

# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register



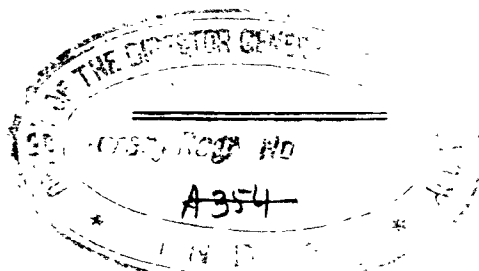
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VOLUME VI: 1920-1921.

EDITED BY

J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired), & JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

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# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

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**GENERAL HAY MACDOWALL.**



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

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

# The Ceylon Antiquary

and

## Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

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Vol. VI.

July, 1920.

Part I.

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### GENERAL HAY MACDOWALL.

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

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**M**R. JAMES RYAN<sup>1</sup> recently sent me the following extract from the *Daily Telegraph* of December 3rd last :

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

I immediately wrote to Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods and asked whether it would be possible for me to communicate with the owners of the picture with a view to getting permission to reproduce a photograph of it in the *Ceylon Antiquary*. They suggested that I should wait until the sale and then apply to the purchaser. This I did; the purchasers were Messrs. Sulley & Co. of 159, New Bond Street, who readily gave me the required permission. Messrs. Christie then very kindly furnished me with three copies of an excellent photogravure of the picture, which is here reproduced.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Vol. II, p. 13. [See also *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp. 130-1-8—Ed., C.A.]

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

6. Wellesley MSS in British Museum, quoted in *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II, pp. 262, 301: *List of Inscriptions in Ceylon*

p. 293.

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

8. Vol. I, pp. 387, 9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. Vol. IV pp. 65-75.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

See *Notes and Queries*, II. S. VII. pp. 447, 496; Cotton's *Madras Inscriptions*, p. 23.

12. Colonel Baillie arrived in Ceylon with the 51st Foot in March, 1809, and became Commandant of Galle, and then, in the same year, of his regiment at Colombo. He accompanied the Hon'ble F. North to Weligama in August—In the same year he succeeded to the command of his own regiment at Colombo—In April 1862 he presided at the Court-martial which tried Ensign John Grant of the Malay Regiment (who subsequently distinguished himself by his successful defence of Dambadeniya) for having challenged Captain Paul Carrington to fight a duel. He commanded the line of the Army in the Kandyan War of 1801 and the expedition against Hangurankette in March of that year. He returned with the army to Colombo in April. "Baillie Street," Fort, is called after him. He probably lived in it.

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

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

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

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

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13. Colonel Capper and General Macdowall were both lost at sea in March 1820, when on the voyage to England.



## KINDNESS TO BIRDS AND BEASTS IN ANCIENT INDIA AND CEYLON.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

### I. RELIGION.

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

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

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

For, as Mr. Saunders adds in a note<sup>3</sup> in which there is no trace of any exaggeration, “*Not Killing* is the chief, often the only topic, of Buddhist preaching; and frescoes on the Temple walls warn Buddhists of the punishment that will follow in the next world. It is usually regarded in Buddhist lands as more heinous to kill a flea than to tell a lie.”

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

#### Matakabhatta Játaka,—or the Feast for the Dead.<sup>4</sup>

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

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

1. K. J. Saunders, *The Heart of Buddhism*, p 47.  
4. Francis and Thomas, *Játaka Tales*, pp 20-22.

2. Cf. the *Atharva-Veda*.

3. *Loc. cit*

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

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

"Ask me your question before your master."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## II. LAWS OF THE STATE.

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

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

Let us note first the general regulations in regard to

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

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

7. Saunders, *op. cit.* p. 46.

8. *Ibid.*

### Birds, Beasts and Fishes.

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

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

“ When a person entraps, kills or molests either fish or birds that do not prey upon other animals, he shall be fined  $26\frac{3}{4}$  *panas* ; and when he does the same to deer and other beasts, he shall be fined twice as much.

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

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

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

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

### Cattle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Horses.

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

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

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

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

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

"Steeds, stallions and colts shall be separately kept.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Thus is the distribution of ration dealt with.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Elephants.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The summer is the season to capture elephants.

"That which is 20 years old shall be captured.

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

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

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

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

"The rations for an elephant of 7 *aratnis* in height shall be 1 *droṇa* of rice,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *āḍhaka* of oil, 3 *prasthas* of ghee, 10 *palas* of salt, 50 *palas* of flesh, 1 *āḍhaka* of broth (*rasa*) or twice the quantity (i.e. 2 *āḍhakas*) of curd. In order to render the dish tasteful, 10 *palas* of sugar (*kshāra*), 1 *āḍhaka* of liquor, or twice the quantity of milk (*payah*); 1 *prastha* of oil for smearing over the body,  $\frac{1}{8}$  *prastha* of the same for the head and for keeping a light in the stables; 2 *bhāras* (i.e. 2,000 *palas*) of meadow grass, 2  $\frac{1}{4}$  *bhāras* of ordinary grass (*sashpa*), and 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  *bhāras* of dry grass and any quantity of stalks of various pulses (*kaḍankara*).

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

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

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

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

### Other Regulations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III. THE BENEVOLENCE OF SINHALESE KINGS.

In this respect the Sinhalese Kings, throughout the centuries, differed in no wise from their contemporaries in India and elsewhere in the East. On the contrary, we have ample evidence that, in the exercise of their "compassion" towards "dumb creation," they went to lengths which find no parallel in the histories of other lands. And that evidence, apart from its pathetic interest, has a particular value today as serving to remind the rulers who have succeeded to the "estate" of the Sinhalese Kings of an obligation which they incurred when they undertook<sup>13</sup> to respect (or maintain?) "the laws, institutions and customs established and in force" amongst the Sinhalese people.

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

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

"A fine of 200 *paṇas* is set for the killing (or injury) of small<sup>15</sup> animals, and the fine should be 50 *paṇas* in the case of propitious forest animals and birds."<sup>16</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

15. Crow, parrot, cat, etc.  
16. Different sorts of antelopes and deer, flamingos and parrots, etc. "Propitious" animals are those that bring good luck  
17. *Mahāvansa*, (Wij), p. 162.

'the jackal, crow, owl, etc., are unpropitious animals' (Medh).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18. *Ibid.* 19. *Mahāvansa* (Wij), p. 164.

22. *Ibid.* XLVIII. vv. 15-18. 23. *Ibid.* v. 23.

20. *Ibid.* XLIX. v. 36.

27. *Ibid.* L. v. 3.

20. *Ibid.* p. 167.

24. *Ibid.* v. 97.

28. *Ibid.* LII. v. 15.

21. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.* v. 147.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

32. *Ibid.* LX. v. 71.

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

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

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

34. *Mahāvansa*, LXXIII. vv. 34-54.

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

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

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

And in such comparatively modern times as the 13th century, we find it recorded of King Nissanka Malla in three of his own Inscriptions<sup>37</sup> at Polonnaruva that

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

Of the same King we are also told—again in one of his own lithic records, viz., the Kirti-Nissanka-Malla Inscription<sup>44</sup>—that on the occasion of a state visit "to worship the relics at Ruvanveli Dágaba" in Anuradhapura, in the 4th year of his reign,

"Ordering by beat of drum that no animals should be killed within a radius of seven gav<sup>45</sup> from the city of Anuradhapura, he gave security to animals.

"He gave security also to the fish in the twelve great tanks,<sup>46</sup> and bestowing on Kámbodin<sup>47</sup> gold and cloth and whatever other kind of wealth they wished, he commanded them not to catch birds and so gave security to birds."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

43. That the same King "gave security to animals that live in forests and large tanks" we find recorded in at least four of his other inscriptions, also at Polonnaruva, viz. (1) Heri-dá-gé Portico Slab Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II, pp 84-90; (2) Kálínga Forest Gal-Asana Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II, p 147; (3) Kálínga Park Gal-Asana Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II, p 133; and (4) Rankot-Dágaba Gal-Asana Inscr., *E.Z.* vol II p. 136.

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

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

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

47. "A class of fowlers."

## THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1798-1805.

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

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

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

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

It is a curious fact that Mr. North's Government was seriously embarrassed, both at its beginning and at its end, by the attitude of subordinate officials. We have already<sup>1</sup> touched upon the difficulties caused to Mr. North, at the outset of his administration, by the action of the Madras officials, and the frequent mention of the "civilian war" in Mr. North's correspondence shows how great the difficulties were.<sup>2</sup> The appointment of the new Governor was not at all to the liking of the Madras civilians employed in Ceylon, and, although the Governor "acted friendly and liberally" towards them,<sup>3</sup> they were not to be conciliated. After Andrews had been removed "with mildness and oblivion"<sup>4</sup> a regular "civilian click" appears to have been formed to oppose the Governor, Collector MacDowall being the "*primum mobile*."<sup>5</sup> Cleghorn, the Secretary to Government, joined this "click" on the head of the investigations made into the doings of the Pearl Fishery Commissioners—Cleghorn, MacDowall, and the Hon. George Turnour. Cleghorn wrote "reams" to Dundas against the Governor, and publicly abused him in Ceylon.<sup>6</sup> MacDowall broke into "contumelious and indecent reflexions on our Government," and cancelled an appointment made by Champagne, Lieutenant Governor, on Mr. North's recommendation.<sup>7</sup> Garrow, the Collector of Trincomalee, behaved in a "shockingly violent and irregular manner."<sup>8</sup> Atkinson, the Commissary, issued condemned pork to the troops, and the conduct of the Pearl Fishery in 1799 left great room for doubt as to the ingenuousness of the Commissioners.

About the middle of 1799, however, fortunately for Mr. North, a strong supporter of his arrived in the person of the new Commander-in-Chief, Major General Hay Macdowall. His first official act seems to have been an examination of the affairs of the Pearl Fishery<sup>9</sup> and, although he seems to have come to a more charitable conclusion on that head than did Mr. North, it seems reasonable to suppose that his whole-hearted support considerably strengthened Mr. North's hand. MacDowall, the Collector, was dismissed; Garrow was suspended; Atkinson

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

2. *Well'sley MSS; C.L.R.W* II, pp 246, 278. &c.

3. *C.L.R.W*, II, p 268.

4. *Ibid.*, 5. *Ibid.*, p 246.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid* p 248.

8. *Ibid.* p 246.

9. *Ibid.*

was severely reprimanded by Webbe, the Secretary to the Madras Government ; and by the end of October, 1799, Mr. North writes : " I can now breathe." Cleghorn was suspended about the end of the year, and " Heaven be praised " sailed from Ceylon in the *Preston* about the beginning of February, 1800. <sup>10</sup> From this date, Mr. North's troubles with the " Madras faction " may be said to have ceased.

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

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

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

### Major-General Wemyss' Quarrels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At this stage, the Governor interposed to effect a settlement. He directed the Commandant's obnoxious order to be withdrawn<sup>16</sup> and himself issued a Proclamation on 19th September, 1804, reaffirming that order, and directing that no corporal punishment was to be inflicted on the Parade Ground, and that no person was to be admitted to it without the sanction of the Commandant but making the reservation that nothing contained in it was to be construed to restrain or limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.<sup>17</sup> The latter and the Proclamation were read in the Supreme Court by the Registrar ; Colonel Baillie appeared with his sureties,

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

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

#### Another Quarrel with the Judges.

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

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

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

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

17a. The Chief Justice was Sir C. F. Carrington, the Puisne Justice, E. H. Lushington.  
18. The late Mr. E. B. Sueter's copy of Council proceedings.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Other "Misdemeanours."

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

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

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

20. Despatch of 30th January, 1800, § 13, 23. 21. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 32.

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

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

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

The state of disrepair of the buildings appears to have obtained till September, 1800, about which time Lieutenant Cotgrave of the Madras Engineers was appointed Civil Architect and Engineer and Superintendent of the Public Works, in order that the extensive repairs "may be conducted with economy and Intelligence."<sup>29</sup> The programme included repair of the tanks in the Vanni, construction of barracks at Trincomalee, the clearing of the canal which it was hoped to extend from Colombo to Puttalam, and later to Galle.<sup>30</sup> By the following year, it became more extensive, and the works in hand or proposed were a lock to join the Kelani River with Colombo Lake; later replaced by an "inclined plain"<sup>31</sup>; a canal connecting the Lake with the sea, finished by the end of 1803<sup>32</sup>; a canal, six miles long, between Márawila and Chilaw, for which a "railed road," whatever that might be, was later proposed to be substituted<sup>33</sup>; the draining and embankment of the salt marsh of Mutu-rájawilla, south of Negombo<sup>34</sup>; a canal from the Gindura River to the sea at Galle: the repair of a "dyke" or bund, called the "Cal-aar" in Batticaloa; the embankment of a low island in Batticaloa Lake for rice cultivation; a canal from Eroar to 'Sitambycodyarippo'; the repair of more tanks.

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

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

24. *Ibid.* Cordner, I 26; Percival, 1st plan opposite p 81. 25. Despatch of 6th February, 1799, § 118-20.

26. Despatch of 30th January, 1800, § 42. 27. Maitland, III, 341. 28. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 107-8.

29. Despatch of 29th September, 1800, § 23. 30. Despatch of 18th February 1801, § 102 ff.

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

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

The buildings in hand or about to be were : the Governor's house at Aripu—called "The Doric"—nearly finished in September, 1802, and ultimately costing three times the estimate <sup>35</sup> ; pavements and drains for the Pearl Fishery at Kondachchi; Commandant's house at Jaffna, nearly finished; houses for the Collector and Judge with offices, presumably also in Jaffna; the Commandant's house at Negombo, not begun; the custom house at Colombo, not begun, an old boat-house being later adapted for the purpose; <sup>36</sup> a bomb proof powder magazine, not begun; a hospital for the native troops, not begun, later located in the school buildings at Wolfendahl <sup>37</sup>; a new bazaar near Colombo, nearly finished; the Commandant's houses at Matara and Hambantota, the former begun, the latter not; a native hospital at Trincomalee, nearly finished. <sup>38</sup>

### Unexpected Physical Calamities.

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

Among the other "unexpected Physical Calamities which have pursued my Government during its whole course" were serious outbreaks of cattle disease from time to time, the maximum mortality occurring between September 1800 and February, 1801 <sup>42</sup> About nine-tenths of the cattle in the Island were reported to have been carried off, <sup>43</sup> and animals had to be imported from India in large quantities to supply the deficiencies. In Batticaloa District the mortality at the end of March, 1801, amounted to between 4000 and 5000 head. A later outbreak occurred in Jaffna early in 1802 <sup>44</sup> and it was estimated that it would take the country five years to recover from the total losses incurred. <sup>45</sup>

These and other calamities retarded the development of the Maritime Provinces, but the inauguration of more orderly Government and the cessation of direct oppression tended to encourage industry and commerce. It was hoped that the land tenure reforms would encourage agriculture, and attempts were made to develop special products. It is interesting to note, for example, that the cultivation of coffee had early attention. It is first mentioned as a "Production of Candy," <sup>46</sup> but a Government plantation had been started near Negombo by the beginning of 1804, and a mill opened by De la Sossaye, who was in charge of the Kadirane cinnamon garden. <sup>47</sup> In 1802, 30,000 pounds had been sent to England by the merchant Conradi, but it is not clear where it was grown <sup>48</sup>. During 1804, the exportation of coffee had doubled, and Mr. North thinks that "it will soon become a principal Branch of our Produce, as its Cultivation is extend-

35. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 109; See Cordiner. 36. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 106.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>49</sup> Despatch of 8th February, 1805.  
<sup>50</sup> Despatch of 24th November, 1802, § 154-5, and 1st January, 1804 § 56. <sup>51</sup> Cordiner, I, 15.  
<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 158. <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 74. <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 84. <sup>55</sup> *Gazette of 6th March, 1805.* <sup>56</sup> Cordiner, I, 80 and *passim.*  
<sup>57</sup> Pridham, 227. <sup>58</sup> Despatch of 18th February, 1801, § 11. <sup>59</sup> Pridham, 228. <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>61</sup> Cordiner, I, 81.  
<sup>62</sup> These "Dutch prisoners" appear to have been the Dutch subjects who remained in Ceylon after the British occupation being granted subsistence allowances under Article 16 of the Capitulation of Colombo.

## POPE GREGORY XIII AND DON JUAN DHARMAPALA.

By S. G. P.

**T**HE following correspondence passed between the ill-used Christian king of Ceylon and Pope Gregory XIII. Dharmapála's letter is dated : Colombo, 26 January, 1574, and was sent through a Greek ; for the cruel treatment to which he was subjected prevented him even from making representations through the usual channels. <sup>1</sup>

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

### Dharmapala's Letter.

#### *Text of the Letter.*

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

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

Beatissimo et Santissimo Signore :

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

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

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

#### *Translation.*

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

Most Blessed and Most Holy Lord,

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

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

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

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

1. Dharmapála presented another petition to the Pope (10th December, 1594) through Frey Gaspar • *Procurador del Reyde Ceilão*, asking for spiritual favours for himself and the Franciscans. *Archivo-Portuguez-Oriental* iii 735. Its only interest is the pathetic request from the Pope to order (1) that he be treated with the honour and respect due to his person and state; (2) that his last will and testament regarding Masses for the repose of his soul, and bequest to faithful servants, be fully carried out 'under grave penalties and censures.'

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

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

orders of the King of Portugal, who ordained and commanded the same by his letters patent,<sup>2</sup> and accepted as King by my subjects<sup>3</sup> on the death of my grandfather,<sup>4</sup> than a brother<sup>5</sup> of this grandfather began to make war on me : and it is now twenty-three years that he is persecuting me.

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

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

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

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

5. Mayadunne.

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

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

8. Widiya Bandâra, called Tribuli Pandar by the Portuguese.

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

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

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

But other historians are silent about it. Queyroz says (251): 'Wearied out at last with the privations to which he was exposed, Widiye Bandâra sent a message to his son to use his influence with the Captain to obtain for him a better prison, promising to agree to any reasonable terms that were proposed, and expressing his determination to leave the Island for ever, but Seneveratna and the Council decided that it was inexpedient to interfere on his behalf.' *Port. Era*, I, 1:8. Deza was unaware of the baptism. Couto, Civezza.

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

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

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

without reason he found means<sup>12</sup> to escape from prison; and resenting what was done to him without reason, he made war on the Portuguese and<sup>13</sup> Christians<sup>14</sup> with the help of my enemy Madune, and finally died,<sup>15</sup> completely ruined by his enemy. Thus the said imprisonment was the occasion of the loss of my kingdom and of its passing into the hands of my enemy.

Not content with this, the Portuguese, at a time most suitable to them, and when my need was greatest, imprisoned some of my principal Captains,<sup>16</sup> one of whom was my Great Chamberlain and Governor. They treated them so tyrannically that the greater part of my people went over to my enemy. After I had become a convert<sup>17</sup> to the most holy Catholic faith, the Fathers tried to constrain the nobles, who still remained hardened and obstinate in their false paganism; but seeing me with little power, with few subjects and without kingdom or treasures, they abandoned me and went their way: whence arose many wars.<sup>18</sup>

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

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

13. The 'and' is from Courtenay.

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

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

16. Sembahap Perumal, Senevratna Mudliar, Tammita Bandára, and after his baptism Francisco Barreto. Queyroz calls him Enaraz Bandar (205) Cammareyro Mor, and Secretario de Rei (262). He was Dharmapál's paternal uncle. The office of Cammareyro Mor was conferred on him and his heirs by the King of Portugal (16th March, 1543). *Port. Era.* I, 471; Couto 166. His arrest took place in August, 1553, in accordance with the treaty entered into between Mayadunne and the Portuguese. Queyroz, 254; *Port. Era.* I, 131. He was taken to Goa but returned in triumph after a very short time. Queyroz, 256. At Goa he was baptised.

17. Queyroz, 251, 262. The King of Portugal wrote, under date 7th March, 1558 to congratulate the Franciscans on the achievement. See letter apud Pieris, *Port. Era.* I, 502. The King also wrote to Dharmapála. Queyroz, 263. See also *Port. Era.* I, 501, n. 3 & Ferguson's notes in the *J. C. B. R. A. S.* No. 60, pp. 165, 172.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. This seems to stand for 'pardoas.' In 1584 Dharmapála, in his poverty, applied for permission to send fifty *quintrals* of Cinnamon to Portugal (*Arch. P.O.*, III, 42), but the application was refused (p. 75) and a present of a thousand *cruzados* given instead. The King gave particular instructions that his annual allowance of a thousand *pardoas* should be paid to him punctually as he had no other source of income. *Port. Era.* I, 517, n. 67. Dharmapála "only possessed some villages in the districts about Colombo." Couto, 241. See note by Ferguson *ib.* and p. 187 about this pension.

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

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

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

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

### POPE GREGORY'S REPLY.

Gregorius PP. XIII.

Dilecto filio, nobli viro Joanni, regi Zeilai.

Dilecte fili, nobilis vir, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

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

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

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

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

Gregory XIII, Pope.

To our dear son, the noble John, King of Zeilai.

Beloved Son, Noble Sir,

Health and Apostolic Benediction.

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

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

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

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

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

### POPE GREGORY'S LETTER TO KING SEBASTIAN.

#### Gregorius PP. XIII.

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

Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

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

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

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

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

#### Gregory XIII, Pope.

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

Dearly beloved Son in Christ,  
Health and Apostolic Benediction.

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

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

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

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

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

## THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

### IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

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

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

#### XI. JESUIT LETTERS : 1644—1659.

1644.

[Andre Lopez : ]

##### The College of Colombo in the Island of Ceylon.

**T**HIS College is in charge of 11 Residences in the island, and sometimes more : some along the sea shore, and others in the inland country. The latter give much work to the Fathers, both on account of the distance, and also of the dangers from the elephants, tigers and bears, and also because they are adjoining the territory of the enemy, the Kingdom of Kandy. We must add also that the Cingalese—even Christians—are treacherous, inconstant, and ordinarily do not show very high esteem for our holy faith, although a few years ago seven of them gave their life rather than give up their faith . . . . .<sup>286</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Total.** Christians belonging to the College of Colombo, 11,149.  
Children attending catechism, 1,420. <sup>287</sup>

1648.

[Balthasar da Costa: 28 NOVEMBER, 1648.]

### The Island of Ceilao and the College of Colombo.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1654.

[Joannes Caldeira : 15 DECEMBER, 1654.]

### The College of Colombo.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Ex India Orientali.<sup>289</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6th October, 1659.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*The End.*

# ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

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

(*Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon.*)

WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

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

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

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

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

## THE DIARY.

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

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

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

Arrived Alutgama and picked up stores but no tents.

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

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

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

### GALAPÁTA VIHÁRE.

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

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

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

Mr. F. made sketch plan of premises.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The doorway within the porch is of painted wood and shows a creeper issuing from a part-bird part-female figure<sup>1</sup> in the curves of which are tumblers and dancers. This design seems to have been copied from the old stone gateway lying near.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

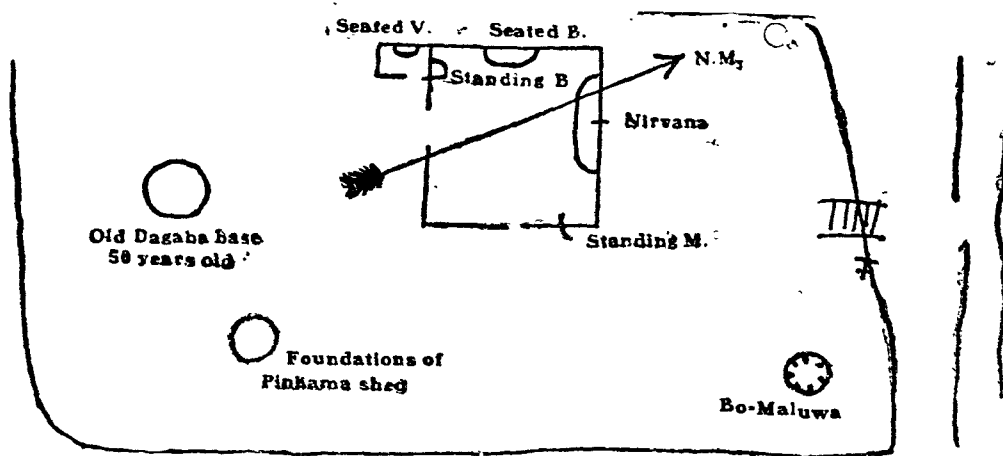
[Muller. A. I. C. No. 165. Inscription "account of the repairs which King Parākrama Báhu of Dambadeniya executed at this temple, having heard that the *dāgaba* attached to it contained a relic of Mahā Kassapa the first hierarch of Buddhism."]

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

**GANE VIHARA** (Dope Village).

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Siamese priests, 2 shoulders covered.

Photoed the *Bó-maluwa*.

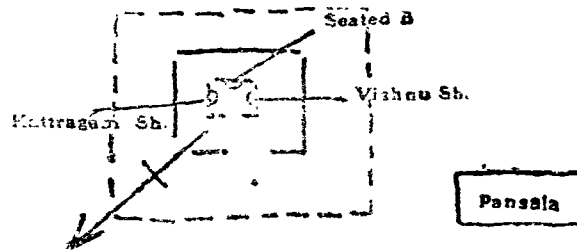
*Advice*—Nothing to be done here.

Went on to

### BODHI-MALUWA VIHĀRE,

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

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



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

A priest from here restored Galapāta 100 years ago.

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

Went to the

### WANAWĀSA MAHA VIHĀRE,

now called *Pandita Ratna Pirivena*.

