be carried on, how are we to live, and what shall we do, for our future prospects and arrangements seem quite to the reverse of the original agreement passed between our Rajah and Government. The royal families in connection with the Madras Presidency and others may be carried out in accordance of the above said rules, for they are allowed to enjoy a pension, together with their moveable and immoveable properties, and this allowed in their own countries; whereas we are deprived of every enjoyment but our pension. If we are similarly allowed to enjoy moveable and immoveable properties in India instead of those we had in Kandy, and which has been deprived from us by Government, in such case the new system and act may be applicable to us; but as we are deprived of everything by Government, we shall be under a great loss and worse to that of the present, if the above rule come in force. Our royal families consist of seven souls; some of them have been married by the kind assistance of Government, and some have not been as yet married because Government has not bestowed any assistance on their behalf. The allowance granted in behalf of the parties being insufficient for the performances of their weddings, we were compelled to run into debt.

Your Excellencies petitioner begs most respectfully beg to state that Almighty God has spared my life up to this moment to plead with Government for the future prospects of the abovesaid persons. The pension allowed to us being too small, we are thereby put to great hardships to pass over livelihood. The royal families of H. H. Maharajah of Tanjore are allowed monthly Rs. 1,000 and 700 respectively, the Princes 3,000, the son-in-law 600, and the concubines 150, and many other Rajahs and Jamendars are allowed to better comfort and privileges in their own countries than we who are left entirely, every fortune of their moveable and immoveable properties to Government, such high pensions and enjoyments not being allowed to us, we are put under great poverty and hardships, which are beyond measure.

Under these circumstances we most respectfully beg that the kind and merciful Government will be generously pleased to refer the same to Madras Government, and to take a deep consideration of our small income, and to pass such decision in accordance to that of 1816, and to grant the same privileges allowed upon us up to 1858, and also to continue our pension from generation to generation, as we have not anything else to depend upon but that of our pensions. In doing this great favour to us we shall not cease to pray God for Your Excellencies long life and prosperity.

Tanjore,
5th October, 1870.

[¹¹ True copy" of the Petition addressed to the Ceylon Government.]

To the Honorable the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Colombo.

No. 14.

Political Department.

Fort Saint George,

11th January, 1871.

SIR,

I am directed to forward the accompanying petition from the Kandian pensioners residing at Tanjore, praying for the abrogation of the rule under which their pensions are to be discontinued after the third generation.

2. The matter is one for the consideration of the Government of Ceylon. I am to say that the views of the Madras Government, as to the condition of these pensioners, have been expressed in my letter No. 233, dated 14th July, 1869.

I have, &c.,

R. S. ELLIS,

Chief Secretary.

No. 2,700 of 1870.

From CHINNASAMI COMARASAMY and others, the relatives of the Ex-King of Kandy, residing at Tanjore, dated 15th December, 1870.

Hearing that the Government have issued orders for the discontinuance of their stipends in the fourth generation, state that the Ceylon Government having taken possession of their lands, houses, &c., were maintaining them in Colombo; that since 1816, when the king with his family was sent to India, they have been drawing pensions; that being closely related to the said king, it is impossible for them to choose any profession.

Submitting herewith copies of their petition to the Ceylon Government of 9th October last, and order thereon, for perusal, pray that Government may cause enquiries to be made about their circumstances, and recommend to the Ceylon Government for the continuance of their pensions from generation to generation as long as the British rule exists.

To HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR in Council of Fort Saint George.

The Humble Petition of the undersigned eleven close relatives of the late Ex-King
Vickarama Simmala Maha Rajah of Kandy, residing at Tanjore,

Most respectfully sheweth,

1. That with due respect and humble submission, we, your Excellency's petitioners, beg leave to state, that the Ceylon Government having possessed our lands, houses, estates, &c., placed our said king, his queens, and us, in Colombo, and supplied us with everything required for our sustenance.

2. In 1816, when that Government sent our said king and us, together with his family, to this India with empty hands, they promised that they will maintain us, and our descendants, as long as their colour endureth in India without any wanting, and delivered us to *this* Government.

3. After we have arrived to Madras, our daily allowance had been transferred to us as a monthly stipend by Government. Such stipends are, hitherto, continuing to us: besides this, the expenses of our marriage and mournful ceremonies had been done by the generosity of the Government. After the stipend was made to us, many issues are born in every family; as the stipend which we receive monthly is insufficient to our maintenance, we suffer much distress for food and raiment, which forces us to run into debts.

4. While the case being so, we hear that the Government issued an order as to discontinue our pension, that should be done to our descendants in our fourth generation.

5. We beg to assure Your Excellency that we have no here neither houses, lands, nor estates, &c. As we are a close relatives to the aforesaid king, it is impossible for us to enter into any business or situation.

6. Whatever order was issued to the persons who have no right, they will take their livelihood in any way.

7. In consequence of which, we have addressed a petition to the Ceylon Government on the 9th October last : to which they sent an order to us, representing that it should be sent through this Government. We thereby beg to enclose herein the copies of the order dated 17th November last, and of the petition submitted by us to that Government for Your Excellency's information.