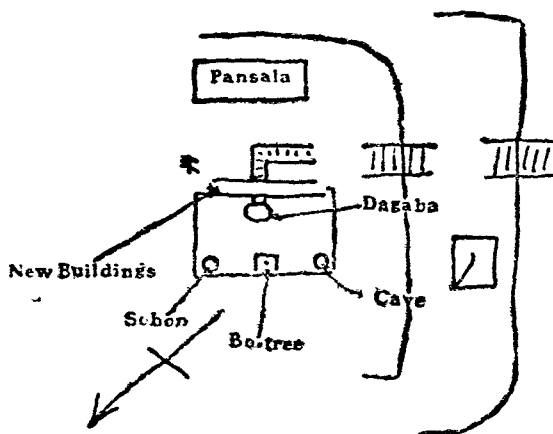
Series of three terraces decreasing in size, faced with rough stone or *cabuk*. On the two lower terraces are the modern *pansalas*. The second is built within four stone corner posts marking consecrated ground. On the very top, a natural *cabuk* hill, stands a *dāgaba* containing *sarira dhātu* of the Buddha. This *dāgaba* is supposed to have been erected by Bentara Atadassa, the High Priest here, who died 60 years ago and is buried in a small *sohona* by the *dāgaba*. Round the *dāgaba* are modern buildings in process of erection. The altar was built in B.V. 2445. <sup>2</sup> A hole dug by the priests struck an older gravel pit below; in it were found fragments of an old pottery pinnacle,

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

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

2. *Buddhā-varuṣa* 2445=A. D. 1901-02. J. M. S.

It is difficult to suggest an age for any part of the place. At the foot of the lowest flight of steps is a moostone with spiral in sub-relief.



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

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

*Visited from Bentota*

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

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

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

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

3. Verse 69. J. M. S.

## GANÉGODA VIHÁRE

situated on this road.

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

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

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

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

There is only a modern *Pansala* at Karandeniya.

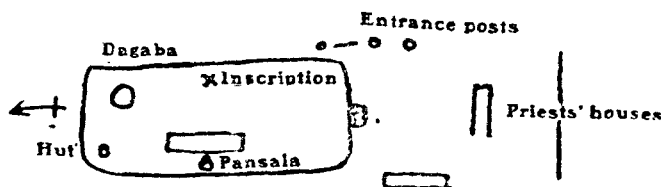
At **Balapitiya**, near the P.M.'s Bungalow, were ruins but they have been broken up entirely for the roads. There was a relic, a piece of bone, wrapped in gold leaf on the head of the gilt Buddha.

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

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

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

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



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

<sup>4</sup>. That is, both shoulders covered. J. M. S.

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

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

**MALMADUWA-HANDA VIHÁRE,**

where there was reported to be an inscription.

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

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

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

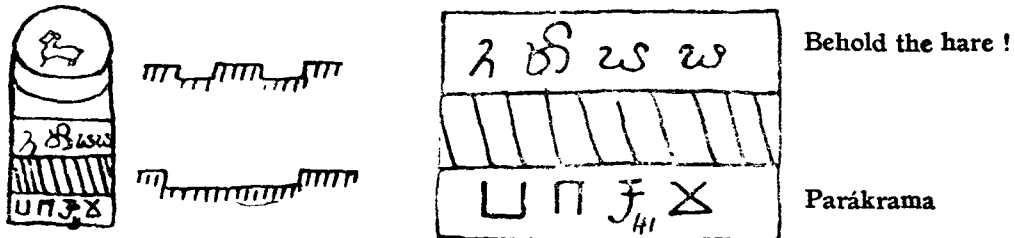
The *dágabas* are of the usual rather pointed type. The *Pansala* is modern (built in 1896, Saka 1818) and was erected on the site of the former *pansala* which was simply a mud hut.

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

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

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

The inscriptions reads



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

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

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

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

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

(To be continued.)

## Notes & Queries.

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### USES OF ROSARIES AND COMBS.

By G. HUNTLEY.

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

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

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

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### QUERIES ABOUT THE PEARL.

By S. G. P.

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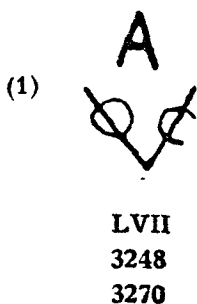
**C**AN any reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* answer the following:—

1. What is the Sinhalese idea of the origin of the pearl?  
Any legend or myth? Derived from rain-drop or dew-drop, or sunlight?
2. Is the technical word “*orient*” used in valuating pearls?
3. Metaphorical uses of pearl, e. g. in proverbs?
4. Is Pearl much used as a personal name? Are jewel-names especially appropriated to any special class of persons?
5. Names of the pearl? Etymologies? Does the generic name for gem, jewel, also con-  
note the pearl specifically; or conversely, is the specific name for pearl generalised to mean  
jewel?  
Are there pink pearls? Are they precious?
7. Any legends of the pearls guarded by dragons etc.?

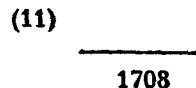
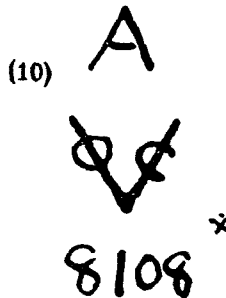
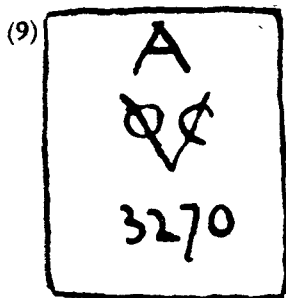
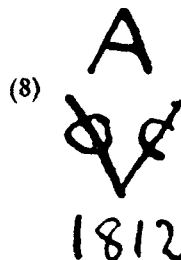
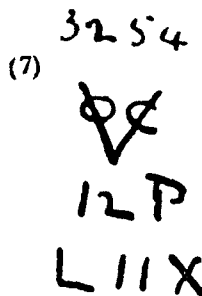
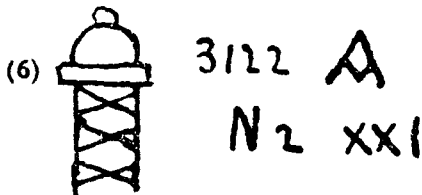
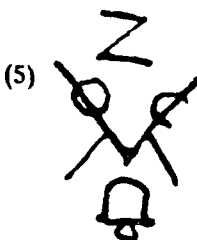
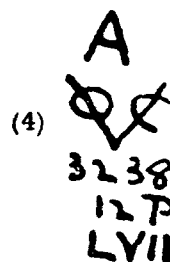
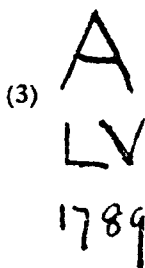
**DUTCH CANNON IN CEYLON.**

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

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



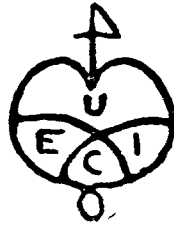
(2) 7398  
CARRON  
1789



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

\* Perhaps 3108, which would be more in accordance with the numbers in the others.

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



and the words

W. KINMAN FECIT

and date

1780

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

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

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## EARLY BRITISH TIMES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It will be seen that, except for a brief period of a year or two, his whole service in the Madras Presidency was practically spent in the Vizagapatam District. His wife, Catherine Maria, who died on 27th December, 1804, while he was Judge at Vizagapatam, lies buried in the Old Cemetery at that place. She was but 25 years of age and the epitaph says that her death was "deeply and deservedly lamented." Mr. Julian James Cotton says<sup>1</sup> that Robert Alexander's

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

first wife was Miss Williams. He married secondly Miss Grace Blacker in May, 1809, and their son, James Williams, entered the B. C. S. Whether Miss Blacker was in any way connected with Capt. William Blacker, Commandant of the 7th Battalion of the Courts Native Infantry, who lies buried in the Masulipatam Fort Cemetery<sup>2</sup> or with the more famous Col. Valentine Blacker C.B.,—the Historian of the Maharatta War (1817-1821), who was originally in the Madras Light Cavalry and afterwards Quarter-master General of the Madras Army and lies buried in the South Park Street Cemetery at Calcutta—is not known, though Mr. Cotton thinks that the Captain and the Colonel were “presumably connected.”

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

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

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

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## MR. A. O. BRODIE.

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

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

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

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

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

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

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

**Manuscript.**

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

**Original Manuscript.**

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

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

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

Mr. Brodie was Assist. Government Agent for Noowerakulawiya.

# Literary Register.

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

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### HISTORY OF THE PENSIONS.

#### Causes of Their Origin.

*(Continued from Vol. V, Page 217.)*

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#### III.—Measures Proposed for Adoption.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Relationship with the Ex-royal Family.**

They are ;—

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

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

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

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

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

46. But besides Muddalgiri, there are of the class of non-relatives sixty individuals of the second life, drawing monthly stipends amounting to Rs. 309.4.7 or an annual disbursement of Rs. 3,711.7.0 ; and thirty of the third life drawing collectively Rs. 133.4.7 per month, or Rs. 1,599.7.0 per year, together with two allowances of Rs. 15 per month = 180 per year ; in all Rs. 5,490.14.0.<sup>1</sup> In all these cases I would propose to commute the pensions for an immediate payment of ten years' purchase. The result of such a plan to the pensioner may be very briefly stated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **Related to the old Kandyan Dynasty.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Muddukunuma—third Queen.

Kirthisimala Rájah—son of adopted son of second Queen.

Tayasimmala Rájah—adopted son of fourth Queen.

Dorasamy Rájah—son of Anglesamy Rájah.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Dependence on the Ceylon Government.

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

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

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

recipients, found calculated, to be 34 years,—this, on Mr. Morris's table, would give eleven years' purchase of the pensions, involving a capital outlay of Rs. 7,084.0.0. The immediate expense of commuting the pensions of the twenty-nine second and third lives will thus come to Rs. 64,943.8, to which has further to be added that of the gradual extinction of the seven first lives—which are not to be so dealt with until the decease of the present holders, and the consequent reduction of the stipends by one-third.—the aggregate of the stipends will then amount to Rs. 121.7.9, and the commutations will amount to Rs. 17.494. making the commutation of the 36 pensions eventually amount to Rs. 12.437.8.

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

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

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

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

65. To sum up,

#### **The General Policy of this Government**

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

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

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

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

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

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

That she has no house to live in.

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

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

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

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

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

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

73. It would be

#### An Act of Humanity

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

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

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

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

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

The Hon'ble  
The Colonial Secretary.

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

(To be continued.)

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### SINHALESE AND KANDYAN ARCHITECTURE.

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

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**A**T a recent meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society one of the speakers propounded the theory that the Sinhalese had no architecture of their own. I maintain that, as regards the Kandyans at least, this statement is incorrect. Whatever may have been its model or source, the Kandyans developed what one might describe as a wooden architecture of their own i. e., a style of architecture which, first carried out in the wooden buildings for which it was specially devised, was eventually followed in stone as well.

Any one travelling in the Kandyan districts and taking note of their temples and dwellings must have been struck with something distinctive and original about them, not to be found in the rest of the Island or in Southern India. I endeavoured to work out and illustrate this thesis in a paper published in Mr. H. W. Cave's *Book of Ceylon* in 1908, (pp. 325-377.) I suggested its resemblance to Nepalese rather than Dravidian or Tamil architecture.

Dr. Coomaraswamy, in the chapters on architecture in his *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, published in 1909, adopts the same view (pp. 114, 129) and says : " The typical Kandyan wooden architecture has a distinct character of its own. In spite of the great remains at Anuradhapura it should be fully realised that the truly national and indigenous architecture has always been one of wooden building." Further " It is natural that much of the best Kandyan woodwork should be architectural, and that it should derive a special charm from its architectural adaptation.

With regard to its ultimate origin I had remarked : " The architecture which it most resembles would appear to be that of the temples of Mudbidri in Kanara or the Tuluva country on the Malabar coast, and it is perhaps significant that the religion of the people of this country is Jainism, and that the religions of the Buddhists and the Jains were so similar to one another in their origin and their development and doctrines, that their architecture must also at one time have been nearly the same."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Coomaraswamy writes : " In India stone building was not practised until a little before Asoka's time (third century B. C.), and no doubt a knowledge of it came to Ceylon from Northern India along with the Buddhist Missionaries ; but a wooden style was already well established, and while serving as a model for the work in stone, has never been itself displaced. Buddhist wooden architecture of the same general type is still to be found in Nepal ; in most other parts of India it has been replaced by stone."<sup>2</sup>

In my papers I had quoted James Fergusson as remarking of the Jains that their architecture is neither the Dravidian style of the South nor that of Northern India, and that this style of architecture is not known to exist anywhere else in India proper but recurs with all its peculiarities in Nepal.

It also recurs in the Kandyan districts where the indigenous style has the same features that struck Fergusson as characteristic of that of the Mudbidri and Nepal temples, but for details of these resemblances I must refer the readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary* to my paper above quoted.<sup>3</sup> I think the Sinhalese may therefore fairly claim to have what is practically now an original style of architecture exhibited in the buildings erected by the Kandyan section of the race, even though its scope is somewhat limited. Nor am I prepared to accept Dr. Emmanuel Roberts' dictum as regards ancient Sinhalese architecture, though the theory that it is of Dravidian origin was suggested by Mr. S. M. Burrows.<sup>4</sup>

Against this theory there is the occurrence in Ceylon of the moonstone. Dr. A. Willey says—" Readers of Fergusson's *History of Eastern Architecture* will not need to be told that the ornate semi-circular threshold stones, commonly known as moonstones, which occur at the bases of flights of steps leading into the *Pansalas* and *Vihāras* of Ceylon, are an exclusive character of the ancient architecture of this Island and are not found in India nor elsewhere on the Asiatic continent." And even Mr. Burrows in the middle of his argument has to admit that " the design of the pillars, which play so important a part in the Sinhalese ruins, appears to be confined to the Island."<sup>5</sup>

One of the peculiar features of Kandyan buildings is the doors and windows. I gave some illustrations of both from photographs in *The Book of Ceylon*,<sup>6</sup> but some sketches could not be reproduced. I noted that some of the smaller windows were like miniature doors in every detail.

The following are rough sketches of

- (1) a window at Aluwihāre seen from outside and
- (2) of one at the Dehigama Walauwa, Kandy, as seen from inside.

These windows have no bars but are closed by inside shutters.

1. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. by James Fergusson. pp. 207-8, quoted on pp. 325-6 of *The Book of Ceylon*.  
 2. *Medieval Sinhalese Art*. p. 114.      3. See *The Book of Ceylon*, p. 326.  
 4. *The Buried Cities of Ceylon*, pp. 14-15.      5. *Spoils Zeylanica*. Vol. V. p. 139.  
 6 pp. 359, 363, 368 371, 372, 375, 376.

**ROOM IN THE "OLD PALACE," KANDY.**



*Photograph by*

1

*The late Mr. F. Burleigh Campbell.*



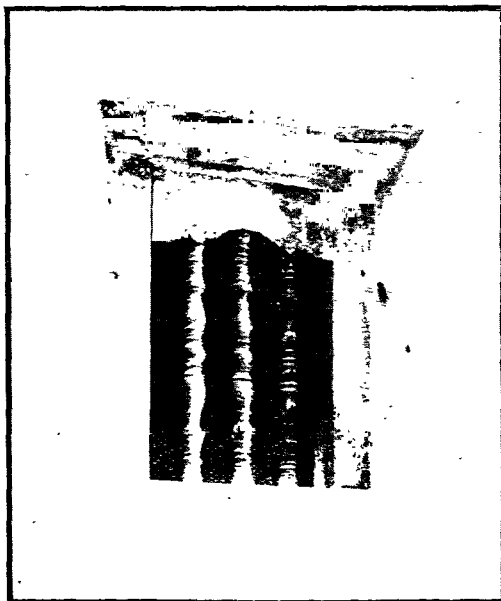
*Photograph by*

2

*The late Mr. H. W. Cave.*



**WINDOW AT THE GAL VIHARE**

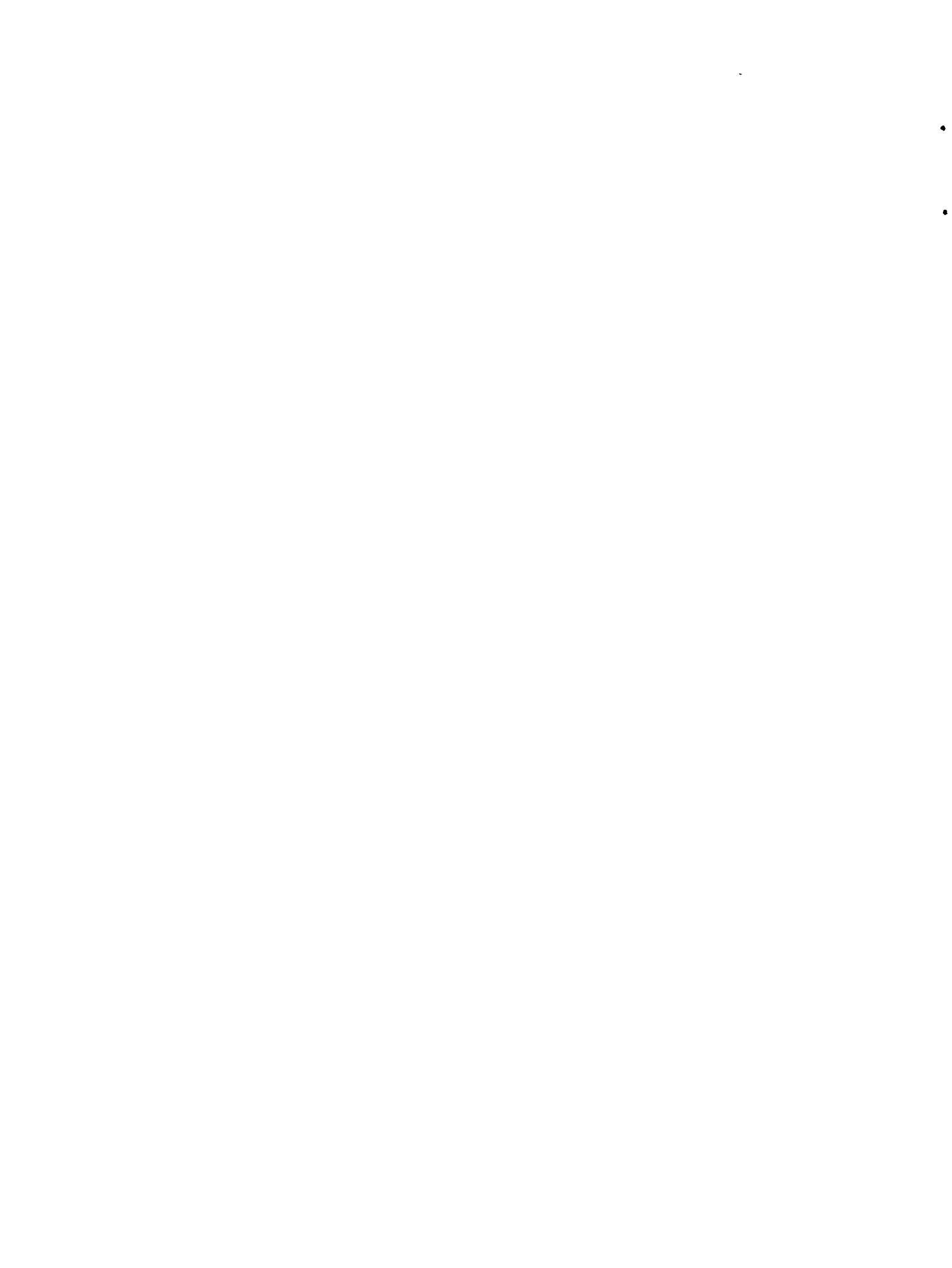


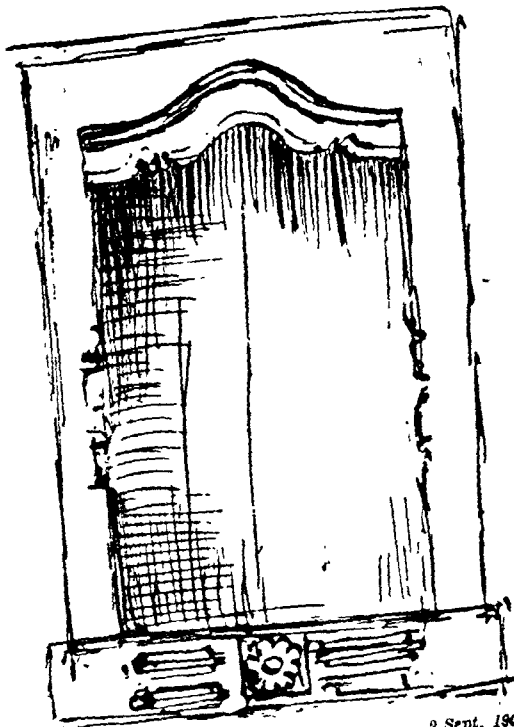
*Photograph by* Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy  
at Gonawatta Ferry, near Kandy.

**KANDYAN ROOF BEAMS**



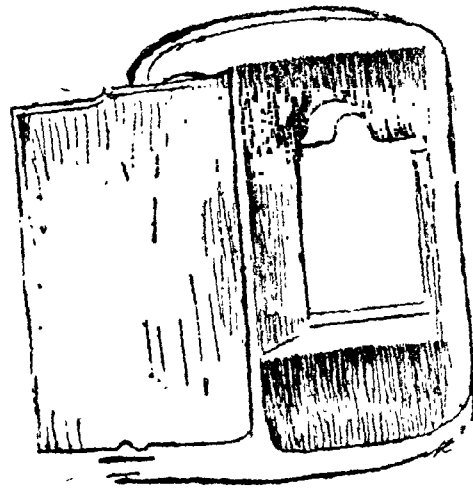
*Photograph by* Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.  
AT THE AUDIENCE HALL, KANDY.





J.P.L.

WINDOW AT ALUWIHARE.



J.P.L.

WINDOW AT DEHIGAMA  
WALAUWA, KANDY.

From Interior.

An interesting discovery of Kandyan windows was made at the Old Palace in July, 1908. "Four were found in a line longitudinally piercing the front wall which contains the main entrance, and vaulted in wood. These windows made it possible to see down the verandah inches in width, and from the thickness of this wall, they are from 19 inches to 21 inches in width, and from the thickness of this wall, they are from 4 to 5 feet deep. Above these were two smaller windows of the same pattern, also in a line, and looking into the verandah. They are almost exactly half the size of the others, being 14 inches in height and 10 to 12 inches in width. The six windows had been bricked up, doubtless in early British times, but traces of the original paint remain. They have been reopened, with much advantage to the appearance of the principal room of the Old Palace, already noted for the ancient Kandyan figures which decorate its walls." (*Administration Report on the Central Province for 1908.*)

The accompanying photographs (see Plate II) show the side of this room containing these figures (1) before the discovery of the windows and (2) after it. I have included (1) because it is the best photograph of the figures that I have ever seen, while (2) shows the windows very clearly and their position with regard to the figures, though the latter are indistinct. The windows have small round arches with impost mouldings and, as I remarked of one at the Malwatta temple, "might pass for Norman."<sup>8</sup> This is the first time that any photograph of them has been published.

I also annex a photograph of a Kandyan window which I obtained for my paper published in Mr. Cave's book from Dr. Coomaraswamy but which, as Mr. Cave took his own photographs, did not appear. It is a good example of the type of window which has door, lintel and threshold in miniature, and also lacquered wooden bars. This window is at the Gal Vihare at Gonawatta Ferry near Kandy. (See Plate III).

7. It was taken by the late F. Burleigh Campbell of the Survey Department, an excellent amateur photographer. The other was taken by the late Mr H. W. Cave, or a member of his staff.

8. *The Book of Ceylon*, p. 371.

The woodwork of the Kandyan roof, too, is characteristic. A photograph taken by Dr. Coomaraswamy, also obtained for my paper but not utilised and now reproduced<sup>9</sup> for the first time, is a good illustration of the care bestowed on making the rafters where they project into the verandah ornamental. This is to be seen in the Audience Hall at Kandy.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately there is no indication of the whereabouts of the subject of this last photograph. It will be seen that the work is very elaborate, every rafter having been heavily carved with notches, the effect being unique.

I have quite recently made an interesting discovery with regard to the Kandyan door. I had supposed that it was peculiar to the Kandyans or at least to the East, but I find that the same type of doorway without hinges was in vogue in England in mediæval times, and that specimens of it are not infrequently met with in buildings dating from that period.

In the Kandyan door instead of hinges "the inner edge of the door which is made of a thick plank is rounded off and projects at the top and bottom in short circular ends which fit into sockets and on this axis the door swings,"<sup>11</sup> or as Dr. Coomaraswamy says: "The doors . . . . were exceedingly massive adze-hewn planks, turning on two dowels forming part of the door itself and fitting into the frame above and below."<sup>12</sup>

At Llangelynin Church in Merionethshire, North Wales, the doors are described by the architect who restored it, Mr. Harold Hughes, A.R.I.B.A., as "swung on oaken pivots formed out of the planks of the door,"<sup>13</sup> and he informs me that "many old doors were hung on pivots or pins formed out of the wood of the door itself" and remarks that "it is certainly interesting to find the same construction in Ceylon."<sup>14</sup>

Mr. Edward Owen F.S.A., Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Wales, says: "I have met with one or two instances in Wales of what was probably a fairly common feature, namely the hanging of the church doors on wooden pegs, but cannot now remember the places."<sup>15</sup>

No doubt the same construction was adopted in domestic buildings in England and Wales, but, compared with the ecclesiastical, few of these remain with their original woodwork.

#### APPENDIX.

I hope I may be allowed space to make a few corrections in my paper in *The Book of Ceylon*, as otherwise I shall probably have no opportunity for it. The second edition appeared before I knew that it was intended to print one.

The most important is on page 358. '*Puṭṭuwa*' should be '*puṭṭuwa*' and the word does not mean "chair," but a design of two or more animals linked together. I should have verified the word "Goose-chair," and "lion-chair" should therefore be cancelled. The word for "chair" has but one ṭ.

On page 329 the note<sup>16</sup> is in the wrong place. It should be a note to the preceding paragraph, line 2 ending at the word "building," and "Fergusson" should be substituted for "He." For "*walhalkada*" read "*wahalkada*."

Page 330. There should be no circumflex accent on *madame* here or anywhere where it occurs. There should be no accent or mark over it. The use of the circumflex accent too in *wihāré* on p. 338, etc., is not correct.

Page 345, line 3 from top insert "which is" before "confined."

Page 346 line 21 from top omit "and."

Page 349 line 11 from top "gods" should be "god."

Page 377. The note should read: "It has been removed from the wall, which accounts for the whole of the framework being visible."

Page 373. Note † read "temples, e.g. at Galmaduwa."

9. These photographs did not appear in Dr. Coomaraswamy's work.

10. See *The Book of Ceylon*, page 346 and illustration No. 470.

11. *The Book of Ceylon*, p. 374. *Spolia Zeylanica*. Vol. V, p. 128.

12. *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 116.

13. *Archæologia Cambrensis* Vol. 17, p. 428 (1917.)

14. Letter dated 7 Jan., 1919

15. Letter dated 29 Dec., 1918,

## THE DAILY RITUAL AT THE DALADÁ MÁLIGÁVA.

By ARTHUR A. PERERA.

**A**T evening the *Tevakarana Sanghayá*,<sup>1</sup> the *Hakgedi Appu*,<sup>2</sup> the *Kattiyana rála*,<sup>3</sup> the *Gebarála*,<sup>4</sup> and the *Wattóru rála*<sup>5</sup> wash their faces, hands and feet at the Málígáva well, go upstairs to the shrine and remove from the *ásanaya*<sup>6</sup> the flowers that had been placed there in the morning.

(2) The *Wattóru-rála*<sup>5</sup> takes out the *atapirikara*,<sup>7</sup> the *deheti*,<sup>8</sup> the *kendiya*,<sup>9</sup> the *chámara*,<sup>10</sup> the *vigina patra*,<sup>11</sup> the *kapuruatta*,<sup>12</sup> and the *handun karanduva*.<sup>13</sup>

(3) The officiating priest covers the *ásanaya*<sup>6</sup> with an *etirilla*<sup>14</sup> and places on it the above-mentioned articles. The *Hakgedi appu* sounds the conch and the drummers begin the *teváva*<sup>15</sup> music.

(4) The officiating priest puts a *patkade*<sup>16</sup> on the ground, kneels on it and worships the relic, washes his hands and says the *árádanáva*.<sup>17</sup>

(5) The officiating priest places the *deheti*<sup>8</sup> on the *ásanaya*<sup>6</sup> and says the *Deheti-vadana gáthá*;<sup>8</sup> he pours water in to a small spittoon from the *kendiya*<sup>9</sup> and says the *Siri-mukayata-diyavadana gáthá*;<sup>19</sup> he holds up a towel and says the *Siri-mukayata-telmáttukarana gáthá*;<sup>20</sup> he touches the robes and says the *Sivru-pújá gáthá*;<sup>21</sup> he again pours water from the *kendiya*<sup>9</sup> into a large spittoon and says the *Siripádayata diyavadana gáthá*;<sup>22</sup> he lays his hand on the *ásanaya* and says the *Ásana-pújá gáthá*;<sup>23</sup> he fans the shrine and says the

- 
1. The officiating Buddhist priest.
  2. The conch-shell blower.
  3. The servant who has to carry from the kitchen to the sanctuary the daily food offering in a pingo.
  4. The servant who issues out the paddy, rice oil and the like from the store room.
  5. The servant who opens and closes the doors of the sanctuary, and keeps the place clean.
  6. Altar.
  7. The eight articles necessary for a Buddhist priest consisting of three robes, a dish, a girdle, a razor, a needle and a water strainer.
  8. Roots used for cleaning the teeth.
  9. A vessel for water with a spout.
  10. A fly flapper.
  11. A fan.
  12. A vessel for camphor.
  13. A vessel for water mixed with powdered sandal wood.
  14. A cloth covering.
  15. The morning, noon, and evening service.
  16. A cloth on which a Buddhist priest prostrates himself in a temple.
  17. *Yé dhammá hetuppa bhagaváte sanhótu náthá gathó.*  
*Ahate sanchayó niródhó évanvádi maha-amano*  
*Níthhante nibbunéchápisamé eténa samanphalan.*  
*Chénó panidhibétu hissanná gachchanti suggatin.*  
*Yávata bhagavó lóke tittésiya bhavesásanan.*  
*Návathatvá ganhátu pujan lókánukampayan.*
  18. *Nágaldantekatta, manótuntó dakanyatá*  
*Patiganhátu bhagava dantapónádakaniman.*
  19. *Muduetaluné nátha hilocitté sulakkonó*  
*Sasávaparisuddéné sóditukarapallevé*
  20. *Dávannásara dabbhóye. uparpúá Parinduno*  
*Visuddhásvasanatu yahan kíromimukamunjanan*
  21. *Kóseyiyakósijáténa, kunkumáratne kantiná*  
*Nísivaréna bhagavannen achchá deminatha gathan.*
  22. *Sabbákáravaro pétan, chattalakvena mandithan*  
*Náthédévám pádené, devabrahmádi divandiné*
  23. *Nénámumsuvannéhi, khobakanchám bhásuran*  
*Moháre hamidonsádu ásanan demisbunó.*

*Pavan-púja gáthá*; <sup>24</sup> he waves the *chámara* <sup>10</sup> and says the *Chámara gáthá* <sup>25</sup>; he rings a bell and says the *Mini-púja gáthá*. <sup>26</sup>

(6) The *Wattóru-rála* <sup>5</sup> comes in and removes the robes and utensils while the officiating priest takes camphor from the *kapuru-atta* <sup>12</sup> and says the *Kapuru-púja gáthá*, <sup>27</sup> burns the camphor at the *dolos-maha-pána*, <sup>28</sup> saying the *Dum-púja gáthá*, <sup>29</sup> and he sprinkles sandal wood water from the *handun-karanduva*, <sup>13</sup> saying the *Handun-púja gáthá*. <sup>30</sup>

(7) The officiating priest spreads the *patkadé*, <sup>16</sup> kneels and worships the relic, washes his hands and takes from the *Gebarála* <sup>4</sup> salvers full of *kekuna* <sup>31</sup> flowers and spreads them on the *ásanaya* saying the *Mal-púja gáthá*. <sup>32</sup>

(8) The curtain is drawn aside and the worshippers are allowed to come in and offer flowers.

(9) After an interval the *Hakgedi-appu* blows the conch and sounds a bell; the drummers begin the *muruten* <sup>33</sup> music, the *Kattiyana-rála* brings up a pingo load of liquid food from the *Máligáva* kitchen and places it in the sanctuary.

(10) The curtain is drawn, the officiating priest spreads an *etirilla* over the flowers on the *ásanaya*, pours water into a cup saying the *Srihasta-panvadiná gáthá*, <sup>34</sup> places the bowls of liquid food on the *ásanaya* saying the *Aharapúja gáthá*, <sup>35</sup> spreads the *patkadé* on the ground, worships the shrine saying the *Velendímata árádanáva* <sup>36</sup> and comes out.

(11) After a short interval the officiating priest goes in, pours water into a small spittoon saying the *Siri-mukayata-diyawadana gáthá*, <sup>19</sup> holds a towel saying the *Siri-mukayata-telmáttakarana gáthá*, <sup>20</sup> offers betel on a golden tray saying the *Dehet-púja gáthá*, <sup>37</sup> burns incense with the *Dum-púja gáthá*, worships on the *patkadé* saying the *Budun-samákhara gáthá* <sup>38</sup> and comes downstairs. The *Wattóru-rála* sprinkles the floor with *dummala* <sup>39</sup> water and locks the doors.

(12) At dawn and forenoon the above ceremonies are repeated but, in place of liquid food, eatables are offered. On Wednesdays before the forenoon ritual the officiating priest and the *Máligáve* servants bathe, the metal utensils are polished and the *handun-karanduva* <sup>13</sup> replenished; the officiating priest takes a looking glass, holds it before the shrine and anoints the reflection with *nanu*. <sup>40</sup>

24. Vandanámána sokkara, hájanan sokiye pungaran

Manuna Povanasag náhi Piginé necha Pújayé

25. Tilóka tilasan budan, siddan suda gunakaran

Mohara hēna sugatan puje chámara nahan

26. Sandāya Vānu Kōrena Saranema burēnevā

Sandhawmadē desa si satvā pāssa gantāye Pújayé

27. Sanasārap padinatēne, Dipenoname dersenó

Tilokoci Pen Sambudinn Puje yēmi namómiyan

28. An oil lamp kept lit night and day throughout the year.

29. Gendhesambhēre yuthēna, dnpēné handigandhwā

Pújayé Pujini yenthen Pujéhé jena mutt-mau

30. Sugandh: kāyavadana mananthe gunaganbhira

Sugandhinshān gandhēna pujayēni papēgathēn

31. A tree peculiar to Ceylon (canarium Zeylanicum)

32. Vannagandha gunu péna : énam kusume santāhtin

Pujāsēni munadēssa Stripāda sarórubē

33. Food offered at a shrine

34. Atanta ná no mmm iló dakkínó yiyo gunakaró

Patiganhētu bagavó dakkínó danta muttēman

35. Advāsētunbāntó bhōjīnan Parikāppitan

Anukāmpān upādēya Patigānhā tumentaman

36. Nirēdayēmi sambuuddān jina zē genmahómmin

Niwanē yēni sugatan loko petēnhōr: sabān

37. Nāgovālli dālu Pētān Chun a Puga Samózugān

Nómulan paloganhatu wōkkopura midānpino

38. Kāyēnevē chachittāna Pamédēna mayē katan

Achchayēn kame Wēbtānrē bhūri ripenne notēgatan

39. Resin

40. A composition made of lime juice, powdered sandalwood and herbs for cleansing the hair

# HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.<sup>1</sup>

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

## IV.

### NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE EAST INDIES OF THE MONSOON OF 1655.<sup>2</sup>

*Translated from the Portuguese.*

FOR years the affairs of this state (Portuguese India) promised no improvement, and they never had worse results for us. The English proposed to the Conde de Obidos to join forces against the Hollanders, but though every reason of state demanded the acceptance of the offer, they found reason, as they always do, for declining it.

When the Conde<sup>3</sup> was removed, the Governor, Dom Bras de Castro, seized the opportunity. The English accepted the terms, but, knowing that the galleons were unrigged and would delay to start, hastened to relieve the ships which were in Persia; for the Hollanders, who knew all that was taking place, got together all the sail that could be spared from the south, and meeting the English in Sind defeated them<sup>4</sup> and came thence to Surrate with 13 sails to refit.

Meanwhile our five galleons were ready and set sail,<sup>5</sup> rather late, for Ceylon with five *galeotas* of provisions. The Capitao Mor was Anto Barreto Pereira in the galleon *Nazareth*,<sup>6</sup> the Admiral, Alvaro de Nabaes in *S. Joao Perola*,<sup>7</sup> Dom Antonio Sottomayor in *Sancto Antonio*,<sup>8</sup> Francisco Machado Deca in *S. Joseph*,<sup>9</sup> and Antonio de Abreu in *S. Phelipe*<sup>10</sup>; Captains to whom His Majesty entrusted the said galleons in Lisbon, except Don Antonio who was appointed in India.

They sighted Ceylon on 22nd March, and on the 23rd Collumbo came in view. In the bar were three ships of the Hollanders,<sup>11</sup> two of good size and well furnished with guns,<sup>12</sup> which on seeing ours tried to get windward, trusting to their swiftness to try conclusions. Our Capitao Mor, with the self-same intention, directed towards Gale, and when the wind fell, fired a challenge to which the enemy replied, though it could clearly be seen from the Almirante and Fiscal that they declined combat.

By eleven o'clock the wind rose, and the Hollanders, being unable to avoid battle, as they were to the landward,<sup>13</sup> exchanged fire till our Admiral turned his prow right on the

1. Continued from Vol. III. pt. iii. p. 218.

2. *Relacao de novas da Inata Oriental desta monsoa de 1655. Ms 'Goa, 34'* It consists of 23 close written pages. The writer's account is very involved and at times unintelligible. The translation faithfully reproduces both these defects. The events described in the first part of the letter are referred to by De Queyroz (*Conquista* p. 756 & sqq., translated extracts of which will be found in *The Portuguese Era* II, :84 & sqq.) Baldeus and Valentyn.

3. D. Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde de Obidos, was forcibly removed from the Viceroyalty.

4. The Hollanders captured 3 East India Company's ships, *Roebuck, Lanneret, Blessing*.

5. From Goa in the beginning of March 1654. Q. 756. 6. 84 guns. 7. 32 guns. 8. 18 guns. 9. 30 guns.

10. 18 guns. 11. The *Greyhound, Rhinocerus*, and *Dromedary* which were blockading Colombo. Baldeus. ch. 43.

12. According to De Queyroz, the Dutch *Capitania* carried 52 guns, 13. *E nos com boa proa*.

enemy's *Capitania*, grappling and giving her such a charge, as she carried good guns, that the ship almost foundered (*sosobrada*). The *Capitania* of the Hollanders, which was surrounded by the *Nazareth* and *S. Phelipe*, tried to turn, but our flagship turned her prow on her. Here I should like to stop so as to avoid relating the disorders due perhaps to excess of valour, seeing that we fought a pirate proud of his success though he lost heart when he saw our galleons.

The Hollanders had a good and numerous force taken from the garrison of Negombo, a ship carrying upwards of 40 guns, and a valiant *Capitao Mor*. Our Captain, having grappled with the enemy's ship, thought himself obliged to board her, because, they say, he saw that the men were irresolute—he had only a few veteran soldiers of India—and they say that he tried three or four times. At the first he received a *pique* in his leg, but making no account of the wound, with the valour that animated him, seeing that the Hollander Captain gathered his men with determination to resist ours, he rushed at him with sword and shield<sup>14</sup> and ran him through and killed him. Captain Abreu came on the other side, firing on the enemy till the spritsail (*civadeira*) was carried away. There was no Hollander to be seen, and one of our soldiers shouted out to him that the ship was captured. Whereupon, he anchored by the prow and thence fired some shot at it. A Hollander begged quarter, and one of our soldiers despatched him with his musket. Such are our soldiers.

At four or five o'clock, when the shrouds of the enemy's ship were cut and the ship destroyed by shot, the *Capitao Mor* came on board, and a raw soldier (*bizonho*) called out to him by name and told him to get away, as they had their eyes on him. At that moment he was shot through the groin and died within an hour; some say that he had already been wounded. He was one of the bravest men that set foot in India. The enemy were now so few, that we have it for certain that only 7 of that ship escaped. But in this confusion, (as it always happens with us in similar circumstances, because we never profit by our opportunities nor follow a determined plan, contrary to the custom of other nations, as we have learnt at the cost of so many misfortunes), the enemy took opportunity to cut the grapplings, and being carried by the tide went aground on the coast near Negombo.

Cap. Nebaes boarded the Hollander ship with his men and mastered the lofts, and when Don Antonio approached them, they told him that the ship was seized and asked him to go in pursuit of the other; and our Admiral, being afterwards shot through the arm, died of it in Colombo, where he was taken for treatment. When many of the Hollanders had been killed, the ship's grapplings were cut,<sup>15</sup> and the ship broke away carrying five of our soldiers, who are given up for dead; and as she had neither rigging nor sail she also ran aground.

Francisco Machado Dessa pursued the third ship, but she escaped and made for Negombo. The General of Ceylon, Francisco de Mello de Castro, inquiring what was the matter, was told that the Hollanders were making merry.

On the 24th the galleons put into Colombo to land the reinforcements they had brought, and as they had no orders to pass the winter there, they set sail for Goa with Antonio de Abreu, the Senior Captain, at the head, Urbano Fialho in the *Nazareth*, and Nuno de Mello in *S. Joao* after various disputes among the Captains, as all wished to take the first place, which is the cause of their own and our ruin.

14. Com astoque e broquel.

15. A Portuguese soldier by mistake cut the wrong cordage.

As soon as the news of the coming of the galleons was known in Ceylon, the General, thinking that they would come to Galle as they had to do, and foreseeing that, when the ships were there, the enemy could send reinforcements only by land, ordered our army to approach Galle in order to impede it; but those of the army seeing the delay, especially because they had no food for several days, returned to Negombo; but the Hollanders of Calleture, knowing the state in which they were, set out to meet them at the very time when the galleons were battling; and such were our soldiers that, though tired in body, they were not at all so in spirit, and fought kneeling and sitting.<sup>16</sup> In this encounter the enemy lost 200 men, and of ours there died only 7 or 8; but as our men were so enfeebled, they could not follow up their victory; and the Hollanders, in order not to lose Galle, which they knew was our objective, abandoned Calleture, a strong place which they had well fortified, and leaving the guns and other things, and cutting down the bridges so as not to be followed, retired to Galle.

In Colombo they asked the Captains of the galleons to go round to Negombo where it was known the number of the Hollanders did not reach fifty; and they were removing the guns to retire with the rest, and if the galleons had been seen making for that port, they would undoubtedly have done so, but as the Captains of the galleons did not comply with the request, nothing was done. The Dissavas or Captains of the Comarcas informed the General that the Hollanders had retired to Galle and asked him to make himself master of the country, which he could have done by occupying the rivers, but either for lack of provisions or of determination nothing was done, though everybody clamoured for it. Some Hollanders fled to us from Negombo, others died of hunger, and there remained only 20. The natives of the country and prisoners offered us the town, but, in spite of many importunities, the General could not be persuaded to send a squadron, at the mere sight of which they would have surrendered.

All these misfortunes were due to the death of Antonio Barreto Pereira, who had nothing so much at heart as to attack Galle, (though he had no *regimento* for it), and thus to have done with the Hollanders in Ceylon once for all. In Ceylon we had good soldiers and he himself brought 900 men in his galleons, and 780 of the *matricula* only, but as God has not yet ceased chastising India, greater misfortunes came upon us from the very quarters from which we expected success. For the Hollanders set sail from Surrate with 11 sail well equipped and after a few days stay in Achara, where news however uncertain was not wanting, they temerarily despatched northwards the fleet of trading ships (*cafilla*) accompanied by a few ships of the armada, which being ill provided made its way to Chaul to winter; and getting sight of the enemy, many of them without further ado made for the coast with sail and oars, leaving the merchant ships to their fate, Joao Sarmiento the chief not being strong enough to oblige them to follow them, though several times he faced a *patacho* and some *lanchnus*, which were the only ones to pursue him, the Baneneas having no judgment in these matters.

Finally, there were some 40 barques on the coast, and some of the trading ships escaped. The enemy burnt most of them and the goods, so as not to be delayed. Then the news reached Goa there were some who in this confusion thought of informing the galleons of it, as it was morally certain that they came to meet the enemy and could easily dodge them (*furtar a volta*) making for the sea, when they thought the contest unequal. But in the confusion counsels were many, and there being time for everything nothing was done.<sup>17</sup>

And on the 2nd May, when the enemy was in front of this bar, the first (galleon) was sighted from the Cabo da Rama; for mutual jealousy having increased among the Captains,

16. Q. 754 *Port. Era II* 331.

17. The whole paragraph is incoherent.

Antonio de Abreu who came in the lightest ship, without heeding that he was the chief, and without minding the information he had, that Hollanders had gone North, (for before starting from Goa it was known that some ships had sailed), dissatisfied with the proceeding of the other Captains, came ahead, and after him came Francisco Machado; and when he was in sight of the enemy, without further ado, with seven leagues of distance between them, and being able to rejoin his people, he made for Salsette and with little difficulty ran aground, though he had already received a message from the Governor, as is reported, asking him to fight promising to help him with reinforcements, which in fact he did as much as he was able to. For these proceedings I find no excuse; first, for going so far ahead of the others, however great the mutual jealousy may have been; secondly, for not turning back, being able to do so, and it being his duty to unite with the others; for after the conflict with the enemy, the ship was weak, and the guns ruined, and men few, and from its miserable condition, even though he might fight valiantly, as he could have done for some time, I am not surprised that he lost courage at the sight of eleven sail.

Captain Machado exchanged fire from 2 to 6 in the evening, and at times defied grappling, but the Hollander, who had the game in his hands and was less deflected than we, always avoided the shock. At last our ship was so much deflected from its course that, either from the bad example of the chief, or because of want of depth, she struck near the other galleon on the shore of Cannanore, where both were burnt, though the men were saved.

The enemy continued his voyage, and off Ancolla he encountered Dom Antonio and Nuno de Mello, who were a little apart from each other. In this last extremity Dom Antonio acted like a cavalier fighting with resolution half the squadron of the enemy whose two *Capitanias* fell upon the two galleons. The battle lasted the greater part of the day, and Don Antonio lost few men as he had a strong galleon made in India; and not to be thrown on shore he cast anchor and gave such a volley to one of the *Captains*, that she turned back and fled with the rest into the open sea.

The enemy, who had received much damage in the hull and masts, did not dare to grapple with Don Antonio, though more out of despair than valour he often invited it. In this extremity, being without sails, and the night far advanced and seeing no other way out of it, he threw his men into the sea, and not trusting it to another he himself set fire to the ship; but he jumped into the sea too late, for the galleon burst and carried him down, and there he died mourned by all for a *fidalgo* of great hope and a fine character.

Nuno de Mello, with his eyes on the river Mirzeu, resisted the enemy as much as he was able, and made for the bar; and the pirate, seeing that he could not get near him, put 150 of the best men he had, into the fiscal and tried to grapple with her. When she approached, the galleon gave her so well-aimed a shot, that the ship straightway burst and only five Hollanders escaped, who were picked up by our ships, which at this time came from Goa. Nuno de Mello also burnt his galleon, for which many blame him, for the enemy could not easily have attacked her except one at a time, and if he had run aground it could be refloated; for he could have foreseen that the Hollanders could not remain long on the coast, and that our ships would come to his help. At last he saved himself and his men, and afterwards it cost us much labour to rescue them from the hands of the Moors. He could easily have put them into the ships without running such a risk, but our foolhardiness was at all times the same.

While this battle was going on, the *Nazareth* had sight of the enemy with another *patacho* which they had taken, carrying reinforcements to Galle from Suratte. The galleon was unmanageable, for want of ballast it carried some guns on the prow. But such are the Portuguese that they sail about and lose sight of the enemy. I don't know how he managed to come to land where, on the 6th of May, off the heights of Onor, he met ten ships of the Hollanders, and with the same rashness as the others, knowing that those on land were our enemies and had laid seige to the fort, he fought, and being deflected from his course, cast anchor behind the islet; and trying twice to grapple with *tangedeiras*, they were on both occasions cut by the enemy who fought so successfully and merrily.

And not to afflict those who read this I end by saying that there were 200 men in the galleon who, not having land to flee to, surrendered conditionally, leaving as they say a plank in the ship, which already took so much water, that the Hollanders could not move her, and as they could not delay, she was burned by the Hollanders who landed our men at Cananor. Few of ours died in the battle, and 132 whites besides Joas Malucos, escaped to the enemy out of this fleet and according to information received this was brought about by the mutual jealousy of the Captains.

If only they had been united and had not fallen out in Ceylon, it is certain that, with the five galleons and the two ships they had captured there, they could have had an even battle on this coast if not the victory; for as the enemy carried few men, experienced people think that they would have refused battle when it came to the point, as they are in the habit of doing; moreover, though the ships were well furnished with guns, they were not like the ones that fought at this bar. Would to God that this experience were enough to teach us to mend our ways, which, however, I consider to be impossible considering our character. <sup>18</sup>

(To be Continued.)

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18. *Oq eutenho p impossivel em nosso natural, em qto nao ouver aqar cutelos etrosser bracos oq te agora senao fes a nenhã dos obradutos*



# THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1798-1805.

## NOTES ON THE REVENUE.

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

### The Pearl Fishery.

OF the sources of revenue in the years under review, that of the Pearl Fishery is probably the most interesting. We have already seen<sup>1</sup> that the successful fisheries of 1796 to 1798, producing a total revenue of £396,000, prevented the acquisition of the Maritime Provinces from being a loss to the East India Company, and it was to the success of the later fisheries that Mr. North looked to counterbalance the excess of expenditure over revenue which the accounts showed every year.

It is true that he was not very hopeful about his first fishery, that of 1799, and that he realised that the conditions were inauspicious.<sup>2</sup> There was a shortage of specie, as the Indian Government had taken steps to prevent it being brought from the Coast to the fishery owing to it being required in India. There was also a "scarcity of Rice approaching to a Famine," while the native capitalists, disliking the Governor's new method of selling the boats for the fishery separately by auction, instead of renting the whole fishery to one renter, had formed a general combination to keep down the bids. In addition, the banks were becoming exhausted after the fisheries of the three previous years, and all these causes combined to lower the receipts to £30,000.

There was no fishery in 1800, but, by 18th February, 1801, Mr. North had high hopes of a successful fishery that year, though it was to be only on a small scale. It was to be conducted "in aumanee," Government presumably paying the expenses of the boats, divers, &c., and collecting the profits direct, instead of renting the fishery or selling the licences to fish. Mr. North decided to supervise the arrangements in person, and much valuable information, as well as profit, was expected from the fishery.<sup>3</sup> But the venture appears to have been a complete failure. The fishery was concluded in April, 1801, but no further particulars are available, except that "melancholy Details" were communicated to the Court of Directors in a Despatch of April, 1801, which is not forthcoming.

It is difficult to say what these "Details" were, especially as Mr. North writes Lord Wellesley a glowing account of the prospects of the fishery on 12th March, 1801.<sup>4</sup> In this letter, it is stated that 110 boats went out on the 10th March, and 126 on the 11th, that there were "fine pipe oysters, divers in high glee," and apparently a considerable profit about to accrue to Government. The cause of the failure appears to have been the immaturity of the oysters, a pilot, one Daniel Rodrigo, being held specially responsible for the failure apparently in that

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV. Part I, page 40.  
3. Despatch of February 18. 1801. para 166.

2. Despatch of February 26, 1799, para 58.  
4. *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)* page 301 vol. II.

he deceitfully reported the oysters as mature and the banks fit for fishing when they were not.<sup>5</sup> Some profit did accrue to Government <sup>6</sup> but it must have been very little.