We, therefore, most humbly beseech Your Excellency will be kindly pleased to have pity upon us, and enquire about our poor state, and ascertain it, and to do us the kindness of making a favourable recommendation to the Ceylon Government, that they may issue an order our pension to be continued to our descendants from generation to generation, as long as the British colour endureth, and the donation to be granted to us who are close relatives of the king in our joyful and mournful occasions, as were done to us before the recent rules were not established.

For which act of charity and justice we, Your Excellency's petitioners, shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Tanjore,

15th December, 1870.

(Signed in Telegu characters)	Chinnasami, Kumarasami, Kumarasubbasami, Vengadasubbasami, Tuckeny Ammal, Ramasami,	(Signed in Telegu characters)	Vengadasami, Vegadasami, Kumarasami, Durysamy, Pudmanabasami,
----------------------------------	--	----------------------------------	---

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR in Council of Ceylon.

The Humble Petition of the undersigned eleven close relatives of the late Ex-King Vickarama Simmala Maha Rajah of Kandy, residing at Tanjore,

Most respectfully sheweth,

That, with due respect and humble submission, we beg leave to state that after the Government possessed our aforesaid king and his family, we also were taken under their protection. Our lands, houses, and other properties had been possessed by the Government, and then the said king and we had been protected in Colombo by Government, giving seperately daily allowance to every member of a family, for the space of one year.

2. In the year 1816, when the Government sent the said king with his family and us to this shore, they assured us that they will protect us and our decendants as long as their colour endureth : accordingly, the Government committed our king and us to the care of Madras Government.

3. After our arrival to Madras, the Government having stopped the daily allowance, made it a monthly stipend:—accordingly, it is continuing to us until now : besides this, the Govern-ment are affording pecuniary aids for performing the expenses of our marriage and mournful ceremonies. This generosity is done to the close relatives of the said king.

4. While the case being so, we hear that the Government issued an order to be stopped away the pensions which we receive in the fourth generation.

5. After the monthly stipend was fixed to us, many issues are born in every family of us. We suffer much distress for food and raiment by the insufficiency of our pay, and also we have no houses, lands, nor estates :—we thereby endure much difficulty.

6. We make a hard livelihood by the allowance which we get from the Government and involve in debts.

It is not right to join us who are close relatives of the king, with them who have no claim, and issue new orders. It is impossible for us, as we are close relatives to the king, to interfere in any business or in any office. Though what order was given to them who have no claim, yet it will be right to them, and they will see another livelihood.

We therefore most humbly beg Your Excellency will be kindly pleased to have pity upon us who are close relatives of the king, and take our request into Your Excellency's benevolent consideration, and eject the order that our stipends shall be discontinued in our fourth generation, because it is incumbent on the Government to protect our descendants, according to the assurances made to us by the Government when they sent us to the India from Colombo.

For which act of charity and justice we shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Tanjore,
9th October, 1870.

(Signed in Telegu
characters)

..

..

..

..

Kumarasamy
Kumara Subbasamy
Sinnasamy
Vengadasubbasamy
Vengadasamy
Ramasamy

(Signed in Telegu
characters)

..

..

..

Vengadasamy
Kumarasamy
Durisamy
Succaniammal
Padmanabasamy.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Colombo, 17th November, 1870.

His Excellency the Governor having taken into consideration the petition of Kumarasami, Kumara Subbasami, and nine other relatives of the late ex-king of Kandy, residing at Tanjore, praying that the order for the discontinuance in the fourth generation of the pension allowed them by the Ceylon Government, may be cancelled, has directed that the petitioners be informed, that any representations which they may desire to make should be sent through the Madras Government.

By His Excellency's Command,

(Signed) ALLANSON BAILEY,

for Colonial Secretary.

(To be continued.)

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

CONTENTS:

Vol. VI, PART IV, APRIL, 1921.

ARTICLES.

	PAGE
XVII.—KANDYAN NOTES. By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired) ...	181
XVIII.—ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE: EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON, ARCHÆOLOGICAL COMMISSIONER. WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S. ...	191
XIX.—REVERENCE FOR PARENTS AND FILIAL DUTIES IN ANCIENT CEYLON AND THE EAST. BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S. ...	198
XX.—THE PETA-VATTHU. BY DR. HENRY S. GEHMAN ...	206
XXI.—HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF FINE ART. BY W. T. STACE, C.C.S. ...	214

NOTES AND QUERIES.

20. SOME NOTES ON PERCIVAL'S "CEYLON." BY J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired)	225
21. INSCRIPTION OF THE PAN-ELIYA RAJA MAHA VIHÁRE. BY G. W. WOODHOUSE, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S. ...	226
22. THE "TULÁBHÁRA" OR SCALE-WEIGHING CEREMONY. BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S. ...	227
23. NACCÁDÚWA TANK. BY W. M. FERNANDO ...	229
24. CAPTAIN BEAVER'S LETTERS: "RATHMALGALLE." BY J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired) ...	229
25. COBRA LORE. BY F. W. M. KARUNARATNA, MUDALIYAR ...	230

LITERARY REGISTER.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS: OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THEIR CONDITION, PENSIONS, ETC. ...	231
---	-----

[All Rights of Reproduction and Translation are Reserved].