Before the fishery of 1801, Mr. North had "the most flattering Hopes of productive Fisheries for the years 1802 and 1803," but a "Certainty . . . resulted" from the fishery of 1801 "of the suspension of any Profit from that principal Branch of the Revenue of Ceylon during the next Year."<sup>7</sup>

No fisheries at Aripo were accordingly held in 1802 or 1803, but the intermediate examination of the banks gave hopes of "a Series of great Fisheries . . . with very small (if any) Interruption"<sup>8</sup> and the fishery of 1804 was expected to raise the revenue of the Government above its expenditure,<sup>9</sup> by producing 20 lacs of rix dollars or £213,333.<sup>10</sup>

Extensive preparations were made for this great fishery of 1804, but the examination of the banks showed that the value of the fishery would not be so great as was expected in 1802. The original method of renting the whole fishery to one renter was reverted to, and Vydalingam Chetty bid for 30 days' fishing of 150 boats at the rate of 2,000 Porto Novo pagodas per boat or 300,000 Porto Novo pagodas for the whole fishery, that is, £120,000 or 1,125,000 rix dollars with that pagoda at 45 fanams.

But several unfortunate circumstances reduced the value of the fishery considerably below this sum. Although the quality of the oysters was good, and they had arrived at perfect maturity, their numbers were disappointing, only about 3,000 per boat being obtained instead of an anticipated 10,000, owing, apparently, to storms which preceded the fishery. Stormy weather also prevailed at the end of the fishery, so that after 26 days, on only 20 of which fishing took place owing to Sundays, one feast day, and one day of bad weather, the fishing had to be abandoned. The renter accordingly applied for a rebate, and he was allowed 80,000 Porto Novo pagodas, and was only charged for the 26 days of the fishery. He had thus to pay 180,000 Porto Novo Pagodas, with an additional 8,000 pagodas which he paid for a few extra days' fishing. The total realised by Government was consequently 188,000 Porto Novo pagodas or 705,000 rix dollars. Mr. North puts the nett revenue at 700,000 rix dollars or £74,666,<sup>11</sup>

There was no fishery in 1805, and, though he thought one would be possible in 1806, and one was actually held, yielding £35,000, Mr. North had, by that time, been succeeded by General Maitland.

In addition to these fisheries of the main banks at Aripo, there was a small fishery on some banks at Chilaw in April, 1803. The boats were sold separately or in lots by public auction to the number of 150 for 20 days' fishing, and the profit to Government was 150,000 rix dollars or £16,000. The only other fishery which had been held here was that of 1766, yielding 15,000 rix dollars.<sup>12</sup>

Following is a statement of the Pearl Fisheries and their revenue from 1796 based on such data as are available in contemporary documents and in Cordiner's work :—

1796	£60,000	} Fishery at Aripo	} Authority Cordiner, II. 71-2
1797	£144,000		
1798	£192,000		
1799	£30,000		

5. Despatch of December 15, 1801, para 38.  
7. Despatch of October 5, 1801, para 68.  
9. Despatch of September 10, 1802, para 63.  
11. Despatch of October 5 1804 (annexure)

6. *Ib.* para 37.  
8. Despatch of March 16, 1802, para 81.  
10. Despatch of November 23, 1802.  
12. Despatch of April 29, 1803.

1800	no fishery	
1801	not known	
1802	no fishery	North's Despatches
1803	do	
1804	£66,993	Maitland's do
1805	no fishery	
To these must be added the result of the fishery at Chilaw :		
1803	£16,000	

Thus, the total actual revenue from this source during Mr. North's régime (1799-1805) was about £113,000 or about £16,143 per annum, which was quite insufficient to counterbalance the increased expenditure, particularly of the military establishment. In February, 1805, Mr. North put the expenditure at a minimum of £430,000, and the revenue at about £300,000, £36,000 being estimated to be contributed by the pearl fishery, £64,000 by cinnamon, and £200,000 by other sources. "This Calculation is, as it ought to be, rather below what we have a Right to expect, but the constant succession of physical misfortunes which I have witnessed here, has disposed me to consider in a less sanguine Temper than I did the Resources of this extraordinary Country."<sup>13</sup>

#### Cinnamon.

Owing to the importance of cinnamon as a source of revenue, we find considerable space in the Despatches devoted to that subject and the principles of its control explained. The Dutch had placed the greatest importance on this branch of their revenue, and had erected the trade into a Government monopoly, which was enforced with the greatest rigour. The selling or giving away a single stick, the export, the peeling of cinnamon without the authority of Government, the wilful injury of cinnamon plants, were offences punishable with death.<sup>14</sup> As there was apparently no other source of supply, a high price—Marshall<sup>15</sup> says 11s. 6d. per pound—was fixed, and a large profit made. In order that the price might not fall, the quantity produced in excess of what was supposed to be the world's demand—5,000 bales of 80 pounds each—is said to have been burnt.

The British succeeded to this monopoly with the other possessions ceded by the Dutch, and it never seems to have been their intention, at that time, to relax any of the restrictions. The Committee of Investigation recommend "a rigid monopoly," and Mr. North states: "My great object will be to secure your monopoly of this article without danger of Contraband, but by no means to increase the production of it, beyond the annual amount of Five Thousand bales, for being in its nature a luxury, and not tending in any manner to increase its Consumption by its Quantity like Grain or Common Provision, the only Consequence of the too great abundance of it, would be that it would get into the hands of those, who would venture for the immense profit it would afford to brave the vigilance of the severest laws, and perhaps succeed in underselling you in all the markets of the world . . . . the cinnamon laws enacted by the Dutch (though perhaps of a severer nature than your temperate and philanthropic Ideas of Legislation would allow you to enact) ought, in my opinion, to be kept up, at least for some time, as they are admirably Calculated to make the possession of a cinnamon tree, a real Curse to the persons on whose property it grows, and of Course, to make Individuals desirous of leaving the entire possession of that valuable Commodity to the State . . ." <sup>16</sup>

13. Despatch of February 8, 1805.  
16. Despatch of October 27, 1798.

14. Bertolucci, page 231.

15. Page 28.

So alarmed, indeed, has Mr. North been represented to have been that an increased production would entail a fall in price, that it is stated that he directed most of the Government gardens to be sold on the condition that all the cinnamon should be forthwith rooted out,<sup>17</sup> but this statement would appear to be based on a misunderstanding of measures adopted by the Governor with entirely different objects in view.

Formerly, the cinnamon crop was collected in a wild state in the forests of the Kandyan Provinces, but in the time of the Dutch Governor Falk it was discovered that it could be cultivated and Government gardens were planted and encouraged by his successor, Governor Van der Graaf. Governor Angelbeek is, however, stated by the Committee of Investigation to have neglected the gardens, and closer attention to them is recommended.

By 1800, Mr. North had developed a scheme to improve the conditions of the collection of cinnamon by reducing the number of scattered gardens, of which there appear to have been very many between Chilaw and Matara. These were to be replaced by one or two large, compact, plantations, which, by strict attention to cultivation, could be made to yield the required supply. The gardens no longer required were to put into other products, the cinnamon being rooted out, the cuttings to be converted into cinnamon oil, and the roots into camphor.<sup>18</sup>

The advantages of this system were obvious. A saving in the cost of collection is the first, and Mr. North expects to reduce the expense of the Cinnamon Department to about £4,000 chiefly by reduction of the amount of labour, no doubt. The quantity of the annual investment is not to be affected, as the intensive cultivation of the selected gardens will keep up the supply. Greater security against contraband is likely to be effected, while a great quantity of land and labour will be available for the cultivation of other products, chiefly rice.<sup>19</sup>

Two gardens were selected for the execution of this scheme, the already existing garden of "Marendahn," and a new one at Kadirane, near Negombo. The former was the largest of those previously in existence, measuring upwards of 12 miles round<sup>20</sup> and extending to within half a mile of the Fort of Colombo.<sup>21</sup> It was improved by having a dyke built round it to keep out cattle, and it was proposed to acquire all the private lands in the vicinity. This proposal was, however, apparently postponed pending a decision on a suggestion from the Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations, Mr. Jonville, to exchange the Maradana garden for one at Kadirane.<sup>22</sup> This suggestion was apparently approved, at least in part, for later in the year we find that Mr. North anticipates that the two gardens of Marendahn and Kadirane, which is even more extensive than Marendahn, will, in 5 years, produce twice the annual consumption of the world, and that it will be possible to give up a large part of the gardens at Marendahn, Moratuwa and Ekele, near Negombo.<sup>23</sup>

In 1802, on the assumption of the Government of the Maritime Provinces by the Crown, a new arrangement as to the disposal of the cinnamon "investment" was come to. Up to that time, the revenue had been at the disposal of the East India Company, and the cinnamon investment had been despatched direct to London in the "cinnamon ships" to the address of the Hon'ble Court of Directors.<sup>24</sup> But, when the Government was taken over by the Crown the cinnamon investment passed from the hands of the Company to those of the Crown. It was, however, decided that the Company was to retain the cinnamon monopoly, and an agreement was entered into between His Majesty's Government and the Court of Directors of the

17. Marshall, page 10.

18. Despatch of October 5, 1801, para 76.

21. Percival, first edition, page 337.

23. Despatch of October 5, 1801, para 75.

19. Despatch of January 30, 1800, para 82.

22. Despatch of February 18, 1801, para 179.

24. Despatch of March 5, 1799.

20. Cordiner, I 415.

the East India Company that the latter were to receive annually 400,000 lbs. English of cinnamon at 3s. per lb. the Government being credited at Madras with the total £60,000.<sup>25</sup> It was apparently also agreed that profits over 5% were to be placed to the credit of Ceylon.<sup>26</sup>

From 1st January, 1802, Mr. North was, therefore, to supply 400,000 lbs. of cinnamon, or about 4,324½ bales at 92½ lbs. each.<sup>27</sup> There were, however, several reasons why he could not supply the full investment. The gardens all over the country had been exhausted after the previous crops, while the abolition of service tenures and the resumption of accomodations by the Proclamation of 3rd September, 1801, had disorganised the Cinnamon Department which depended largely on the service labour of the cinnamon peelers.<sup>28</sup> In addition, Mr. North had misunderstood the instructions of the Court of Directors of 10th September, 1800, ordering him to suspend the next year's investment. As these Instructions were received in March, 1801, Mr. North appears to have taken "next year's investment" to mean that of 1802. All the cinnamon in store—3225 bales—were sent off soon after the receipt of the Instructions in March, 1802, and orders were given for the suspension of the investment of 1802. It was not till September, 1801, that the Governor heard of the contract for 400,000 lbs to be supplied to the Company, and he had considerable difficulty in carrying it out. 3000 bales were, however, procured from the Kandyan territories; 800 were procured from the exhausted gardens, and there were 500 in store. But, apparently, many of the bales were rejected, as Mr. North does not expect to be able to supply the whole quantity<sup>29</sup> and the actual investment was, in fact, 3679 bales of 92½ lbs.<sup>30</sup>

The official figures of the investments are 1802—3679 bales; 1803—2680; 1804—2678; 1805—2469; 1806—4166; 1807—4850<sup>31</sup> showing that Mr. North gave short delivery of 33% on the annual contract with the East India Company for the supply of 4324½ lbs. Bertolacci, it is true, supports Marshall in his explanation of the shortage, suggesting that "too warm a desire of seeing the plan (of more concentrated cultivation) accomplished, and an unguarded anticipation of it, perhaps, induced the granting leave too soon, in some instances, to the holders of the land to destroy the plant, which they looked upon as a hindrance to their prosperity"<sup>32</sup> But the Despatch of 28th. February, 1806, makes no mention of the cutting out as a cause of the shortage, and, while pointing out that, so far from the supply being twice the demand, it amounts to about half the amount of the contract, attributes the shortage to different causes. The first is that, although the East India Company was represented by an Agent who freely rejected cinnamon as not up to standard, the Crown had no representative to check the fairness of the rejections. The second was that the abolition of service tenures had made labour so difficult to get that the projected improvements to the principal gardens had only been carried out in part or not at all.

It is, however, to be noted that the East India Company—extraordinary as it may appear—made no complaints of the short delivery, and continued to place to the credit of the Ceylon Government the whole of the £60,000 agreed upon in the contract. The Board of Revenue suggests that the reason for this was that the quantity received by the Company was sufficient to meet the world's demands, and that the freight provided by the Company was inadequate for the transport of the whole investment agreed upon.<sup>33</sup> The increase in the investment obtained

25. Despatch of December 15, 1801, para 66.

26. De-patch of March 16, 1802, para 10.

27. Despatch of December 15, 1801, para 65, seems to make a bale equal to 87 lbs.

28. *Ib.*

29. Despatch of December 19, 1801.

30. Despatch of February 28, 1806, Bertolacci page 247, Marshall page I.

31. Same Despatch, Bertolacci, Marshall.

32. Page 251.

33. Despatch of February 28, 1802.

by Governor Maitland appears to have been due to his tacit resumption of service tenures, and to his persuading the Mudaliyars of the Cinnamon Department to cultivate cinnamon on their own account.

The cinnamon which was baled for export to England consisted of the bark of shoots three to five feet long, separated from the shoot in entire slips of the width of about half the circumference of the shoot. The epidermis was peeled off, and the piece dried in the sun, the heat of which caused it to curl up. The smaller cylinders were inserted within the larger so as to make almost solid rods which were again tied into bundles.

As the average produce of a peeler's labour in a month was 37 to 50 pounds of cinnamon,<sup>34</sup> about 2000 to 2500 peelers would be required to work for 4 months to make up the investment of 400,000 pounds, and for the regulation of the work a distinct Cinnamon Department had been established by the Dutch, and continued by the British. The head of this department was the "Captain Canella" or "Cinnamon Captain" under the Dutch, and the Commercial Resident under the British. Under him came various headmen: a Mudaliyar and Muhandiram, who worked immediately under the Superintendent; Mudaliyars and Muhandirams, divided into two classes, who supervised the work in the gardens, and who superintended the cinnamon peelers in their villages and regulated the internal police of the caste, respectively. The actual work was done by the cinnamon peelers, and some other less important castes.

Under the Dutch and early British rule, the Cinnamon peelers had grants of land, called accommodesans, in return for their services as well as other privileges, besides receiving  $1\frac{1}{2}$  parrahs of rice at 44 lbs. per parrah, and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  fanams per month. On the abolition of accommodesans in 1801, they were to receive 4 parrahs of salt at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fanams per parrah of 54-56 lbs. per annum, and they were to be free from ferry taxes, and from the necessity of having passports for their donies. As regular pay, they were to receive 3 rix dollars and a parrah of rice each month. The headmen of districts were paid 25 to 75 rix dollars per month. The "Maharale" and the two "Codadoreas" who superintended 50 peelers, were paid 15 dollars and 5 parrahs of rice, and 9 rix dollars and 3 parrahs respectively. From each district, a certain amount of cinnamon ready for the market was required from the cinnamon peelers each year.<sup>35</sup>

It is interesting to note that the first hint of the ultimate fate of Ceylon cinnamon appears in Mr. North's Despatch of 20th. April, 1803. Even by that time the "bastard cinnamon of China," or the *cassia lignea*, had begun to be preferred on account of its cheapness, although the returns of the export of Ceylon cinnamon, or the price paid for it, do not show any appreciable decline for several years later. The monopoly was abolished in 1833, but before that, the price must have been considerably affected by the competition of the Java cinnamon, and the *cassia*, the appearance of which exploded two of the theories of the monopolists that cinnamon could grow nowhere else than in Ceylon, and that the price could be held practically at any figure the monopolists desired.

The receipts from the pearl fishery and the revenue from cinnamon form the principal items of what Bertolacci calls the "First Branch, not derived from Taxation." The others are not of equal interest or importance, and need be only briefly noticed.

34. Despatch of November 24, 1802, para 148.

35. Bertolacci 239, Cordiner I 405 ff., *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)*, Vol. V, page 284.

### Chank Fishery.

Of them, the least unimportant is the Chank fishery. The chank is a sea shell, which is sawed into rings to be worn as ornaments by women in India. In Bengal, there is a "religious prejudice" in favour of chanks for the purpose of burying them with the dead, a prejudice which creates and maintains a large demand.

The chanks are collected by divers in the same way as pearl oysters, but in much shallower water. According to Bertolacci, there were three kinds of chanks, the "*patty*" with a short flat head, found north of a line about half way between Talaimanaar and Canangally and paid for to the divers at the rate of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  rix dollars per 1000; the "*pajel*" with a longer and more pointed head, found south of that line, and paid for at  $16\frac{2}{4}$  rix dollars per 1,000; the "*wallampory*," or right-handed chanks, which were very rare and were paid for at the rate of 20 rix dollars upwards each.

The right to fish for chanks was farmed out by Government and produced the following amounts: 1795-6: 19,850 rix dollars (sold before the capitulation of Jaffna); 1796-7: 22,250; 1797-8: 22,250; 1798-9: 30,050; 1799-1800: 41,100; 1800-1: 51,500; 1801-2: 35,400 (for 8 months); 1802-3: 41,500; 1803-4: 27,500; 1804-5 to 1805-7: 91,400 (in one contract). In 1803, an export duty of 5% was levied on chanks, yielding about 5,000 rix dollars per annum.<sup>36</sup>

### Choya Root.

Choya root is a source of revenue which is frequently mentioned in the *Jaffna Diary*. It is used for dyeing, giving a fine red colour. It grew wild, and was collected by a special caste of *choya* root diggers who delivered their collections to Government, and were paid at the rate of 75 to 80 rix dollars per candy of 500 lbs. The Government sold the root at about 175 rix dollars per candy, which, with about 10% deduction for commission, dryage, baling, left about 27,000 rix dollars annual revenue to Government.

Among the others sources of the "First Branch" of the revenue were sale of elephants, profits of the stud at Delft, and of the sale of the *Government Gazette*.

Although the head of "Land Rents" has been seen to be a subject of great importance and general interest, that of "Sea Customs" was of greater value from the revenue point of view, contributing more than any other head to the "Second Branch" of revenue, that is, that derived from taxation. This customs revenue consisted of duties on exports and duties on imports, of which we may notice the former first, as bringing in the higher revenue.

A complete tariff of a slightly later period than that with which we are now dealing will be found in Bertolacci's work,<sup>37</sup> but it is not proposed to go into the subject here in such detail, partly for want of space and partly as it is a matter of great difficulty to collect the particulars for the years 1798 to 1805. We may, however, note the details of the duties on arrack, arecanut, and tobacco.

### Arrack.

The principal markets for Ceylon arrack were Madras, Bombay, and the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, where it was required for supplying the Army and Navy as well as native consumers.<sup>38</sup> In 1806, it cost in Ceylon about 80 rix dollars per leaguer of 150 gallons or 75 "wett." Adding 25 rix dollars for the barrel for shipment, we get the general figure of 105 rix dollars. In Madras, it sold for about 34 star pagodas or say, 136 rix dollars per leaguer. The export duty had been fixed by the Committee of Investigation at 8 rix dollars

36. Bertolacci, 231.

37. Ib. 489 ff.

38. Ib. 151.

per leaguer.<sup>39</sup> In 1806 Sir Thomas Maitland proposed to increase this duty by one-third, as the cost for export had risen to 150 rix dollars owing to the increasing premium on Government bills, then at 18 3/4%. Some 5000 leaguers were exported annually to India.

Besides being a source of customs revenue, it may be noted here that the retail vend in Ceylon, which was farmed out to renters, as it is now, was a source of revenue which was classified under "Licences." The retail price was about 6 stuivers per quart, say 36 stuivers or 1s. 6d. per gallon, as against the price in 1920 of about Rs. 12 to 16. The amount of revenue collected from the arrack rents of 1798 to 1805 is not reported. The customs revenue in 1806 was some 40,000 odd rix dollars.

It may be noted here that Mr. North's regulation of the consumption—what would now be called his excise policy—appears to have been based on varying principles. Early in 1799, his intention was to discourage the consumption of arrack for the benefit of the health of the troops and of the lower classes of the inhabitants.<sup>40</sup> He thought that toddy was "fatal to the Health & Morals of the People" and proposed to tax trees tapped for toddy.<sup>41</sup> But by the end of 1802, he appears to have abandoned these views, writing that "the Arrack Farms have increased in value, and been considerably extended; and I hope shortly to be able to introduce them into every Part of these Settlements." The Despatches do not disclose the reason for the change.

#### Arecanut.

Arecanut was a more important revenue producing item than arrack. These nuts, while being largely used in Ceylon for chewing with betel leaf and lime, were in considerable demand in India on account of their good quality. The rates were calculated by the amunam of 8 parrahs, consisting of 24,000 dry nuts or 30,000 fresh ones, and weighing 278 to 290 lbs. English. The greater part of the supply was collected in Kandyan territory at 6 to 7 rix dollars per amunam, being sold for export at about 15 rix dollars. The Committee of Investigation had fixed the duty at 10 rix dollars per annum, but this was lowered by Mr. North to 7½.<sup>42</sup> The suggestion was apparently made later by the Secretary of State to raise it to 10 but it is not clear if that was done.<sup>43</sup> In 1802, a differential duty was imposed on cut and uncut nuts, the former paying 5%, the latter nearly 80%. In 1809, the same duty of 10 rix dollars per amunam was imposed on both the uncut, mature, nut and on that which was plucked when green, and dried in the sun.

#### Tobacco.

In some years, tobacco brought in an even greater customs revenue than arecanut. It was grown in the Jaffna Peninsula, and most of it bought for the Raja of Travancore who had a profitable monopoly in his dominions. About 3,000 candies of the weight of 500 lbs. English were taken annually by his agents, 1,500 going to Sumatra, and 350 to various parts of Ceylon, chiefly Galle. The purchase of the tobacco for Travancore and Sumatra was generally effected with gold Porto Novo Pagodas to the extent of about 125,000 to 140,000. This gold, after being in circulation in Jaffna from about August to February, was paid out to the Coromandel Coast for rice and cloth.

As the agents of the Raja were purchasers of more than 3/5 of the crop, they easily controlled the price, which was, of course, a very disadvantageous one for the Jaffna cultivator.

39. *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)*, II 134.

40. Despatch of February 27, 1799, para 80.

41. Despatch of January 30, 1800, para 86.

42. Despatch of February 27, 1799, para 69.

43. Despatch of February 24, 1802, para 166.

Government attempted to remedy this unsuccessfully; first, by an increase of duty, and then by the creation of a counter monopoly, but the examination of these steps is beyond our present scope.

In 1798 the duty on the first sort of tobacco was 7 rix dollars per candy, being raised in that year to rds. 9 fs. 9 by Major Barbut. It was, however, lowered by Mr. North to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  rix dollars on the merchants' representation that notice had been given in 1796 that trade would be free of duty except on spices.<sup>44</sup>

The other items of export—woods, planks and timber, palmyras, pepper, coffee, cardamom, coir, copra, jaggery, &c.—do not call for separate treatment. Nor do the items of import—cloth, European, China and India goods. It may be noted that, taken together, the export duties furnished four to five times the amount of revenue derived from the imports, in spite of the fact that the balance of trade was always against Ceylon, and the excess of imports grew steadily. Bertolacci points out that the collection of a greater revenue from exports than from imports was contrary to the policy of the day, and queries the soundness of the latter on the ground that high import duties mean rise in price to home consumers while export duties are paid by the foreign buyers.<sup>45</sup>

The Land Customs produced about  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the amount of revenue derived from the Sea Customs, and are divided by Bertolacci into 4 sub-heads: land pass duties, ferry and canal tolls, stamps on cloth, and the bazaar tax.

The land pass duties were taxes of 5% to  $7\frac{1}{2}$ % on the value of goods imported or exported into or from the various provinces and formed a great impediment to trade and commerce, being especially mischievous as the collection was farmed out, and there existed no fixed tariff of rates.

The ferry and canal taxes were not equally objectionable as it was right that Government should be recouped for the expense of construction and maintenance,<sup>46</sup> but Bertolacci says that the renting out of them is bad, leading to unsatisfactory work and inconvenience to travellers.

#### “Joy Tax.”

Of the new sources of revenue introduced by Mr. North the most important was the “Joy Tax” instituted by the Proclamation of 1st April, 1800. “Whereas it is our wish that the contributions necessary for the maintenance of the State should fall as lightly as possible on the People of these Settlements, and be levied rather upon luxuries, than upon the necessities of Life, we have determined to farm out a Tax on Joys and Ornaments.”<sup>47</sup>

The tax is one rix dollar or 48 stuivers for each male and half that for each female, young or old, slaves not excepted, for licence to wear ornaments of “Gold, Silver or other Metal, Stone, Pearl, Ivory, Glass, Coral, Chank, or Bone.”

The tax is to be farmed by renters who, on payment, will give a licence and receipt. Anyone wearing “joys” without a licence is to be liable to a fine of ten rix dollars in the Fiscal's court, half to be given to the informer and half to the Diacony, an institution to care for the poor.<sup>48</sup> The head of a family is to pay two rix dollars for all his family. All officers “Civil and Military in the service of his Majesty, of the Honorable East India Company

44. *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)*, II 154.

45. Page 341.

46. Bertolacci, 150.

47. Legislative Acts, Vol. I.

48. De Meuron gave the Diacony a fine imposed by the Police and the Cour d'Equite, a provisional court instituted by him for disputes between European or Eurasians and natives. The Diacony also received the stamp value of 12 stuivers from every petition, petitions being received by the Governor from 9 to 11 a.m. every Tuesday and Saturday. Letter of October 27, *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)*, II 218.

of England, of the late Dutch East India Company, and of the Government of Ceylon, together with all Privates, European as well as Native, in the Land and Sea service, with their Wives and Children" as well as headmen are exempted, in so far as badges may be marks of their offices "but no farther."

The imposition of the tax met with a considerable amount of opposition which was probably due, at least in part, to the First Adigar's intrigues, Mr. North having "evidence on oath that the Adigar had at the same time attempted to cause a revolt at Colombo, with assurances of co-operation from Kandy."<sup>49</sup> On 6th June, 1800, Mr. North writes of "some small disturbance against imposition on Joys and Jewels which obliged me to make small detachments of native troops in various parts of the Island. I am confident they will be allayed without bloodshed as soon as the light and equitable nature of the tax is generally understood."

On 15th June "discontents about tax still exist, but chief promoters of them absconded from Negombo where they raged with violence yesterday. I sent thither 2 companies of the 19th last night who will then proceed to quell disturbances of Manaar. Directed Lieut-Colonel Barbut to rigorously examine conduct of native chiefs in Province of Manaar". By 1st. July the late disturbances were "quite settled. Some insurgents taken, 2 killed in skirmishes. All country submitted. Ringleaders will surrender shortly before they are outlawed", and on 18th Mr. North writes: "My rioters are routed, dispersed and quiet", while by 30th July the public mind was "becoming good again. All declare they have no objection to the Joy tax which they think light and equitable, but are afraid Government will double it every year as the Dutch did the sulliam". The "unanimity of my military Magistrates have made me easy concerning all that passed in Jaffna and at Matura" (July 1st.)

The revenue anticipated from the tax is put by Mr. North at 2 lacs for 1801, the financial year for purposes of the tax beginning in May.

### The "Uliyam."

Another new source of revenue, or rather the revival of an old one, was the collection of the uliyam, or capitation tax from Moormen. Under the Dutch, this was a kind of poll-tax of 12 rix dollars per head, said to be levied in lieu of personal service. The collection of this tax was, however, discontinued by the Madras Administration shortly after the occupation of the Maritime Provinces, and Mr. North did not see his way to start the collection, as he considered the tax "both oppressive and disgraceful."<sup>50</sup>

The Secretary of State did not, however, accept Mr. North's opinion. He pointed out that, as a commutation of personal labour, there was nothing disgraceful in the tax,<sup>51</sup> and suggested that the tax should be collected again with such modifications as the Governor might think necessary.<sup>52</sup> This suggestion was acted upon by Mr. North, and his Proclamation of 2nd. December, 1802, laid down that Moormen might purchase for 4 rix dollars for six months a licence exempting them from the liability to be called out to labour for payment under the Proclamation of 3rd. May, 1800. Several licences appear to have been taken out, but the war with Kandy made the Moormen's service more valuable than the commutation, and the licence duty for 1803 was remitted, wholly or in part.<sup>53</sup>

49. Tennent II 81 cf. letters about his date in the *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)* Vol. II.  
50. Despatch of February 26, 1799, para 40.  
51. Despatch of March 13, 1801.  
52. Despatch of May 1, 1802.  
53. Despatch of January 1, 1804, para 62.

## Salt.

The supply of salt from the pans in various parts of Ceylon had always been in the hands of the Government, but the monopoly was not a strict one on account of the practice of paying the collectors of the salt one half of the salt collected. This was, however, altered, probably to prevent salt going to Kandy during the war,<sup>54</sup> and the whole crop was given over to the Government salt agent at 1 3/4 to 4 fanams per parrah of 55 lbs. The retail price varied from 1 to 1 1/4 rix dollars, and the cost to Government was said to be about 35% of that sum.<sup>55</sup>

## Rice.

No economic survey of the Maritime Provinces at this time would be complete without a reference to the supply of the staple foodstuff of their inhabitants—rice. In former times, the Island not only supplied its own wants, but was able to send large quantities of rice to the Coast.<sup>56</sup> The District of Batticaloa—a desert during the period under review—had sufficient surplus rice, during the administration of M. Burnand under the Dutch, to supply the large garrison of Trincomalee, and to export to Galle and Jaffna. But in Mr. North's time the minimum requirements of the Maritime Provinces necessitated the importation from India of 50,000 to 63,000 bags.

The year 1799 was a year of famine, and the utmost distress was apparently narrowly averted.<sup>57</sup> The price per bag in Colombo was 11 Arcot rupees.<sup>58</sup> "I have asked Captains Burnaby and Chance to get under 20,000 bags for (from ?) Madras at Rs. 8 a bag." In March, mention is made of an offer "by a good house here of a ship of 11,000 tons to be freighted for 4000 pagodas a month entirely at disposal of my Government. I would make 3 voyages a year to Bengal. Each voyage to bring 15,000 bags. Thus each bag could be sold here at no loss for 7 Arcot Rs. and at a profit at 8 Arcot Rs."<sup>59</sup>

The conditions improved in the following years, and, by March, 1802, improved supplies, chiefly owing to private enterprise, brought the price in the bazaar down to 6 rix dollars per bag of 164 lbs. weight.<sup>60</sup> But by March, 1805, famine conditions were again prevailing, and large and costly imports on Government account were necessary to avert grave distress. The quantity imported and its cost are not reported. Later the cost was put at over £100,000 annually.<sup>61</sup>

In these circumstances it naturally occurred to the officials of the day to make some attempt to improve the supply of Ceylon grown rice, the largest scheme undertaken being the reclamation of some 6,000 acres of the Mutturájavila marsh between the Kelani River and the Lake of Negombo.<sup>62</sup> The suggestion was, apparently, made first by Gavin Hamilton, Collector of Colombo, in his letter of 17th. June, 1801.

The difficulties were considerable; the salt water of the Negombo Lake had to be kept out, and fresh water for cultivation had to be let in; dykes and canals had to be constructed, and a fall of water was wanted for mills to beat the paddy into rice. Advantage was taken of

54. Despatch of October, 5, 1804

55. Bertola, c. 362 ff.

56. Maitland's Despatch of February 26, 1806.

57. Despatch of February 26, 1799, para 24.

58. Letter of January 13, 1799 in Wellesley MSS, Ceylon Literary Register Weekly, Vol. II.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

60. Despatch of March 16, 1802, para 100. The rix dollar may be taken as about equal to 2s. sterling.

61. Despatch of February 21, 1806.

62. *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)*, II, 96. Here, and in the preceding pages a very full account of the Mutturájavila scheme is given.

62. A full account of the scheme is given in the *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)* Vol. II pp. 96 and related pages.

the remains of Dutch works which had been constructed for the same purpose by G. L. de Costa, Disáva of Colombo in 1767, and work was begun at Jaela and Pamunugama about 21st August, 1802, and carried on till 31st January, 1803, at a cost of 45,483 rix dollars.

The outbreak of the war with Kandy interrupted the work, and it was not till January, 1804, that its recommencement was considered. An estimate of 60,599 rix dollars was drawn up to complete the work, but, on looking fully into the matter, the Board of Revenue reported against the continuation of the work, and the Governor agreed that it was, at least, a matter which should be postponed till the war with Kandy was over, and till funds became available. This was the end of the Maturájavila Scheme, and the solution of the rice problem was left to itself.

"That the quantity of Rice produced in the Island is so insufficient for the wants of its Inhabitants is unquestionably an Evil of the greatest magnitude to remedy which every exertion of Government should be employed, but it does not appear that this deficiency arises from any want of ground or soil. The scarcity and dearness of Rice in Ceylon is occasioned by the improper mode of culture and by the poverty and Indolence of the Natives who, from being long subjected to a systematic and continued oppression from the Dutch and from their own Headmen, had become Poor, abject and Indolent. We have little doubt, but that the improved system of collecting the Revenue under your Excellency's administration and the perfect security, which is now extended to the lowest order of People against oppression, will in time produce their natural Effect, and introduce among the Inhabitants a knowledge of the value of time and labour, by which alone a Nation can become rich and independent of foreign assistance."<sup>63</sup>

But the rice question was not to be solved by mere theorising, and it still remains one of the outstanding problems for the administrators of Ceylon.

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<sup>63</sup>. *Ibid.*



## ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

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

(*Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon.*)

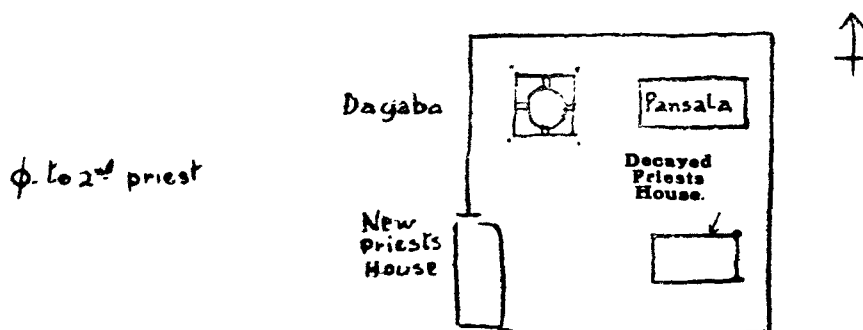
WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA.

(*Continued from Vol. VI, Page 47.*)

### SINIGAMA DĀGABA.

26-2-14 : Went along Colombo road N. of Hikkaduwa to 59½m. then branched off east app. ¼m. to village of *Sinigama* (all this district app. to road). Here on flat top of a gravel hill is a *dāgaba* standing on a square marked with a pillar at each corner and four flower altars. The priest thinks it was rebuilt by villagers. In 1878 it was ruined. There is no tradition.

H. P. T. Sanghānanda, Amarapura. Two shoulders, Sick. Did not see him. 2nd P. T. Sugunatissa.

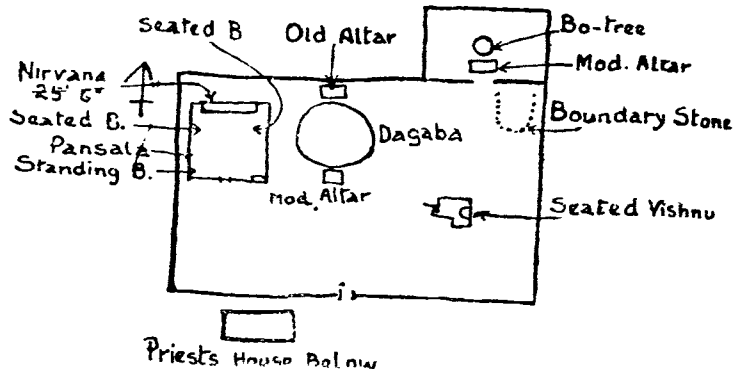


Nothing of interest.

### KOTAGAMUWA (? TOTAGAMUWA) VIHĀRE.



Before going to Sinigama went to small vihāre just outside Hikkaduwa to N off Colombo road to a vihāre called the *Totagamuwa V.* or *Kotagamuwa V.*

H. P. Siridhammacāriya Panya Tissa. Amarapura. Two shoulders. Came 37 years ago, found a ruined *dāgaba* 26 cubits high and rebuilt it present style 37 cu. high. Not yet quite finished. Old altar slab lies on north side. 8 years spent in building the *dagaba*. Some old inscriptions have been collected and buried inside. Bo-tree and altar. The Bo was brought from Peraliya to the north, south of Telwatta. Stones have been set up to mark off a *pōya-gē* boundary 16 years ago. 2440 B.V.



The priest says that a priest from here restored the Telwatta Vihāre to the North.

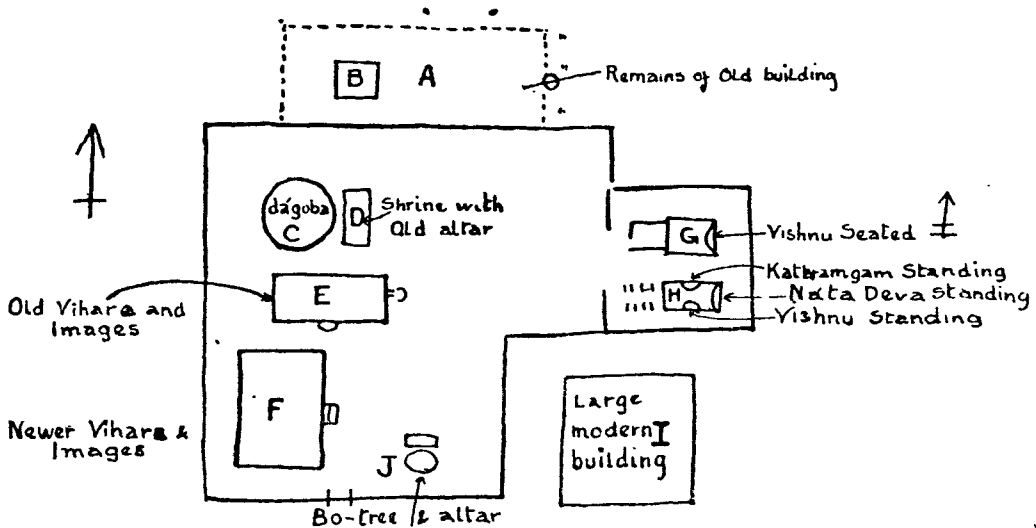
On the altar before the Vishnu are flat silver snakes on a drum of silk as

an offering  =  for recovery from disease.

Went on along Colombo Road to Telwatta (58½ miles) and then off about ½ m. to the east along *pin pára* to the

### RATPAL OR TOTAGAMUWA VIHÁRE.

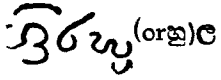
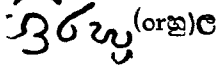
In an enclosure stand a *dágaba*, two image Vihāres, a Vishnu *dévāle*, Náta *dévāle*, and Bo tree, and outside the remains of a large *póya-ge* and a small house on top and a modern one.



The 1887 List says: "The *Dágaba* is said to have been built by King Vijaya Báhu (C). There are also stone pillars, five in one place marking the boundaries of the building used as the *pirivena* called Vijaya Báhu *Pirivena* (A), and *póya-ge*, by the priest Totagamuwa Sri Ráhula Sthavira in 1415, and seven in another place marking the boundaries of the Náta *dévāle*

(H). In four of these seven pillars there are inscriptions, so effaced now that they cannot be read. There is also a large number of stone slabs on the site of the Vijaya Báhu Pirivena (A), and also one slab, 9ft. long 4ft. broad, with lilies engraved on it, placed near the *dágaba*, for the purpose of offering flowers " (in D).

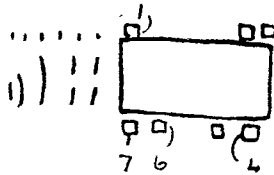
The H. P. says that the whole place was restored 150 years ago but has been restored about three times. In B. V. 1958 by the Totagamuwa priest Sri Ráhula since whose time it has been also known as the *Ratpal Viháre* (= *raja pemini* or 500 Rahats) in the time also of Parákrama Báhu of Kotté.

On a rough step of the north entrance of Viháre (F) is the inscription  (or) 

in late characters.

In (D) a modern altar shrine is a large granite slab carved on the upper surface with open lotuses and with petals around the edge of old work.

(H) Of the seven huge rough pillars set up to mark the ground where the Nāta Dévāle now stands, 4 have short inscriptions.



1 is the only legible one and reads :—

රජපාල  
 රජපාල රජපාල  
 රජපාල

4 has :—

රජපාල  
 රජපාල

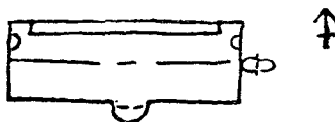
In the Nāta dévāle (H) :—Nāta déva stands in stucco and brick at the east end. High head dress with a small seated Buddha painted on the front. A long scarf over left shoulder down to right hip. One (right) hand raised palm out, left hand down palm out. *Váhana*, an elephant.

Siva with usual attributes of stag and trident is painted on N. of Nāta on same wall and Ganesha + rat standing on other side.

In raised stucco and brick on N. wall is Kattragam. *Váhana*, peacock. Six arms on each side and six heads. On south wall raised stands Vishnu and parrot *Váhana*.

Sumana also appears painted with high peaked head dress, lotus in right and pomegranate in left hand. *Váhana*, an elephant and same scarf as Nāta-deviyo.

E. A rather ancient Vihāre with short *nirvāna* of Buddha on N. wall, on E a standing and on west a seated Buddha.

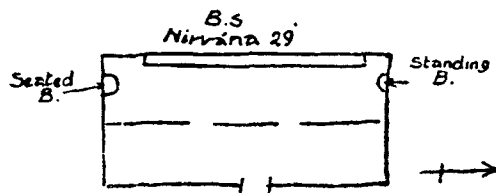


Said to have been erected by Kirtti Sri Rāja Sinha of Kandy and repainted since. 150 years old. Small wooden Nāta-deviyo said to be very old, of same date before the Nāta dévāle was built. Also an old bronze image.

The entrances have late degraded moonstones, much erased, of Kandyan type.



F A modern building. Over one of the doors is the date 1805 and record of restoration or building by several priests.



The *Mahāvansa* mentions of Parākrama Báhu IV (xc. p. 263 vv. 88-93) :—" At Titthagāma Vihāra, where the great Vijaya Báhu built a temple, five and forty cubits long, which had, altogether gone to decay, this King, Parākrama Báhu, built a fine two-storied temple, thirty cubits long, with tall spires, and then gave that building, as it shone with divers paintings, to the great and venerable elder Kāyasatthi, who dwelt in the *parivēna* called Vijaya Báhu. He also gave, for the benefit of that *parivēna*, a village called Sālaggāma, near the bank of the river Gimha ; and in that delightful village of Tithagāma he formed a grove with five thousand coconut trees."

Before this the *Mahāvansa*, talking of the battles of Parākrama Báhu I (LXXII. v. 74, p. 145) says : "A certain great chief also, who was left at Titthagāma with a great army to defend it . . . . ."

We thus get the old name Gimha for the Gin-Ganga, and the name Gimha-tittha for Gintota. (xc. 92). (lxxv. 23-25).

The priest of the 1st Totagamuwa said that this was the original and that it was the going of Siri Rāhula Sthavira to the Ratpal Vihāra that gave it that name. The village of the first is called Totagamuwa. Now Telwatta has no ford near it, but  $\frac{1}{2}$ m. to north of Hikkaduwa is the Hikkaduwa-Ganga and the Totagamuwa is near the ford of this. Therefore this must be the true Titthagāma of the *Mahāvansa*.

It was strongly guarded by the rebels against the generals of Parākrama Báhu I., which would be the case if it were at the ford, since the Ganga is narrowest where the Colombo Road crosses it and goes back several miles.

A native says that Hikkaduwa is also called Totagamuwa. But the Rest-House Keeper at Hikkaduwa says that the villages run : Hikkaduwa, Totagamuwa, Sinigama, Telwatta, northwards.

The Kotagamuwa on the map seems to be an error for Totagamuwa.

27-2-14 : Went to Galle.

28-2-14 : Went round the town and out to *Gangaráma*, a quite modern looking Viháre of no interest. Tamil Tombstone in Dutch church.

1-3-14 : Sunday. Stayed at Galle.

2-3-14 : Went to Weligama.

Got a guide and visited Kushta Raja and the Agrabódhi Viháre. Photographed *dágaba* and Bo-tree and took squeezes of the Raja Siha inscription and three fragments.

The

### KUSHTA RAJA

stands out in east side of a large boulder on the south side of the Colombo and Galle Road.



It is certainly the statue of a Bodhisattva or perhaps of Naladevi. In the Head dress are 4 Buddhas



impossible for a king. The nose of the image has been broken off, it is said some 25 years ago, by blasting the rock opposite. The ground belongs to villagers but the rock is the property of the Agrabódhi Viháre.

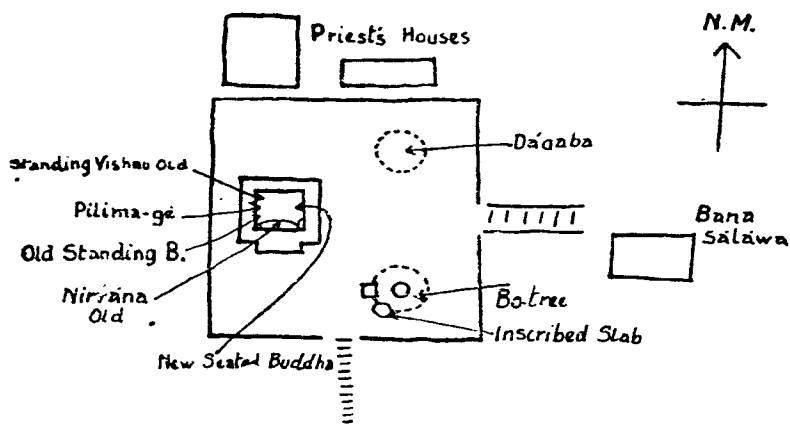
Had the front cleared of weeds.

*Advice* : Government should acquire and preserve this rock and the land around it. It is a unique statue and should be placed in charge of the Mudaliyar of the Kórale. The ground round is being dug for gravel but whether this will endanger its safety is uncertain. On the side of the rock near the road are large hollows : It is said that once a poor woman sleeping here heard a voice say : "If you give 1,000, I will give 2,000," She then got some small fish from the sea and was breaking their heads off, when she had got to 1,000, melons fell out of these holes.

Nearly opposite to this statue a path leads across fields for about 150 yards to the

### AGRABODHI VIHÁRE.

On the top of a hill made into a broad platform stand a *dágaba*, modern in type, a Bo tree, (from which the Viháre takes its name, since the story is that an Arahat, on the way to Tissa with a branch of the Anuradhapura Bo tree, laid it on the ground at this spot whilst he rested. On rising he found that it had taken root and so left it) and a *pilima-gé* of which the central part with some of the images seems to be old though the rest is now being built up.



The *dágaba* is said to have been only a small one 20 years ago.

A large stone slab at the base of the Bo tree contains an inscription of Sri Rájádhi Rája Síha and Wijesin Mudaliyar who gave gifts to the Viháre. Candles had been burnt at one end of this.

*Advice:* The stela should be raised and stood upright. The drip from the Bo tree, the use of the stone as a seat and altar will in time ruin the inscription.

The two fragments of earlier inscribed stone and the two fragments of inscribed door lintel should be collected and placed in the *pansala* for safety.

Two old chowries of sheep tail (?) were produced at the *pansala*, said to have been presented by Rája Sinha. There are some old books in the lower *pansala*, and there is said to be a gold image of Buddha of the time of Dévánampiya Tissa, but this had got mislaid.

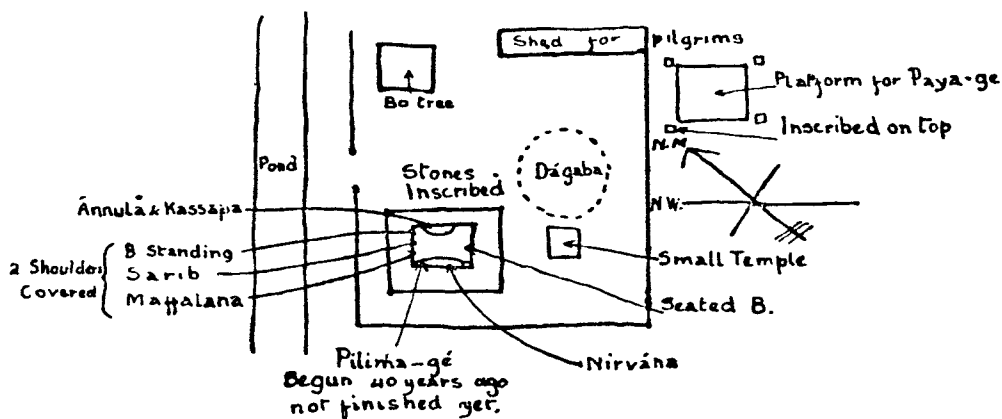
3-3-14: Went out by bandy to the

### WELIGAMA OR RÁJA KULAWADBANA VIHÁRE.

Our guide called this the Galgane Viháre, but the priest said that that was at Dondra. The 1887 List, however, places Weligamgane or Galgané at Weligama. The High Priest is D. Simánanda, very intelligent. Amarapura, two shoulders, 20 years here but High Priest for 3 years.

The *Dágaba* was originally built by Mahácula and restored 100 years ago.

The Viháre stands on the east side of the Chetti Road in Weligama.

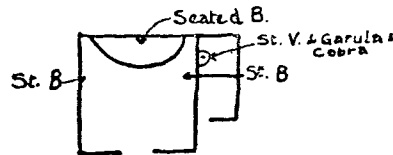


The Bo tree is a branch of the Agrabodhi Viháre tree.

Unfortunately the priest was going away and therefore promised to send the information later.

The *pilima-gé* has in the centre shrine various B. images and the corridor round is filled with models, almost life size, of Buddha's life scenes and of the coming of Mahinda to Ceylon—not yet painted.

The small building in front of the *dāgaba* is the old *pilima-gé* (about 100 years old).



In the north-west face of the *dāgaba* is built an inscription stone in the 6th (*savana-havuruda*) year of Siri Sangabó Sri Bhuvanaika Báhu and saying that he caused Kalu Parákrama to build the Viháre and records offerings. The Viháre is called the Raja Kulawaddhana Viháre.

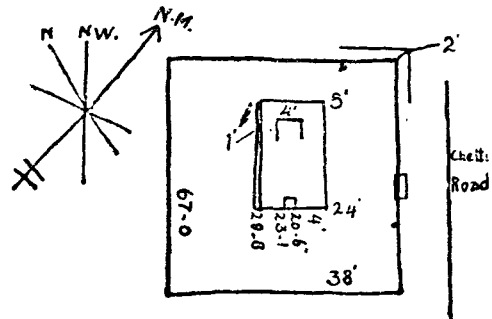
This stone is quite safe, a little whitewash yet on it no doubt but will rather preserve than efface. The stone used was an old step or threshold, since it was well worn in the centre before the inscription was cut, and a hole in the top right hand corner does not interfere with the inscription. The Viháre is mentioned in the *Mahāvansa*<sup>5</sup> and the *Kókila Sandésa*.<sup>6</sup>

A fragment of an inscribed stone, similar to the fragments at the Agrabódhi Viháre, has been used to mark the boundary for a modern, not yet begun *póya-ge*.


Went on to

### TERUWÁLA KÓVIL.

now completely in ruins, having been built only in mud, small rough stones and plaster. Stands on west side of Chetti Road, Weligama, near a residence of Mr. D. M. Samaravira.



A fragment of plaster bears the date 1799, shewing that the shrine was in existence then.

(A. D. ?) The outer wall was of low wavy style  heavily stuccoed. The Ganésa from the shrine was of stone and removed to the *Velihinda Viháre* near Denipitiya (Ganadévi)

Went out to the extreme west point of the Weligama bay to see a reputed ruin (mentioned in *Cave, Book of Ceylon*). The point is called Rasamuna and the ruin *Rahatuna*

5. Ch. LXXX. vv 37 et seq; "With her (Kalyānavati's) consent, Ayasmanta, the chief of the army . . . , sent Dévadhikāri to Valligāma and caused him to build a *vihāra* there, of great beauty . . . He also caused the famous *pariśēna* to be built there, which was called *Sarajakula-vaddhana* ('Promoter of the welfare of his favourite royal race') after his name."  
—J.M.S.

6. Verse 60 (edition of 1906).—J.M.S.

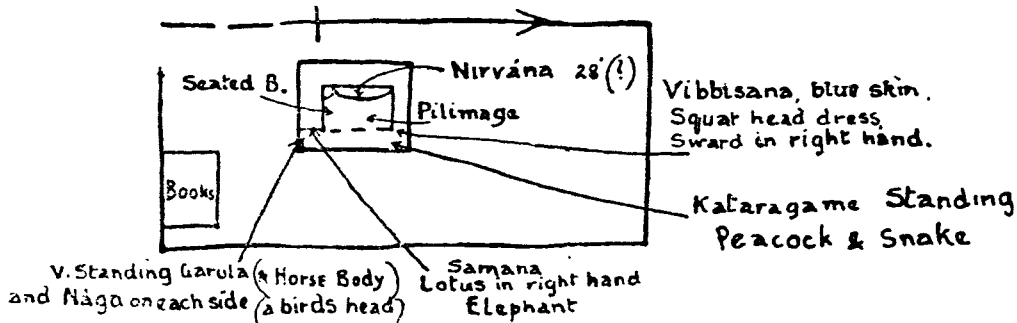
*Kanda*. All that remains is a quadrangular enclosure of large boulders from the sea shore which may have supported a platform for a mud hut.

Went out to the

**VELIHINDA VIHÁRE (SUDAR ANÁRAMA).**

On the way at Denipitiya just over the bridge one passes a very fine Nuga tree of enormous size. It is surrounded by a double rail and has an altar and the ground is kept scrupulously clean. Said to contain a devil.

*Velihinda Vihare* or *Sudarsanarama* stands on top of a very high hillock reached by steps on west and south. There is a *dāgaba* and a *pilima-gé* (now being greatly enlarged) and a room with a huge chest (1880) of Bana books, &c.



The small stone Ganesa from Teruvila Kóvil stands on the verandah of the *pilima-gé*. He has been painted white and blue splotches on eyes and red on tusks. He is in 4 parts and much worn. Said to be same age as Kushta Rája.

No traditions of the place remain.

High Priest Akurugoda Sudassi, Malwatta, 1 shoulder . . . . .

4-3-14: Went again to Agrabódhi Vihare and questioned priest, then on to Matara.

The High Priest of the Agrabódhi Vihare (appointed 2 years ago) is Baddhegama Kirtti Sri Dhammaratana. Siamese, one shoulder, Malwatta.

In the *pansala* is a perfect edition on talipot of the *Ratnaváli*, 795 leaves, written by Priest Paragoda Heranapevidi Vipassi in 2227 B.V., also a *Kavyasékharā* of slightly later date but complete.

Three ivory fan handles, one from Kirtti Sri, one also old, one from the Malwatte High Priest on his attaining the High Priestship. Two elephants' tusks (5' 2" on curve) from Kirtti Sri. His account of the *Kushta Raja* is as follows:—

A certain king with leprosy made a vow to Náta-deviyo and cut this image of the god in the stone. There were probably a roof and shrine in front of it, and it was painted.

This Vihare had four *dévāles* all on its land :

1. Teruwala or Ganesa Kovli.
2. Náta Dévāle (Kushta Rája).
3. } unknown. Probably Vishnu Dévāle and Sumana Dévāle.
4. }

The High Priest presented me with the 2nd part of the *Sinhala Bódhivamsaya* edited by himself in 1911.

Measured the height of Kushta Rája : 13 feet cut in rock, statue about 12' 6".

Went to Matara.

(To be continued.)

## A DUTCH THOMBO REGISTER.

BY THE LATE A. DISSANAÏKE, MUDALIYAR.

**S**UBJOINED is a specimen, translated into English, of a Dutch Thombo Register of 1753. It relates to a leading family of the village Kodágoða in the Talpe Pattu of Galle District. Some notes on places, persons and families therein mentioned are added.

The origin of the village Kodágoða (formerly known as Kedarágoða, i.e. *Ketára-goða*, "site with fields and streams") is traditionally traced to the days of the Devánampiya Tisa (B.C. 307-267) who, legend says, visited the place with his retinue about the time when the well-known Agrabodhi-Viháre at Veḷigama, not far from the village, was founded by that King. The village, which now consists of several hamlets, is said to have been subsequently visited by other kings, who effected several improvements in Agrabodhi-viháre, and had some other temples constructed in that part of the district.

It is the preservation of the names of particular places connected with royalty that gives the village some importance, such as a hill called *Máligá-tenna*, where it is believed that palatial buildings stood centuries ago, serving as residences for Sinhalese Royal Families, and where there are found remains of foundations of old buildings, tiles, &c. Near this is a spot still known as *Panchaliya* (i.e. *Pán-chá-eliya*) the name signifying according to tradition that "the gleam of lamp light" from the Palace had been reflected there. In the neighbourhood there is a place called *Mal-watta*, once used as a pleasure garden for recreation, another called *Maḷuwa* (courtyard) and a third called *Pettagan-dúwa* (island for keeping?). These were so called for specific purposes, and their names after long centuries past are still retained, notwithstanding the many changes and vicissitudes the country had undergone.

Not far from this place is a hamlet called Bihivela (a contraction of Bisowela), a tract of fields whose produce, being of a superior kind and preparation, was allotted to Royal Families. Another hamlet called *Dí-goða* was kept for supplying "milk-curd." Besides these, near about, is a place called Ganegoða, used for the residence of Buddhist monks. There is in this village a field called *Ēt-gandora-kumbura*, and also a garden called *Ēt-gandora-watta*, which goes to show that "elephants" were brought here for various purposes.

One of the oldest leading families here were the Dissánáyaka-ge family, whose original ancestor, according to tradition, was one of the King's retinue, placed here as a Chief to supervise the affairs of the District, as the name implies.

An important member of the family was Don George Alexander Seneviratne Dissánáika, Mudaliyar of Bentota Walallaviṭi Kóralé, the great grandson of Don Pauloe (mentioned in the Dutch Thombo). He married the only daughter of Don Mathes De Silva Madanáyaka of Akmimana, the brother-in-law of Goonetilleke Atapattu Mudaliyar of Galle, who lived about the end of the 16th century. Her mother-in-law (wife of Gabriel de Silva, Proponant of Mátara under the Dutch) was a descendant of the ancient Ekanáike family of Mátara, well known in history. One of her direct ancestors, Mudaliyar Don Constantine Madera de Basto Ekanáike, was Adigar and Disáwa of Mátara about the year 1644.

Don George Alexander Dissánáike Mudaliyar, after the death of his first wife, married Attygalle-ge Dona Amelia Perera, a grand-daughter of Don Salamon de Silva Goonetilleke, Land Raad Mohandiram of Galle. Don George left by his first and by his second bed several sons who are scattered in different directions and spheres of life.



## Foot Notes.

1. Under the Sinhalese kings *Dissanáyaka Pantya* (i.e. District Chiefs' Department) was one of the branches of the administration of the Government.

2. A village chief or official has been called from the earliest times *Vidhana Arachchi*, one represented as having control over village matters, so that the word *Vidhana* ("commanding") is used along with the term *Arachchi* (official). In the olden days it was used for village officials whilst the title *Mudiyanse* was regarded more as a military term. Some high-class families added the honorific *Arachchi* to their family names, such as *Hettu-árachchiyè*; and a member of this family was the mother of the Mahá Mudaliyar of 1762, Don Simon De Silva. We read of *Amarakon Arachchi* and *Dissanáyake Arachchi* in the XVI century; whilst others of their class or families were called *Mudiyanse* or *Mantri*.

3. During the wars of the Portugues and the Dutch with the Sinhalese kings several members of this, and other high-class families, were banished to Tuticorin.

4. The family of *Pándiyan Kula* (Pándiyan race) were original inhabitants of Anuradhapura. In the olden days an ancestor of the family having incurred the displeasure of the King left the place with his family, and settled at *Kalehe* near Galle, where there is still a very old *Jak* tree called *Etinni-benda-gaha*, "the tree to which a she-elephant was tied" on his arrival. They were also known as *Pándi-kórálagé*, some of their ancestors having held the office of *Kórála*.

5. Don Juan De Silva took up the office of *Lekama* in the time of the Dutch, and his descendants held the office hereditarily. The duties of the office of *Lekama* was to keep an account of the dues and produce of the villages.

6. *Hitigé* (now extinct) was a family of some distinction. The name was derived from *Situ*, *Setti*, or *Hetti*, a wealthy class of people of a high order intermixed with *Goyiwansa* class.

7. The real branch of this family is *Senarat Yápa*, and their origin may be traced to Prince *Sapumal Kumáraya* (the adopted son of King *Parákrama Báhu VI.*) who subdued *Yápa-patuna* (*Jaffna District*), and ruled there for sometime until he took up the sovereignty of the whole Island under the name of *Bhuvaneka-Báhu VI.* and married the queen *Samudra-devi* of the royal family. To this allusion is made in the following verse of *Seláthim Sandesa*, the well-known Sinhalese poem of the XV century.

නිල තුරකුට නැගෙමින් ජම් දෙම් සිරි	න
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බල සේනානායක සපුමල් තුමරු එ	න

8. Don Simon became *Mudaliyar* of *Veligam Kóralé* about the year 1759. From a Will, dated December 2nd 1764, left by him, it appears that he had received a gold chain from the Sinhalese King, besides the gold medal he received from the Dutch. His eldest son became *Mudaliyar* of *Mátara Vellaboda pattu*. His second son *Mathe* was *Sahabandaar* of *Veligama*, and he had another son, and a daughter. The last member of this family was *Dionysius Abraham Dissanáike Mudaliyar* of *Mátara Vellaboda Pattu*, who was invested with the rank of *Mudaliyar* of the Gate under the English Government. He was *Justice of the Peace* and held besides the honorary office of *Basnáyaka Nilame* of the *Vishnu Deválé* of *Dondra*, famous for its antiquity.

9. *Sahabandaar* is the Persian *Shah-bandar*, a term used for the Chief Native Official at a Port, with whom the foreign traders had to transact business.

10. *Kotipilawalage* is the present *Candamby Gunsekere* alias *Abeywickrama Gunsekere* family. Members of this family held honorary ranks and offices under the Dutch and English Governments.

11. It is not known what became of the other members of the family as none of their descendants are now living at *Kodágodá*. Some members now extinct lived at *Aturaliya* in *Mátara District*. (Vide *Nánáyakkara-Wasam Thombe* of *Mátara*.)

To go to an anterior time, we find in the history of the Portuguese Era (1558) that when *Manamperi Mudiyanse* occupied the *Mátara District* for the King *Dharmapála*, prince *Mayadunne* sent an army, and in the warfare which ensued *Dissanáike Arachchi* (who fought for *Dharmapála*) was defeated by *Tennakoon Mudiyanse* and *Amarakon Arachchi* and was sent to *Sitáwaka* with *Malavar Vran* and several Portuguese. So some of the best men of the family were killed in wars, or banished to other places.

## Notes & Queries.

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### COBRA LORE.

By "HISTORICUS."

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**S**IR E. Sullivan, in his book '*The Bungalow and the Tent in Ceylon*,' records a belief on the part of the people of the island.— "The cobra, it is said and I believe with truth, loses a joint of its tail every time it expends its poison." (p. 98) Is this notion held by Sinhalese or Tamils?

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### SOME WANNI PLACE-NAMES.<sup>1</sup>

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

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**T**HE "natural history and other picturesque village names of the Tamil Wannai" given at this reference appeared, with the exception of a few such as Kovutaraimunai and Kutiraimalai belonging to the Jaffna and Mannar Districts in my paper on "Place Names of the Vanni" in Vol. 14 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*, pp. 206-9.

To these lists might be added some more names, romantic and the reverse, as for instance, that of the river which flows into the Vaddakachchai fields (Jaffna), which, perhaps in recognition of the good it does in the matter of irrigation, is called Panchandanki, "protector from famine"; also, in the Wannai, Kulaviattan, "the place by the hornet river"; and in Kayts island, Vrattimunai, "Dry Cowdung Point."

Then there is the small island between Punkudutivu and Nayinativu called Kurikaduvan, "place where the signals were shown," and Marichchukad̄di itself, "the place where some one erected a bund which held up (the water)." With the Wannai or Mannar name, Nanjuntindan, may be compared the name of a village in Negombo District, Nanjundankarai, which has the same meaning, "where the poison was eaten."<sup>1</sup>

The contributors of this note ask for the meanings of Kondachchi and Kappachchi. If these are the only Wannai or Mannar names that they cannot explain they are fortunate. I annexed to my paper of 22 years ago a list of 32 names in the Wannai alone of which I wanted explanation, but so far I have received none. [I did not include Kappachchi because I took it to be a feminine proper name.] I still want to know the meaning of Kuravil, Omantai, Tanduvan, Uvatkulam, Mulliyavalai and other place names.

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1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, page 110.

## THE "MEKHALÁ."

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

IN a previous issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. I. pp. 129-132) I ventured on the opinion (backed by quotations from the *Asakdá*, *Kávyasékhara*, *Mayúra*, *Parevi* and *Hansa Sandésayas* etc.) that this female ornament was originally worn inwardly, and that "it must have been something not unlike the heart-shaped ornament, held in position by a chain or string round the waist, which to this day is not infrequently seen worn in front by naked little 'street Arabs,' by Tamil and Mohamedan children, both girls and (more rarely) boys. for an obvious purpose."

This view of the *mekhalá* as an ornament worn at first beneath the dress finds confirmation even in Indian literature. Take, for instance, the *Mayúrástaka*, a 7th century Sanskrit poem of eight stanzas written by Mayúra, one of the *habitués* at the court of the Emperor Harsavardhana.

The theme of the poem—a decidedly erotic production—is the description of a girl or young woman, seeing whose form "with its adornment of beautiful limbs, even an old man becomes a *Káma*."

The 4th stanza reads :

vámenáveṣṭayanti praviralakusumam kesabháram kareṇa  
prabhraṣṭam cottariyam ratipatita guṇám mekhalám dakṣiṇena  
támbúlam cōdvahantí vikasitavadaná muktakesá narágá  
niṣkrántá guhyadesán madanavasagatá márutam prárthayantí.

The "girdle (*mekhalám*) whose cord had slipped down during love" affords the confirmation I speak of. Just as in the case of verses 88 and 173 respectively of the *Hansa* and *Parevi Sandésayas* (quoted at p 132 of Vol. I of C.A.) I refrain, on grounds of delicacy, from translating the rest of the present stanza. To the curious student, unacquainted with the Sanskrit, I shall however be glad, if so desired, to send the translation privately.

## KURUWITA BANDA.

By A. J. W. MÁRAMBE, R.M.

TEMPORARY success had smiled upon the Portuguese and they had pushed the boundaries beyond Sitáwaka. With characteristic vandalism they converted a Devála of Sabaragamuwa, dedicated to god Saman, into a fort and stationed a garrison there. The soldiers maltreated those who passed along the road or came within their sight. The peaceful villagers, carrying pingos of eatables on their shoulders, were plundered of their precious burdens, and then led into the camp to be cross-examined.

"Are you Kuruwita Banda? Have you seen him at sword-drill? Can you do the same?" and many other questions about Kuruwita Banda and his whereabouts they would put to him. When they had made sure that the man knew nothing or little of Kuruwita Banda,

the clever swordsman of Sabaragamuwa, who, they suspected, was on the look out to make them uncomfortable, they would let him go.

Kuruwita Banda meanwhile was thirsting for a fight. He slept in a huddled heap on the ashes in the kitchen, and when questioned by his mother who did not wish to lose her son, he would exclaim : " Where's room for me to sleep ? The enemies press us on every side."

At times he would prepare a pingo and, with this on his shoulder, would venture quite near the Portuguese camp, staggering along till he saw the soldiers coming to fetch him and his pingo. Pretending to see them only when they approached quite close to him, he would leave the pingo and run away as timid victims of the Portuguese garrison often did. The soldiers never could catch him. They took the pingo only to find at one end an "*Etikehel*" plantain (wild plantain) and in the earthen pot at the other end a nest of hornets or a number of reptiles. One day, however, he suffered himself to be caught.

The soldiers led the villager to their camp. They teased him and had fun at his expense as they were wont to do.

" Are you Kuruwita Banda " ? one asked him with a merry laugh.

" No " replied the villager in an unsteady voice.

" Have you seen the fellow ? Have you seen him at sword drill ? "

" Yes," was the timid reply.

" Can you show us what it is like ? " they all cried.

" I do not have a sword," the villager pleaded.

But the soldiers were not to be put off. They gave him a sword and told him he must do it.

The villager turned for a moment aside and, drawing a thin sword from his palm-leaf-umbrella, wheeled briskly about. " I am Kuruwita Banda ! " he yelled and set about him in right earnest.

The unarmed soldiers had scarcely recovered from their surprise when the greater number of them lay dying or dead. Kuruwita Banda wheeled round and round at every stroke, making more than one soldier kiss the ground. The people he was to have pleased with the display of his sword-drill being almost all killed or wounded, he rushed towards the *Dévale*. The Captain was there on the upper floor, a stupefied spectator of the scene. As Kuruwita Banda neared the *Dévale* the Portuguese Captain hurled himself on the Banda with drawn sword, mortally wounding him.

The scene of this crowning duel is depicted in a rock carving to be found today in the *Dévale*. Kuruwita, too, had his return blow and they laid themselves down to die—the captain with every soldier in his garrison killed or seriously hurt and Kuruwita his object attained.

The Sinhalese villager thus sings this hero's praise even at this day :—

<i>Sumana Saman deviyanne dévalé</i>	To the temple of Saman well known to fame
<i>Pemina siti haturu senagata pratikalé</i>	The hostile soldiers of Portugal came,
<i>Darunu e Kuruwita Banda yuda alé</i>	Each and all fell a prey to the fearless sword
<i>Demina kadu pahara meri notaba siyalé</i>	Of war-like Kuruwita Banda bold.

## COMBS—USES AND USERS.

By ARTHUR ALVIS, M.M.C.

WITH reference to Mr. G. Huntley's query<sup>1</sup> I trust the following brief notes may prove of some interest.—

The comb as an article of toilet has been in use for dressing the hair from very remote times. In many countries of antiquity, forms of it were used for fastening the hair, and as ornaments of the head. They were made of ivory and boxwood. In some of the tombs of Egypt, specimens of combs have been found which were used as head ornaments. They were originally in the shape of hairpins and were used to fasten the hair or knots of hair. Our word "comb" is derived from the Icelandic "*Kambr*," Ger: "*Kamm*" equivalent to "*crest*." Bayley in his *The Lost Language of Symbolism* says: "In the Saxon period an ordinary comb was a well recognised form of grave gift, and in later history combs were reserved for burials of ecclesiastical shining lights. A comb was the emblem of St. Blase, and the word '*crest*,' which is the equivalent of comb, does not differ from Christ." When the body of St. Cuthbert was disinterred at Durham Cathedral there was found on his bust a Saxon comb of ivory—It was no doubt a sign of the Cross, or of Ak Amber, the Great Sure Father."

I have not been able to trace the origin of the semi-circular comb. In Ceylon "skewers" or hairpins or bodkins of tortoise shell, or metal were used to fasten the hair knot of women, and over the knot was fixed a semi-circular head ornament made of metal or tortoise shell, often ornamented with a gold or silver rim and inlaid sometimes with precious stones.

The skewer or bodkin was called by the Portuguese "*gautura*," a corruption of the Spanish "*agudadura*," equivalent to a sharp pointed goad or bodkin. The comb was called "*peñte*" or "*peñtjie*" in Portuguese, derived from the Latin "*pecten*," a comb, an instrument with teeth used for carding wool.

It is alleged that in the Middle Ages priests were required to wear combs to keep back their long hair, so that they might officiate with comfort and decency. I have some recollection that Stanley in his search for Livingstone came across savage tribes in Africa with long hair who wore serrated combs.

When and how the tortoise shell comb and the "tall" or upright comb, "*kelin panáwa*," came first into use or fashion is obscure. I believe it was a fashion which the Sinhalese, or their Chiefs, copied from some other nation. They used to wrap a handkerchief round the head or wear a cap. Knox describes the Sinhalese as wearing "on their heads a red Tunis cap, or another cap with flaps or a country cap which were of the fashion of mitres." It is said that the wearing of the comb was first introduced into Ceylon about the 18th century by some Malay Prince who was deported from Java to Ceylon by the Dutch, but there is no accurate or reliable information.

The following extracts from Holman's *Travels in Ceylon* throw some light on the subject:—

Sunday 21st March 1830—Mr. Gregory invited the Second Maha Moodeliar de Saram to breakfast with us . . . . . The Moodeliars wear neither hats nor caps but they

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. vi, p. 48.

cultivate a profusion of hair, which is turned up and secured behind with a comb like a woman's . . . . . This disuse of caps and the custom of wearing the hair turned is said to have originated from the suggestions of a Dutch Governor of Ceylon, who, observing that whenever a native chief took off his cap, on entering a room, his long hair always fell inconveniently over his face and shoulders, recommended one of them to have his hair dressed, turned up and secured with a comb, which besides rendering caps unnecessary would also look more ornamental. The Chief took this advice, which was soon followed by many of his brother chiefs, and at last it became *a la mode*.

Sullivan in *The Bungalow and Tent* writes as follows :—"So dearly do the Cingalese prize the fashion of wearing high combs, that the tyranny of the Tamil kings could devise no more galling and offensive enactment against the liberty and predilections of their low-country subjects than by forbidding the use of that article. It is remarkable that Julius Caesar attacked the forefathers of our Gallic neighbours on the same tender point and obliged them to doff their *Chevelure* as a token of submission."

I would call attention to the words "low-country subjects."

If there is foundation for this statement it would appear that the custom of wearing of "high combs" is one of great antiquity.

Sullivan does not enlighten us as to who was the Tamil king (or kings) who published this edict. Between the years 203 B.C., when Elála subdued Ceylon, and A. D. 1023, when Mahinda IV was carried captive to the coast of India, there were no less than six invasions by the Tamils, and several "Malabar" kings, and after the Cholian victories several viceroys—but I have not succeeded in tracing in the old histories any decrees of the Tamils, such as Sullivan refers to.

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## DESIGNS OF PADDY FIELD IRRIGATION-CHANNELS.

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

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"*DE minimis non curat lex*," but the maxim does not hold good with regard to the study of a people or a civilisation.

I wonder whether it has been generally noticed that in the paddy fields of the Sinhalese, both Kandyan and Low-country, the channels (*dīya māru*) are constructed on regular patterns of which there are a considerable variety, and not without an eye to artistic effect.

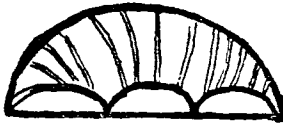
I annex a series of designs<sup>1</sup> which I have noted, chiefly Kandyan, but I think that they prevail more or less all over the country where the Sinhalese are. I regret that I have not noticed what the Tamil practice is in this respect.

It would be interesting to learn what the custom is in other rice-growing countries, India, Java, Burma, Siam, China, etc., and in Europe, Italy.

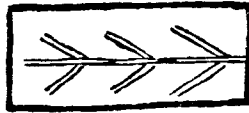
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1. The boundary lines in the sketches (*vide* p. 101) represent dams (*myarawa*), the interior lines channels.

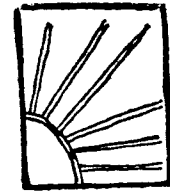
PADDY FIELD CHANNELS.



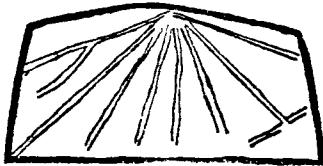
1. The Umbrella  
perhaps the commonest type of any



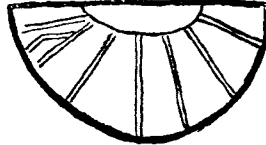
2. The Arrow



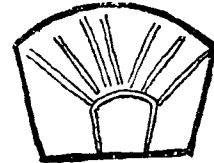
3. The Rising Sun



4. The Fan



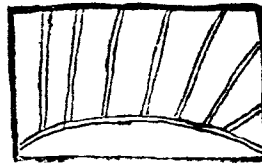
5. The Gorget



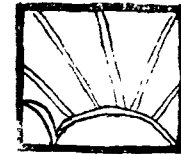
6. The Tunnel



7. The Perspective



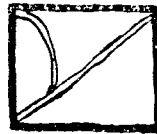
8. The Cigar Case



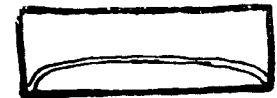
9. Futurist ?



10. The Cigarette Case



11. The Crook (*henduwa*)



12. The Envelope



13. The East Indiaman



14. The Cocade



15. The Bosc



16. The Tree

# 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. I, Page 62.)*

#### IV. PENSIONERS RELATED TO THE KANDYAN DYNASTY. (List No. 1.)

Proposed				
Reserved List.	Remaining.			
1	7	8 First-Life Pensioners drawing Rs.	307	3 7
5	25	30 Second-Life	678	3 4
6	4	10 Third-Life	276	3 6
<hr/>				
Rs. 623	15	4	Rs. 637	11 1
<hr/>				
		48 Pensioners drawing	Rs. 1,261	10 5
<hr/>				

NAME.	Life.	Age.	Pension.			Date of Authority. <sup>1</sup>	Place of Residence.	Family.
<b>Family of Rajadhi Rajah Singha.</b>						1858		
1. Bungarasamy Rajah ..	2nd	46	R. 29	a. 2	p. 8	November 20	The Fort, Vellore	.. Wife and one child. —
2. Thorasamy Naik ..	2nd	49	26	8	8	—	Chittoor, 22 miles from Vellore.	Three sons and two daughters.
3. Vencata Soobrayloo Rajah ..	2nd	65	36	6	6	—	Vellore	.. Children dead, but has three grandsons and two granddaughters.
						1858.		
4. Sashumah ..	2nd	—	24	0	0	October 14	Vellore—transferred from Tanjore.	—
<b>5. Venacata Kistna Coomarasamy Naik ..</b>						—	Madura	.. Wife and some dependants.
						1828.		
6. Dorasamy Rajah ..	2nd	49	21	14	0	September 29	Negapatam	.. Four relations, besides servants, depending on him.
						1864.		
7. Gopalsamy Rajah ..	2nd	44	29	2	8	November 20	do.	.. Wife, son, daughter-in-law, and dependants.
						1857.		
8. Vencataramsamy Rajah ..	2nd	29	58	5	4	December 4	do.	.. Five relations and several servants.
9. Vencatasamy Rajah ..	3rd	25	58	5	4	—	do.	.. Nine relations, and a number of servants dependent on him.
10. Coomarasamy Rajah ..	2nd	49	70	0	0	—	do.	.. Wife and married son, and fourteen other relatives.
<b>Family of Vickrema Rajah Singha.</b>								
11. Apposamy Naik ..	1st.	57	25	8	0	—	Vellore	.. Two sons and three daughters. Sons are 30 and 25 years old, but have no education, and cannot earn a livelihood.
						1836.		
12. Cunnasamy Naik ..	1st	65 to 70	34	12	6	April 5	do.	.. Two daughters and one son.
						1850.		
13. Chinatamy Naik ..	1st	47	18	4	0	February 21	Tanjore	.. Wife, son, two daughters, two male and one female grandchildren.

1. The date of Authority quoted is that of the Madras Government; that of the Ceylon Government will be anterior by a few weeks.

Relationship to the Royal Family.	REMARKS.
Second son of Jyasamy Rajah, who was brother of Mootoosamy Rajah.	Would not like to commute his pension or return to Ceylon.
Grandson of Kondesamy Rajah, and grand-nephew of Mootoosamy. Was adopted by one of the brothers-in-law of Rajadhi Rajah Singha.	Would not like to commute or return. Children have no education and are not likely to be able to support themselves.
Son of Kondesamy Rajah, who was brother to Opiatia Amah (or Oobendramah), 2nd widow of Rajadhi Singha, by whom he was adopted. Claims to be the adopted heir of Rajadhi Rajah Singha, but, according to his own story, it is plain that the three surviving queens could not agree to adopt any one nephew, and that the adoption in this case was by the second widow only.	Asks for ceremonial allowances, and is entitled to them on a moderate scale, which he receives. Married a niece of Vickrema Rajah Singha, and is therefore related to both families. Does not wish to go back or commute.
Widow of Kistnappa Naik; he was sister's son of Kondesamy Rajah, and was deported at the age of 8 or 9.	Claims ceremonial allowances, but is not entitled.
Son of Mootoosamy, and grandson of Kondesamy Rajah, grand-nephew of Mootoosamy Rajah	Considers his pension too small to enable him to keep up the dignity of his position; claims relationship with the Carnatic Princes. No apparent reason for doing anything for this man.
Son of Chinnaasamy, nephew of Mootoosamy Rajah.	
Third son of Jayasamy and nephew of Mootoosamy Rajah.	
Grandson of Chinnaasamy Rajah, and adopted son of Lutchweedavie Ummaul, wife of Gelibilisamy Rajah.	Is well educated and intelligent.
Son of Subbarayalu Rajah, who was eldest son of Jayasamy, and was adopted by Mootoosamy's widow, Ven-catasamaul, or Moodoocumamaul.	Claims to be heir to Mootoosamy Rajah by adoption of his father; is a well educated, intelligent young man.
Son of Ramasamy, the 5th brother of Mootoosamy. Adopted son of Renganalcker Amah, and Menatchi Amah, queens of Rajadhi Singha.	Did not appear.
Husband of the ex-king's sister-in-law. Ex-king was son to his father's sister.	Has no means of gaining a livelihood,—would not like to commute his pension. Came over as an infant, and would not care to return.
Nephew, <i>i.e.</i> , son of the king's sister.	Son is unmarried for want of funds. Would not like to go back unless he could be restored to his former position. Not a case for commutation, but a small marriage allowance might be given to the son.
Son of Gampaulsamy Naik, the father of the 1st and 2nd queens. Married ex-king's sister.	Would not like to commute or return to Ceylon. Born in India, and was allotted a pension when pension roll was settled.

NAME.	Life.	Age.	Pension.			Date of Authority.	Place of Residence.	Family.
			R.	a.	p.			
14. Kummarasobbe Naik	.. 1st.	62	37	0	0	—	Tanjore.	Wife, two sons and two daughters married, one grandson and two daughters unmarried.
15. Kummarasamy Naik ..	.. 1st	68	30	1	10	—	do.	Wife, son, two married daughters. One of them, Savetri Devi, married the ex-king's son.
16. Bangarusamy Naik ..	.. 1st	65	33	1	3	—	do.	Wife, one son, two daughters married; two sons, one daughter aged 30, unmarried.
17. Kuppamal ..	.. 1st	56	3	8	0	1850. February 21	do.	Four relations.
18. Muddukanauma ..	.. 1st	70	125	0	0	—	do.	Has a crowd of relations and dependants living on her.
19. Coomasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	25	20	0	0	1852. June 11	Vellore	One has three children; the other is just married
Cundasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	30						
20. Veziaragavendrasamy	.. 2nd	42	11	0	0	1862. November 21	Vellore	Wife, and three young daughters.
21. Utchummal, and Vencattappah Naido, her son	.. 2nd	28	8	0	0	do.	Bangullore near Vellore.	Widower, with three girls and a boy, all young.
22. Ragamaul ..	.. 2nd	—	3	0	0	1866. May 28	Naragunty near Vellore.	—
23. Savetri Devi ..	.. 2nd	26	63	5	4	—	Tanjore	No children.
24. Vencatasubbasamy ..	.. 2nd	52	13	10	2	1856. February 27	do.	Wife, two sons, one of whom is with him; the other, Ramakistnasamy Rajah, was adopted by 1st queen; one married daughter and one unmarried.
25. Kummarasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	65	6	4	0	—	Tanjore, came from Vellore.	Three sons and many granddaughters; one of his sons is a widower.
26. Durasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	49	3	12	0	1853. October 29	Tanjore, came from Vellore.	Widower; has a son and two daughters unmarried.
27. Vencatasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	55	3	8	0	—	do.	Widower; has one son, three daughters, and many grand-children.
28. Vencatasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	19	10	13	4	—	Tanjore	Unmarried; adopted father left two widows.
29. Vencatasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	51	9	4	7	1857. September 2	do.	Wife, one son, and one grand-daughter.
30. Vencatapadmanabasimi Naik	.. 2nd	30	20	0	0	—	Lives now at Tanjore; has transferred his pension to Madura. to pay his debts.	A widower; has mother, sister, and daughter.
31. Darma Rajah ..	.. 2nd	17	50	0	0	1861. October 25	Tanjore with the queen.	Unmarried; is supposed to take care of his three sisters by adoption.
32. Tayasimale Rajah ..	.. 2nd	15	56	10	8	1861. October 26	Tanjore	Unmarried
33. Chukkami Ammal ..	.. 2nd	38	3	0	0	1862. November 21	do.	—
34. Kummaramma ..	.. 2nd	58	15	7	4	—	do.	Two relations
35. Bungar Naik ..	.. 2nd	35	4	8	0	—	Madura	Wife and daughter
36. Bungarusamy Naido ..	.. 2nd	Old	22	15	3	—	do.	Alone
37. Moodookistna ..	.. 2nd	58	8	10	0	—	Poodoo Cottah	Four in number
38. Rajanaik Ummaul ..	.. 2nd	55	10	0	0	—	Madura	—
39. Dorasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	48	14	1	0	—	Negapatam	Wife, two sons, grandsons, and a brother.
40. Ramasamy Naik ..	.. 3rd	17	4	10	8	—	do.	—
41. Kuppumal ..	.. 3rd	45	10	0	0	—	do.	—
42. Vencatajee Ummaul ..	.. 3rd	—	4	0	0	1864. March 22	Vellore	—
43. Lutchmee Amaul ..	.. 3rd	23	16	10	8	—	Tanjore, with the queen.	Married to one Visvanathoo Bengaroo Teroomal Naik.
44. Mandalasamy ..	.. 3rd	20	16	10	8	—	do.	Married to Vencata Ramakistnasamy Naik.
45. Andai Davi ..	.. 3rd	15	16	10	8	—	do.	Married to Coomasamy Naik.
46. Hirthisimmala Rajah	.. 3rd	15	44	2	6	1870. March 15 1860. January 7	Tanjore	A mother, Vijayarajah Devi, who formerly drew the pension.
47. Cuthsamy Bajah ..	.. 3rd	45	35	0	0	—	Solanumdewe, 12 miles from Madura.	Wife, son and several dependants. Son 3 years old.
48. Dorasamy Rajah ..	.. 3rd	50	70	0	0	—	do.	Ten relations in all.

1. The date of Authority quoted is that of the Madras Government; that of the Ceylon Government will be anterior by a few weeks.

Relationship to the Royal Family.	REMARKS.
Elder brother of Chinnasamy Naik above; brother of 1st and 2nd queens.	Two other brothers, Vencatasamy and Ramasamy Naik, are dead. Asks for ceremonial allowance, as he is unable to marry his two daughters.
Son of Petha Dagalsamy, or Dingalu Naik, who married ex-king's sister.	Takes charges of Savetri Devi, who lives apart from the queen, and tries to assume airs of Royalty.
Son of Dassappah Naik, who married a sister of the 1st and 2nd queens.	Wants to commute his pension, and his sons would consent if a fair sum was allowed. Feels the disgrace of his daughter being unmarried, and of his debts. At first asks 20 years' purchase of his pension; then states that he will leave it to Government to fix the rate.
Daughter of Gampalsamy Naik, sister of Kummara Subba and Chinnasamy Naik.	Pension should be commuted on her death. Owns two velis of land at Poodocottah.
3rd ex-queen of Vickrema Rajah Singha, daughter of Chinnadagala Naik.	See various petitions.
Sons of the ex-king's brother-in-law, Vencatasamy Naik, who was brother to the 3rd and 4th queens.	Would not like to go back to Ceylon or to commute, as a lump sum would only pay their debts. Have no education and no employment. Owe about 400 to 500 rupees.
Son of Samy Coomarasamy Naik, who married the king's niece. Nephew of Ragamah (Rs. 3), brother of Suckenamah or Chackani Ummaul (Rs. 3), of Tanjore, uncle of Vencatapa Naido. Samy Coomarasamy received Rs. 45 10, but his pension was split up on his death.	Complains that his father drew Rs. 44, which was split up, so that he only received Rs. 14, and that Rs. 3 of this were afterwards taken away and given to Ragamah. Would not like to commute as he is much in debt. His father left him a debt of Rs. 1,000.
Nephew and sister-in-law of Veziaragavendrasamy. Inherited part of Samy Coomarasamy's pension.	Utchemmal cannot come into Vellore, and petitions that the whole pension may be drawn by her son. No objection. V. Naido wants assistance to marry; would not return to Ceylon or commute. Thinks it beneath his dignity to work, but would not mind a Deputy Collectorship, or other employment of similar rank. Is an idle fellow, and deserves no consideration.
Sister of Samy Coomarasamy Naik, and aunt of Veziaragavendrasamy.	Is accused by her nephew of living in concubinage with a Police Constable, and having an illegitimate child.
Daughter of Kumarasamy Naik, widow of king's son, Rajadhi Singha.	Wishes to adopt an infant relative; no objection. Asks for 1st class pension, and 2nd class ceremonial allowances, instead of 2nd and 3rd as at present.
Second son of Kumarasamy, the brother of the 1st and 2nd queens. Elder brother, Sobba Narrainasamy Rajah (now dead) adopted by 2nd queen.	Complains of the smallness of his pension. As his elder brother was adopted by 2nd queen, Chellamal, considers that he should inherit his father's pension of Rs. 70, whereas he only gets a share, Rs. 13 10 2. No real claim. Owns six velis of land at Combaconum.
Son of Kannamaina Naik, who was brother to Gampalsamy Naik, ex-king's father-in-law; claims to have married the 3rd queen's sister.	Complains of the smallness of his pension. His father drew Rs. 49, but on his death the pension was split up. Considers that it would be a disgrace for his sons to seek employment.
Brother of the foregoing.	Complains of the smallness of his pension; cannot marry his son or daughters for want of means. Has no employment.
Brother of the two foregoing.	Does nothing; depends of the protection of Government.
Adopted son of Vencatasamy Naik, who was son to Gampalsamy Naik, and brother-in-law to ex-king.	Does nothing, but lives on his pension; asks for ceremonial allowances. (Not entitled).
Son of Perumal Naik, who was related to the 3rd queen, (nephew of her mother), and was also nephew to Mootoosamy Rajah.	Does nothing, and his son also does nothing.
Son of Kistnappa Naik, brother of 1st and 3rd queens; married Parthi Devi, daughter of Lutchmee Deviamah, who was daughter of 3rd queen.	Wishes to have his own pension increased, and to continue to draw, for the benefit of his daughter, the pensions of Rs. 50 allowed to Parthi Devi for herself and two sisters, but now drawn by Darma Rajah on their account. As it is a 3rd-life pension, the daughter has no claim.
Son of Alagerrisamy Naik, who married Lutchnee Deviamah, daughter of 3rd queen.	Wants a larger pension, as well as Rs. 1,750 ceremonial allowances for himself also for his sister.
Adopted son of the 4th ex-queen.	Wants ceremonial allowances undrawn by father and adoptive mother.
Wife of Chinnasamy Naik.	Petitions for ceremonial allowance. Not entitled.
Daughter of Petha Dingalle Naik, niece of 1st queen of Vickrema Singha.	—
Son of Tirumal Naik, a brother-in-law.	Used to draw Rs. 10 8 0, but the pension has been divided between himself and his brothers.
Nephew of 1st and 2nd queens.	Did not appear.
Son of a brother-in-law of an ex-queen.	Absent.
Maternal uncle's sister married Rajah Singha Rajah, a previous king.	—
Son of Chukani Ummaul, sister-in-law of Vickrema Singha.	—
Son of Dorasamy Naik above.	Inherited the pension of his grandmother; is employed on the Railway as a Clerk.
Widow of Vencataperumal, who was son of Vencatasamy, a step-brother of Vickrema Singha.	—
Granddaughters of Pethadagalsamy Naido, brother-in-law of the king.	Vencatajee Ummaul asks that her sister may draw the pension for herself. No objection.
Daughter of Lukshmee, or Lutchmee Davyamah, daughter of 3rd queen.	Are granddaughters of Vickrema Singha.
Do. do. do. do. Do. do. do. do.	—
Son of Subbanarraindrasamy Rajah, who was adopted by 2nd queen.	Wants ceremonial allowances. It is doubtful whether Subbanarraindrasamy Rajah was not also adopted by 1st queen.
Son of Anglesamy Rajah, younger-brother of Dorasamy Rajah.	Complains of the insufficiency of his pension, and that his brother Dorasamy Rajah has Rs. 1,000 ceremonial allowance.
Son of Anglesamy Rajah, who came over in 1806, 2nd son of Sooboosamy, and brother to Cuthsamy Rajah.	Absent. Rs. 35 of his original pension has been given to Cuthsamy. These pensions were granted 1st to Dorasamy Rajah's father, 2nd to eldest son, 3rd to Dorasamy Rajah himself.

V. PENSIONERS WHO ARE NOT RELATED TO THE KANDYAN DYNASTY  
OR WHOSE RELATIONSHIP IS VERY DISTANT. (List No. 2).

6	First-Life Pensioners drawing	Rs. 30 5 6
61	Second-Life	323 4 7
30	Third Life	133 4 7
2	Charitable Allowances	15 0 0
99 Pensioners drawing		Rs. 501 14 8

NAME.	Life.	Age.	Pension.	Date of Authority.	Place of Residence.	Family.
<b>First and third batches of Pensioners.</b>						
1. Soobrayloo Naidoogan	.. 2nd	About 35	<i>R. a. p.</i> Draws a third share of Rs. 25 with two brothers.	—	Came from Tanjore to Vellore within the last few days; has not yet drawn pension at Vellore. Lives at Chittoor	A widower; has three girls and a boy, all young. Wishes to marry again.
2. Vencatasamy Naik	.. 2nd	35	6 10 6	—	Tanjore	.. Wife; no children. Supports mother-in-law and two sisters-in-law out of his pension.
3. Peddasamy Naik	.. 2nd	28	8 4 7	—	Madura	.. Wife, son, and daughter. ..
4. Dorasamy Naik	.. 2nd	30	8 4 7	—	do.	.. Wife, son, and two daughters.
5. Perumal Naik	.. 3rd	28	2 8 0	—	Tanjore	.. One relation ..
6. Ramasamy Naido	.. 3rd	15	6 10 6	—	Madura	.. A mother ..
7. Cavaty, alias Narrainasamy Naik	.. 3rd	30	2 8 0	—	do.	.. Unmarried ..
<b>Second Category of Pensioners.</b>						
8. Rajagopal Naik	.. 1st	60	7 13 4	—	Shenagunyah	—
9. Moodookistnah	.. 1st	67	5 0 0	—	Vellore	.. A wife and seven children: one son has emigrated to Mauritius, the other sons are still too young to work.
10. Moothyaloo	.. 1st	60	2 8 0	—	do.	.. —
11. Rukmani Kantha	.. 1st	55	4 3 2	1851. August 29	Tanjore	.. —
12. Chinne Nayana Naik	.. 1st	50	6 13 0	—	Madura	.. Wife, three sons, two daughters.
13. Alagatchi Ummaul	.. 2nd	69	8 4 0	—	do.	.. Son and grandson, Naraniasamy, unmarried.
14. Kuppamaul	.. 1st	60	4 0 0	—	do.	.. —
15. Narraido	.. 2nd	60 or more	7 0 0	—	Vellore	.. Has one son and two daughters; son has left him, daughters are married. Two nephews live on him.
16. Setamah	.. 2nd	Old	6 10 8	—	do.	.. —
17. Vencatasamy Naik	.. 2nd	—	22 0 0	—	Narragunty near Vellore. Absent without leave at Negapatam	Two brothers depend on him for their subsistence. They complain that he will not assist them.
18. Muddalgivi	.. 2nd	61	14 0 0	1854. January 4	Tanjore	.. Three sons, a sister, an unmarried daughter, five grandchildren, and in all 14 persons dependent on him.
19. Ramasamy Naik	.. 2nd	49	4 0 0	—	do.	.. Wife and two sons, who are at school.
20. Amneamah	.. 2nd	—	4 0 0	1844. February 10	Nawragunty near Chittoor.	—
21. Muttyalsamy Naik	.. 2nd	49	2 8 0	—	Tanjore	.. A grown-up daughter, unmarried for want of funds.
22. Kristnappa Naik	.. 2nd	53	<i>R. a. p.</i> 3 12 8	1844. December 13	Tanjore	.. Wife, daughter, and a grandson, 9 years old, who goes to school.
23. Mangathye	.. 2nd	56	1 15 4	do. 1856.	do.	.. —
24. Punchividon	.. 2nd	20	1 14 4	October 1	do.	.. —
25. Govindasamy Naik	.. 2nd	37	14 10 6	1844. December 13	Wallum, 7 miles from Tanjore.	Wife, two sons, and three daughters.
26. Vencatarangia	.. 2nd	35	2 8 0	1858. December 7	Combaconum; draws pension at Tanjore.	—
27. Naramasamy	.. 2nd	—	2 12 0	1858. December 24	Negapatam; draws pension at Tanjore.	—
28. Chellamal	.. 2nd	50	7 0 0	—	Tanjore	.. One relation ..
29. Kuppamaul	.. 2nd	35	2 5 4	—	do.	.. Four relations ..
30. Kannamma	.. 2nd	40	4 0 0	—	do.	.. —
31. Gonamther	.. 2nd	75	3 12 8	—	do.	.. Five relations ..
32. Bungaruthye	.. 2nd	55	2 0 0	—	do.	.. Son, Pudmanbasamy, a pensioner.

Relationship to the Royal Family.	REMARKS.
<p>Son of one Ramasamy, who came over in 1817 as a boy of 12. Ramasamy Rajah, brother of the 1st and 3rd widows of Rajadhi Rajah Singha, married this Ramasamy's sister. He is in reality therefore no relation. Son of Soobrayloo Naik, who was a distant relation to Rajadhi Rajah Singha. States that his father married a sister of two of the queens; this is not the case. Brother of Soobrayloo Naidogam of Vellore. No relation to the Royal family.</p>	<p>Does not wish to go back or commute. Has no education; would think it beneath his dignity to employ himself, but would accept a Deputy Collectorship, or office of corresponding rank. Asks for ceremonial allowance, but is not entitled to it. Has no occupation; says he does not know how to do anything.</p>
<p>Do. do. do. do. } Very distant; son of Kumarasamy Naik, grandson of Perumal Naik, who was related to Mootoosamy Rajah.</p>	<p>Ask that the full pension of their late father may be continued to them, also for a lapsed pension of their grandmother. I have explained that the requests are inadmissible. States that he has never learned to read and write, never went to school; considers himself one of the Royal Family. I have informed him that he is a very distant connexion only, that his pension will die with him, and that he is still young and fit to work. A case for forced commutation. At school.</p>
<p>Grandson of a brother-in-law of Rajadhi Rajah Singha. Brother of Perumal Naik at Tanjore.</p>	<p>Did not appear. Would not like to commute or go back to Ceylon, as he has no friends there now. Complains that he once drew a pension of Rs. 12, but that by Colonial Secretary's letter of 14th May, 1850, this was reduced to Rs. 5. Asks that he may draw the old rate.</p>
<p>Very distant connection. Servant of the ex-king. States that his father was the king's physician.</p>	<p>Eldest son, 15 years old, has never been to school. Does nothing.</p>
<p>A woman servant.</p>	<p>Not related.</p>
<p>Sister of Mudda'agivi, a servant. A distant cousin.</p>	<p>Did not appear. W. all in the ... relations are dependent on him; could not give ... why the nephews should not work, — probably ...</p>
<p>Wife and daughter of Nagama Naik.</p>	<p>This pension is claimed by another widow, who pretends she is Mullah's lawful widow.</p>
<p>Daughter-in-law to ex-king's maternal uncle. Son of a servant, who held a piece of land from the king.</p>	<p>This pension might be commuted, but the two brothers should receive a share. Acted as servant to the king, and now as steward to the queen, drawing her pension, &amp;c. Complains of smallness of his pension, but would not like to commute. One son employed at Coimbatore, another on the Railway, the third lives with him.</p>
<p>Widow of Mullah, a servant.</p>	<p>Pension was reduced at the time of Poonducottah frauds. See Colonial Secretary's letter of 16th September, 1861.</p>
<p>No relation. No relation. Son of Kristnasamy Naik.</p>	<p>Complains of smallness of pension. Was employed for a time by "Religious Department"; cannot read English, and therefore cannot find employment. Has been a Road Maistry at Poодоocottah, and is probably employed, though he will not allow it.</p>
<p>Son of Moothalsamr Naik, whose mother was "sister" to Vickrema Singha's mother.</p>	<p>Has never done anything; is partially blind.</p>
<p>No relation; said to have married a nephew, but it was probably a more distant relation.</p>	<p>Pretends that he does not do anything, but in reality works as a bricklayer.</p>
<p>Son of Viraragava Naik, whose family was related to some relations of Vickrema Singha.</p>	<p>Has had no education: sons are too young to work, but one of them is at school.</p>
<p>Son of Narainasamy Naik, a servant. Sister to Kristnappa Naik.</p>	<p>An Overseer in Public Work's Department, drawing good salary, Rs. 15.</p>
<p>Son of Kurman, a servant.</p>	<p>Is head constable at Negapatam, and acting writer in Kachcheri.</p>
<p>Son of Virama, a servant.</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>Is no relation; adopted son of Opachalu Naik, a servant.</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>Is no relation; adopted son of Chinmasamr, a servant.</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>Daughter-in-law of the late Petha Dinghan Naik, brother-in-law of ex-king.</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>Widow of Kammia Naik, a distant relation.</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>Daughter-in-law of Perumal Naik, who was cousin to 3rd queen.</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>Concubine of late Muttusamy Naik.</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>Daughter of Petha Dinghalu Naik.</p>	<p>—</p>

NAME.	Life.	Age.	Pension.			Date of Authority.	Place of Residence.	Family.
			R.	α.	p.			
33. Chinnatambee Naik ..	.. 2nd	55	4	2	0	—	Solamandura ..	Widower; has two sons and two daughters.
34. Vencatasamy Naido ..	.. 2nd	50	2	8	9	—	Madura ..	Two sons and their families.
35. Vencatachelaputty Naido ..	.. 2nd	30	10	8	0	—	Khoronpatty, near Madura ..	Wife, and three step brothers; no children.
36. Dorasamy Naido ..	.. 2nd	20	6	6	0	—	Madura ..	Unmarried.
37. Chinnsamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	35	10	4	0	—	Solamundura ..	Mother, two, unmarried sisters, wife, two sons and a daughter.
38. Coomasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	39	2	8	9	—	Madura ..	Wife, two sons, and daughter.
39. Dorasamy Naido ..	.. 2nd	31	2	8	0	—	o. } ..	Not married; have a mother.
40. Verasooro Rajana Naido ..	.. 2nd	29	2	8	0	—	do. } ..	Wife and two daughters ..
41. Muthusamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	56	2	10	1	—	do. ..	Two sons and two daughters.
42. Vencatasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	42	5	0	0	—	do. ..	Two sons, two daughters. Sons are at charity school.
43. Coomasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	55	1	15	8	—	do. ..	Married; no children ..
44. Kistnasamy ..	.. 2nd	26	1	14	10	—	Oorapilly ..	None ..
45. Allamal Ummaul ..	.. 2nd	40	3	15	3	—	do. ..	None ..
46. Mudamaul ..	.. 2nd	36	1	15	7	—	Madura ..	Wife; no children ..
47. Vencatasobbiah ..	.. 2nd	28	2	12	8	—	do. ..	Not married; has an unmarried sister.
48. Ramachandappah Naik ..	.. 2nd	38	2	12	6	—	do. ..	Wife, and daughter ..
49. Ramasama Naido ..	.. 2nd	30	5	3	4	—	do. ..	Wife, three sons, and one daughter ..
50. Chinna Soobna Naido ..	.. 2nd	55	3	0	3	—	do. ..	Two in number ..
51. Sobrayloo Naik ..	.. 2nd	Old	3	0	3	—	— ..	Four in number ..
52. Terumal Naido ..	.. 2nd	43	3	0	2	—	Madura ..	do. ..
53. Coppi Ronth ..	.. 2nd	28	10	3	4	—	Poodoocottah ..	Five in number ..
54. Chingen Jayaloo Naik ..	.. 2nd	45	10	9	0	—	Oorapilly ..	do. ..
55. Dorasamy Naido ..	.. 2nd	4	10	0	0	—	do. ..	do. ..
56. Gorappatty Naik ..	.. 2nd	38	2	12	0	—	Poodoocottah ..	do. ..
57. Nautcheemah ..	.. 2nd	60	6	0	0	—	Madura ..	do. ..
58. Peddasamy ..	.. 2nd	29	2	0	0	—	Poodoocottah ..	do. ..
59. Periasamy, or Kumarasamy ..	.. 2nd	46	3	0	0	—	Madura ..	do. ..
60. Ramasamy Naido ..	.. 2nd	54	8	8	0	—	do. ..	do. ..
61. Seshumaul ..	.. 2nd	45	3	15	10	—	Ramnad ..	do. ..
62. Sonima Marianusamy Naidoo ..	.. 2nd	46	7	0	0	—	Trichinopoly ..	do. ..
63. Seroomal Naidoo ..	.. 2nd	46	3	13	11	—	Shenaguingah ..	do. ..
64. Vencataluchmamah, or Panchiamah ..	.. 2nd	55	2	0	0	—	Madura ..	do. ..
65. Vencataluchema Ummaul ..	.. 2nd	32	4	2	8	—	do. ..	do. ..
66. Veramah ..	.. 2nd	35	3	0	0	—	do. ..	do. ..
67. Moodoomuanamah ..	.. 2nd	31	4	0	0	—	do. ..	do. ..
68. Appamah ..	.. 2nd	47	2	12	8	—	do. ..	do. ..
69. Chengamaul ..	.. 2nd	40	2	5	4	1860. August 10	Tranquebar ..	A son, Dorasamy ..
70. Dorasamy Naik ..	.. 2nd	24	11	5	2	1864. March 21	do. ..	do. ..
71. Dhorasamy ..	.. 3rd	30	3	0	0	—	Vellore ..	None, except three sisters, one of whom has a pension of Rs. 2.
72. Lutchammaul ..	.. 3rd	—	2	0	0	—	do. ..	do. ..
73. Pudmanabesamy ..	.. 3rd	19	2	8	0	—	Tanjore; absent at Madura ..	None ..
74. Bangarramah ..	.. 3rd	38	9	0	0	—	Tanjore ..	do. ..
75. Alagerisamy Naido ..	.. 3rd	12	5	4	0	—	Madura ..	Two sisters ..
76. Coomasamy, or Comarakistnappa Naik ..	.. 3rd	40	4	2	6	—	do. ..	do. ..
77. Appavoo, alias Sobba Naidoo ..	.. 3rd	26	3	0	0	—	do. ..	Four sons and three brothers ..
78. Vencataperoomal Naik ..	.. 3rd	40	2	10	0	—	do. ..	Wife, son, and daughter ..
79. Narrainasamy Naido ..	.. 3rd	28	4	4	8	—	do. ..	Wife, son, and five daughters.
80. Narrainasamy ..	.. 3rd	16	5	14	0	—	do. ..	Unmarried ..
81. Seethoosamy ..	.. 3rd	11	2	6	0	—	do. ..	None ..
82. Vencatachellaputty Naik ..	.. 3rd	22	2	5	4	—	do. ..	do. ..
83. Mungooppatty Naik ..	.. 3rd	61	2	5	4	—	Oorapilly ..	Mother and sister ..
84. Ramasamy Naik ..	.. 3rd	26	2	5	4	—	Oorapilly ..	Has a mother ..
85. Rengappa Naido ..	.. 3rd	15	3	14	0	—	do. ..	do. ..
86. Thayammaul ..	.. 3rd	31	3	14	0	—	Near Trichinopoly ..	Lives with mother and aunt ..
87. Stree Renga Natchya ..	.. 3rd	36	3	14	0	—	do. ..	Two in number ..
88. Angalasamy ..	.. 3rd	22	14	10	8	—	do. ..	Six in number ..
89. Alagerisamy Naido ..	.. 3rd	27	1	11	7	—	Madura ..	Nineteen in number ..
90. Ammauloo ..	.. 3rd	50	2	1	0	—	Ramnad ..	None ..
91. Alamaloo ..	.. 3rd	40	2	0	0	—	do. ..	do. ..
92. Ramasamy Naido ..	.. 3rd	52	23	5	0	—	Madura ..	None ..
93. Moodomeenamah ..	.. 3rd	36	3	8	0	—	Ramnad ..	Four in number ..
94. Dorasamy Naik ..	.. 3rd	25	3	0	0	1860. January 25	Negapatam; but absent just now.	do. ..
95. Vencatasamy Naik ..	.. 3rd	23	3	0	0	do.	Negapatam ..	do. ..
96. Palanisamy Naik ..	.. 3rd	21	3	0	0	do.	do. ..	do. ..
97. Muttukristna ..	.. 3rd	60	2	10	8	1854. November 24	do. ..	do. ..
98. Kanary Ammah ..	.. —	46	5	0	0	—	Madura ..	One daughter and two grand daughters.
99. Rukmany Ummaul ..	.. —	—	10	0	0	—	do. ..	Two in number ..

Relationship to the Royal Family.	REMARKS.
Grandson of a daughter of the ex-king's uncle.	Sons have not been educated, and do nothing. Considers that it would be a disgrace to them to serve anybody. Is willing to commute his pension
Son of Perumal Kooty Naik, a cousin of the ex-king	One son does nothing, the other has been adopted by another family. Would not wish to commute
Son of Vencatasamy Naik, a "co-partner," i.e., a relation of a relation.	Has no occupation.
Son of Akeasamy Naik; very distantly related.	Would not like to commute.
Son of Lutcannee Pathy Naik, whose sister was wife to ex-king's father-in-law.	All do nothing. Sons are young to go to school.
Father was a cousin to ex-king; is brother of Vencatasamy Naido above.	One son is 14 years old, but not at school.
Brothers of Muttyalsami Naik at Tanjore; sons of Viraragava Naik, a distant relation.	Complain of the smallness of their pensions, which do not enable them to marry. Do nothing.
Son of one Authy Ummaul, who was wife of Vencatasamy.	Is servant in a shop in Madura.
Son of Chinnanuma Naido; a very remote relation	A vendor of arrack. Eldest son was in the Police, but broke his leg, and has now no employment.
Son of the sister-in-law of the ex-king's elder brother.	Used to receive a pension of Rs. 15 13, but this is now sub-divided amongst the family.
Cousin of the above Coomarasamy.	---
Aunt of do.	---
Sister of do.	---
Son of a servant.	Employed with a merchant in Madura.
Son of Vencataummah; a very distant connection.	Says he does nothing.
The son of an ex-servant.	Says he has no employment.
Grandson of ex-king's maternal aunt.	---
Brother of Chinna Soobba.	Has drawn his pension till lately at Madura, but has left and is believed to have gone to Vellore.
Brother of Chinna Soobba.	Did not appear, as he was sick.
A distant connection.	Did not appear; a woman.
Father married a sister-in-law of Nagoma Naik. A "co-partner," i.e., relation of a relation; son of Chingama Ramasamy Naik.	Did not appear.—Allowance granted for the support of Dava Amma and her family.
Son of a relative of an ex-queen.	Absent.
Widow of one Ramasamy Naik; he drew Rs. 12.	---
Brother of Bungaru Naik, whose pension of Rs. 10 was divided.	See Apparoo and Bungar Naik.
Illegitimate brother of Appoosamy Naik of Vellore.	Should be a life pension.
Grandmother, Chinnammaul, was a sister-in-law of a sister of an ex-queen	---
Grandson of ex-king's maternal uncle.	Came from Trichinopoly.
Ex-king was father-in-law to his mother; son of Cootty Samy Naik.	He must be illegitimate.
Widow of an original pensioner, Mootheyalsamy.	---
Widow of Nayna Naik.	Full pension was continued in this case.
Daughter of Sutharan Naik.	---
Daughter-in-law of Subbarayalu Naik, a servant of Mootoosamy.	Did not appear.
Son of Chengamaul.	do.
Grandson of the grandson of the ex-king's younger aunt.	No employment—knows no sort of work; would not like to commute, as his creditors would take any lump sum that was given him.
Sister of the above.	---
Son of Naramasamy Naik, who was son of Ramasamy Naik, the King's brother-in-law.	Evidently a case for commutation. Pension is only Rs. 19, and a third-life.
Daughter of Viraragara Naik, a distant relation.	---
Grandson of the brother of the wife of the 3rd and 4th queen's uncle.	Guardian, one Ramasamy who draws a pension of Rs. 5 3 4. Is at school.
Son of Birooda Naik. His sister married the son of the uncle of one of the queens	Draws the pension on behalf of himself and his three brothers; pretends that he has no employment, but is an agent for selling arrack. A life pension.
Nephew of Bungar Naik, grandson of Teroomal Naik.	Does nothing.
Son of Coomaneammaul, who lived at Coimbatore; grandson of Chokumal.	Son at school.
Was adopted by an uncle, from whom he inherits his pension. Knows nothing more than this.	---
Grandson of Nagama Naik, step-brother of the king, i.e., son of Vencatasamy and Narrumaul.	Is at the Government school. Vencatasamy drew Rs. 8 13.
Great-grandson of Vencatacoopoomaul, aunt of ex-king; father, Tayloo Naik.	Is at school.
Great-grandson of Ramasamy Naik, a brother-in-law.	Note.—The list prepared by Mr. Lushington in 1859 is probably wrong, and this man is one of Rajadhi Rajah Singha's relations.
Brother of Vencatachellapitty Naik.	Did not appear.
Do. do.	do.
Adopted son of Redgappa Naik, from whom he inherits his pension.	---
Mother of Rengappa.	---
Aunt of do.	---
Son of an illegitimate son of Angalasamy Rajah.	This should be a life pension.
Grandson of a cousin.	Did not appear.
Daughter of Alamaloo, and related to Nagama Naik.	do.
Related to Nagama Naik.	do. A woman.
No relation; adopted son of Atchayacomaren, son of Assourdy, a Sinhalese who was deported in 1816.	---
Granddaughter of a sister of the 3rd and 4th queens.	---
Son of Kummara Naik, and grandson of Seshumaul, the mother of one of the queens.	Has gone to Moulmein.
Brother of Dorasamy.	---
Do.	Is in employment at Negapatam, but will not say what do.
Illegitimate son of Vencatasamy Rajah, who was step brother of Vickrema Singha.	do.
Daughter of Dalaroy Coomarasamy Naik.	A charitable allowance for her life-time. Pension of Bungarusamy Naik was withdrawn on account of the Poodocottah fraud.
Widow of Bungarusamy Naik.	do.

JOHN DOUGLAS,  
Auditor-General.

(To be continued).



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### CATHOLIC AGITATIONS IN DUTCH TIMES.

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AS DESCRIBED BY A CATHOLIC PRIEST IN 1707.

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

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[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 them<sup>1</sup> and several thousands of Catholics were left defenceless to the tender mercies of the Hollanders. They seized the Catholic churches<sup>2</sup> and schools, penalised the Catholic religion, and made it death to harbour a priest,<sup>3</sup> forbade even 'private conventicles' of Catholics,<sup>4</sup> 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

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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. 40: 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." <sup>5</sup> 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 <sup>6</sup> bold priests, Konkani Brahmans 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 Jan'y. 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.

Jacome Goncalvez 1705, 3rd Superior and Vicar General, died 1742, Bolawatta.

## 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, <sup>7</sup> (as, I think, I informed Your Reverence <sup>8</sup> 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, <sup>9</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> in charge of the said *hermidas*, of which there are nine in the Mission viz., two in Berberym, <sup>11</sup> two in Macundda, <sup>11</sup> one in Paygale, <sup>11</sup> two in Calamula, <sup>11</sup> one in Calaturre, <sup>11</sup> 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 <sup>12</sup> 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 *Hermideiro*, *Ermitao*, alias *Annave* who is both Catechist and Sacristan.

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

12. He was subject to frequent attacks of this illness. Cf. *Vide do Ven. 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 discharge<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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,<sup>15</sup> 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. Dolun, S.J., (23 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 issued<sup>16</sup> 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 city<sup>17</sup> 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 Governor<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

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.<sup>20</sup> 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 *Lascares*, *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 Dis-ave, 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.<sup>21</sup> 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,<sup>22</sup> 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.

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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 White's 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*.<sup>18</sup>

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,<sup>23</sup> 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,<sup>24</sup> 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 Modeliar Alfonso 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 (*gudoēs*) 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 (*rúa 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.<sup>25</sup> 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 *ermiças* 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 Carvalho<sup>26</sup> 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 *lascarín* 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, 1767.

26. An Oratorian lay Brother who was serving the Fathers in Kandy. Cf. *Vide ao Ven. P. Joseph Vaz*, p 189.

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.<sup>27</sup> The good old man gave many other answers of the kind which were all taken down in writing.

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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 baptized 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 <sup>23</sup> 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 Dissave 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 devilish 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.<sup>28</sup> 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 Curuiculao at night Shrove Tuesday.<sup>29</sup> 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 Lent<sup>30</sup> 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

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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 *Alföres* 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 *Predicantes* 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.<sup>31</sup> 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 Matalapa, 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 Sinhalese 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 fault, 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 published<sup>32</sup> 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 published<sup>33</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup>. 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.

<sup>33</sup>. 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, 1733, Prohibiting the granting of lodgings to Roman Catholic Priests. July, 1767, 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 exhorted 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.

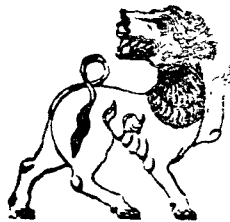
I do not wish to be longer than I have been both not to weary Your Honour with more things, and because not everything should be written. I am moreover in a hurry on my way to Vellevally. Wherever I shall be I remain always at Your Honour's service. May God preserve Your Honour and prosper you in wealth 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 translator<sup>1</sup> has justly remarked, the *Yálppána Vaipava-Málai* "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 verse<sup>2</sup>—the work itself being in prose—tells us that Mayilvákana-pulavar drew from the following older writings: (1) *Kayláya-málai* (2) *Vaiyá-pádal*, (3) *Pararása-sékarán-ulá* and (4) *Irása-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."<sup>3</sup>

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

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

Of these, section I is in all probability based on the *Vaiyá-pádal*; Section II on the *Kailáya-málai*, and Section III, on the *Irása-paramparai* and *Pararása sékarán-ulá*. The last

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

2. This is the Stanza in question:

உரராசர் தொழுதழன் மேக்கெறனென் றோதும்  
 உலாந்தேச மன்னன் உரைத்தமிழாற் கேட்க  
 வரராச கைலாயமாலை, தொன்னுல்  
 வரம்புகண்ட கவிஞர்பிரான் வையாபாடல்  
 பரராச சேகரன்மன் உலாவங்காலப்  
 பழவழு வாதுற்ற சம்பவங் கடிட்டும்  
 திரராச முறைகளுந் தேர்ந்தி யாழ்ப்பாணத்தின்  
 செய்தி மயிலவாகனவேள் செப்பினோனே.

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

3. The *Y.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.<sup>4</sup> A good portion of the *Vaiyá-pádal* has been recently discovered.<sup>5</sup> 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 *Vaiyá-pádal* opens with an episode from the *Rámāyaṇam*, according to which Vipishāṇan had been made king of Ceylon in the room of his brother Rávaṇan by no less a personage than Tasarata Ráman himself. A Yálpádi (lutist), who was serving at the court of Vipishāṇan, 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 Kulakétu, 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.

Mayilvákana-pulavar has embodied this account in his book. But Vipishāṇan 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 Yálpádi (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.<sup>6</sup> 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 Yálpádi brought his Tamil settlers he is made to rule over "the new colonists and the Sinhalese natives whom he treated alike" (p. 13).

The *Vaiyá-pádal* places the story of Mārutap-piravíka-valli after the colonisation by Yálpádi and follows it up with the arrival of sixty Vannias in connection with the marriage of Vararása-sinkan, the man-lion son of Ukkirasinkan by that Chola princess. One of the Vannias, afterwards, stays with Vararása-sinkan at Kandy, while the rest conquer Adankáppattu 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 Tampalakámam and Koddíaram. Eventually, fifty-four of the Vannias are slain in a battle with the Parankis (!) and the remain-

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

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

5. By Mr. Arudpir-gasam 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 *Vaiyu* has been also quoted by Mr. J. P. Lewis in the first chapter of his *Manual of the Vanni* but under the name of *Kalvedádu*.

6. We learn this from De Queyroz: *Conquista Temporal e espiritual de Ceilão*. 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.<sup>7</sup> 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 KANNAKAI (!) and form the Mukkuwa colony of Batticaloa and the Moorish one of Vidattatívu.

Thus far the *Vaiyá-pádal*. The writer of that opusculé 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 *Koṇésar-Kalveddu*,<sup>8</sup> 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 Koṇésar temple by Kuḷak-kóddan, another nebulous hero about whom more in the sequel. But before bringing Kuḷak-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 Kíri-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 Kuḷak-kóddan also received "an accession of fifty nine new families from Pándi" (p. 7).

This number "fifty nine" is unquestionably from the *Vaiyá-pádal* as the story of Kuḷak-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-kaḷam), 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 Naḷavas. (pp. 34-35). The transmutation of numbers in the two stories, which nevertheless present the same chief events faithfully, is interesting.

As for Márutap-piravika-valli herself, the *Vaiyá-pádal* tells us that she was the daughter of Tisai-ukkira-chólan, father-in-law or uncle of Koolankaich-chakkaravarti. She and her brother, Sinka-kétu, visited Ceylon for the purpose of bathing in the sacred spring of Kíri-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-piravika-valli had, by Ukkirasinkan, a son born with a tail, who resembled a man lion.

7. Portuguese : *Ajudante*—Adjutant.

8. Printed with the *Takshina-kayildsa-puranam*, 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-kayildsa-puranam*. If so, it is as old as this work. Mr. Brito who gives a good summary of the *Kalveddu* in his *Y.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 date.

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* I, 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 beautiful<sup>9</sup> 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 Kumáratti-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 Mañaltidal 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 Kulak-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.F.M. p. xlv) The text does not justify this. செய்வவழிவாலமுது means "the great beauty of the rosy feet." The *Vaiyá pādai* 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-savuntary<sup>10</sup> 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 temple<sup>11</sup> 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 *Takshīṇa-kayilása-purāṇam*<sup>12</sup> makes no mention of her, not even in the incoherent episode<sup>13</sup> of the Kántaruvan or lutist connected with the Rávanan myth, in which Kiri-malai figures as an ordinary *tirtam*. The *Tiruk-kónásala-purāṇam* 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 days<sup>14</sup> 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 Tádakal in the *Rámāyanam* and Tádakal-piráddy in the *Tirvítaiyaḍai-purāṇam*. 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. Kuḷak-kóddan repaired the temple of Tambala-Kámam and the old temple of Kirmalai 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, 1887. 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 1571. This is the Pararása-sékaran nicknamed *Rei (o) (o)* 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 Ke-ari composed the *Iraku Vammisam*. See my *Kings of Jaffna during the Portuguese period of Ceylon history* p. 54. Also Mr. S. W. Coomaraswami's *வடமலகாண்டத்தள்ள சில இடங் பெயர்களின் வரலாறு* pp. 123-6. A certain Kavi-rásar too contributes a "Special preface" to the *Takshīṇa-Kayilása-purāṇam*. If he is identical with the author of the *Kónésar Káveedu* (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 40.

14. "Its author, Mr. Maḥlamany Muttukumar, is a native of Trincomalee 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 Mārutap-piravika-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-arasāṅy and Kumáratty. The circumstance of Mārutap-piravika-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 Mā-vidda-puram.<sup>15</sup> But folk-lore went a step further. It would connect this beautiful legend with another not less beautiful—that of Yáḷppádi. 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 Mārutap-piravika-valli at Katiraimalai<sup>16</sup> and reigning as the sole monarch of Ceylon bestowed the Northern peninsula on the Yáḷppádi!

But who was this Yáḷppádi? I find it a clumsy attempt to derive Yáḷppáṇam from Yáḷppádi. If there was question of a Yáḷppáṇam as the coloniser of our peninsula all would be well. Yáḷppáṇam is a classical word meaning one whose occupation and caste-duty is to play on the lute. And a country connected with a Yáḷppáṇam can very correctly be called Yáḷppáṇam.<sup>17</sup> Again, it is contrary to fact to say that Jaffna was made habitable and colonised only so late as the epoch assigned to Kooḷankaichchakkaravarti. Mayilvákana-pulavar corrects the *Vaiyá-pádal* with regard to the previous inhabitants of Jaffna, but adheres to the legend of the Yáḷppádi 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.<sup>18</sup>

The mention of the Yáḷppádi, however, is met, for the first time in native writings, only in the *Vaiyá-pádal*.<sup>19</sup> 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 Yáḷppáṇam. But unfortunately for the etymologists who built up such a romantic story on a name, Yáḷppáṇam 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. "Māvidda" stands perhaps for *Mahā-wata* or sacred Wata-tree as suggested by Mr. S. W. Coomaraswamy in his *op. cit.* p. 152. There are many pulams or arable lands in Jaffna known as Māvattai and it is quite conceivable that a Māvattai-pulam came to be called Māvattai-puram—which would have given a chance to popular etymologists to connect a horse with it. I notice a Vadda-Kaladdy in Pōyicēdi (or *Bō-sitṭiya*) near Achcheliu. Pōyicēdi itself is known as Seddi-puram, no doubt with reference to a Vihara which stood on the *sitṭiya*.

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 Māgha and Jayabahu (1215-1236).

17. See this discussed at length by Mr. Coomaraswamy in *opus cit.* pp. 178-30.

18. See Note 12 *supra*.

19. It would seem that the *Vaiya* 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 Yáḷppáṇam. For De Queyroz (p. 37) speaks of "the colony of the lord Jafana which is the name of the first coloniser."

either *Yál* <sup>20</sup> or *páñan*. Learned opinion is now in favour of a Sinhalese origin to the name of the Ancient Tamil apital. <sup>21</sup> *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. <sup>22</sup> 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 *Yálppádi* is to be abandoned root and branch.

The real historical portion of the *Vaipava-málai* begins with Kooḷankaich-chakkaravarti. 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-sékaran <sup>23</sup> 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. <sup>24</sup>

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 Veenai 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 *Yál* as the auspicious sign of Tundi and makes no mention of Jaffna at all. On the other hand we know from *Sekarasa-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 *Selahini Sandesaya* (15th century) has *Yápa-patuna* (Stanza 28)

Also the *Kókkila 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<sup>(1)</sup>—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 belov'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,<sup>2</sup> 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."

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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.<sup>3</sup>

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."<sup>4</sup>

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 Sawer, 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.<sup>5</sup> 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."

<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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, <sup>7</sup> 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, <sup>8</sup> and made it like unto a storehouse 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 <sup>9</sup> 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 <sup>10</sup> 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."

*Pūjávaliya*, 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 Esala.

**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, <sup>11</sup> 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 Posen, granted to the Nagarisa Nila 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 Viháre**, a new building of no interest.

Went with the Aracchi  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile across the Gin Ganga by tree-bridge to

#### MALWATTÉGODA.

(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, <sup>12</sup> 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 Gętabaru Viháre ( $\frac{3}{4}$  mile from Kotapola). Cf. 1887 List.

11. That is, in the year 1610 A.D.

12. Priest of a Dévate 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. 1 m. 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)*



## OLD BOTANIC GARDENS.

By ARTHUR ALVIS, M.M.C.

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**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.

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

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

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**F**OR 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

**I**N 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 Septr. 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. 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.

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The EDITOR,

*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.*

Sir,

**W**ILL 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.]

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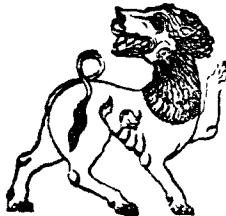
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# Literary Register.

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

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### HISTORY OF THE PENSIONS.

#### Causes of Their Origin.

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

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#### No. 3. TREATY OF PEACE.

**A**RTICLES 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 Moottoosawmy 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 Ellaiddoowall, 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.

29th 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.

	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

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

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 Simmula 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 embarrasements, 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 liberalties 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,  
7th March, 1871.

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

(Signed in Telegu.)

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*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

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*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.

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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 Columbo, 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 conquebines 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 priveleges 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.

[“ 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 Kandyan 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.

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

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	(Signed in Telegu characters)	Vengadasamy
"	Kumara Subbasamy	"	Kumarasamy
"	Sinnasamy	"	Durisamy
"	Vengadasubbasamy	"	Succaniammal
"	Vengadasamy	"	Padmanabasamy.
"	Ramasamy		

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.)

Handwritten initials or signature, possibly "MS" or "MS" with a flourish.