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PAPER.

ANDREW'S EMBASSIES TO KANDY IN 1795 AND 1796.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
"Andrew's Embassies to Kandy in 1795 and 1796," Edited by J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (retired) 	49

NOTES AND QUERIES.

"Vijayanagar and Ceylon," by H. W. COD- RINGTON, C.C.S. 	101
"Sinhalese Coins in Jaffna," by P. E. PIERIS, D. Litt., C.C.S. 	104
"Date of the Coming of the Bodhi Tree," by JOHN M. SENAVERATNE 	104
"O Foral de Jafanapatam," by P. E. PIERIS, D. Litt., C.C.S. 	105



ANDREW'S EMBASSIES TO KANDY IN 1795 AND 1796.

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

INTRODUCTION.

In the time of the Dutch, embassies from them to the King of Kandy were frequent. Heydt, who though an accomplished draughtsman and "geometer" was a corporal in the service of the Dutch Company, accompanied one of these embassies, viz., that of Daniel Agreen, Disáwa of Colombo, in 1736, and he tells us that it was the custom for the Company to send one every year.* Two of these he mentions, one "some years before us" under a Captain Snow, a Swede, and another, "a year before us" under the ambassador De Jong, who was "a native by birth" although he had a European father. He also states that Daniel Agreen had already conducted three embassies to Kandy. The sending by the Dutch of a yearly embassy was one of the articles of the treaty concluded by the King with the Company in 1766. This treaty "greatly curtailed his dominions and left him little better than a prisoner at large in those that remained to him," while the Dutch on their part "acknowledged the king of Candy to be Emperor of Ceylon, to pay him a tribute, and to send ambassadors yearly to his court."† Journals of some of these embassies have been preserved among the Dutch records in Colombo now being overhauled by Mr. Anthonisz.‡

*Heydt, p. 272.

†Percival, 1st Edition, pp. 21-3.

‡Diaries of the embassies of Agreen and Ladinus (February to April, 1733) and of Agreen and Broyel (November 1736 to January 1737) are preserved in the Government Archives.

Agreen's embassy took place in the reign of Sriwíra Wíra Parákrama Naréndra Siṅha. The last three occupants of the Kandyan throne gave audience to the English ambassadors, viz., Kírti Śrí Rája Siṅha to Pybus, Rájádhi Rája Siṅha to Boyd and Andrews (twice), and Śrí Wikrama Rája Siṅha to Macdowall.

Robert Andrews was appointed writer in the Honourable East India Company's service in 1778 when he was fifteen years of age. He became "Senior Merchant" in 1790, and "Second in Council" at Cuddalore in the following year. In August, 1795, he was commissioned by the Government of Fort St. George as ambassador to the Court of Kandy, the British forces under Colonel James Stuart being then engaged in the investment of Trincomalee. The object of his mission was to secure an alliance with the King and his assistance in supplying the army with provisions. He arrived at Trincomalee on the 13th August and had to remain there until the 15th September, first for the capitulation of the port, and then for a reply from the King to the letter dispatched to him on behalf of the Company. He left for Kandy on the 15th before it was received. He got back to Trincomalee on the 23rd of October, bringing with him the draft of a treaty and two Disáwas who were to accompany him to Madras in order finally to settle the terms of it with the Government of Fort St. George. He proceeded with these ambassadors to Madras via Jaffna, Kudiyaṭurai, Nagore, Cuddalore and Pondicherry, arriving there on 29th December. He had meanwhile received the appointment of "Superintendent of the Revenues of Jaffanapatnam and its Dependencies," and left as his Assistant there John Jervis also of the Company's service. The discussion of this treaty took from the end of December until the 2nd of February when the Kandyan ambassadors accepted it and it was signed by the Government of Fort St. George. It remained to get it signed by the King of

Kandy, and for this purpose a second embassy was necessary, and this duty also devolved on Andrews. This however was not undertaken until the end of July and occupied exactly a month. It was unsuccessful. The King, swayed by opposite councils, took time to consider, and Andrews left Kandy without obtaining his signature. It does not appear that Andrews was in any way to blame for this result, though Governor North, who disliked the Madras Government and its officials, laid the blame for it on him. The diaries of these embassies are now for the first time to appear in print.

Andrews having concluded the settlement of the terms of the treaty, remained at Madras until 29th February and then returned to Jaffna, where he arrived for the second time on 16th March. All the Dutch possessions had meanwhile been surrendered to the East India Company and his duties were extended and were no longer confined to Jaffna and the north. He was now "Resident and Superintendent of Revenue on the Island of Ceylon."

In March and April he was at Arippeu on matters connected with the Pearl Fishery. In May he was at Colombo; in July-August he went on the second embassy to Kandy which detained him "longer than was expected." On 18th January, 1797, he was at Chilaw, "Mr. Greenhill acting in my Department since my absence."* He was back at Arippeu on February 14th of that year and from a letter addressed to his Assistant at Jaffna, Mr. John Jervis, and his reply, we find that he was then accompanied by his sister Miss Andrews. He superintended the pearl fishery of 1797 and in September of that year was on a board at Colombo for examining rents. After a considerable absence in Madras, he resigned his Ceylon appointment in December, 1798, and the reason for this step is probably to be found

*Jaffna records.

in memoranda made by the Governor, the Hon'ble F. North.* He had not given satisfaction either as Superintendent of Revenue or as ambassador to Kandy. The Governor notes "misconduct of Andrews owing to inactivity" and again "Andrews' treaty bad". Writing to Lord Mornington on 27th December, 1798, the Governor says "the offices you will agree of Superintendent of Revenue and Ambassador at Kandy are quite useless. For the former I shall make Assistants at Jaffna, Batticaloa, and Galle, independent collectors, and appoint a similar one at Colombo, all corresponding with principal Secretary".

Andrews appears to have spent the greater part of the year 1798 in Madras. Governor North remarks in a letter to Lord Mornington, dated 27 October "he has been for the 6 months in Madras and only came yesterday", while Mr. Hugh Cleghorn, Chief Secretary, writing to the Right Hon'ble Henry Dundas from Jaffna on 28 October, explains that Andrews' return to Colombo was due to a decision of the Court of Directors that Ceylon was in future to be connected with and dependent on Bengal instead of Madras, a decision which Mr. Cleghorn approved because the object of Civil Servants from Madras was "to keep North's Government as much as possible in the dark". He goes on: "No sooner was intended letter of the Court of Directors to North known at Madras than Andrews set out to Colombo". The misconduct to which North referred was his failure to exercise any check over the Madras Dubashes for which both the Governor and his Chief Secretary considered him responsible. The former thus describes the doings of these men. "Excesses have been committed by a set of Malabar servants of the Revenue, in the harsh, unjust and

*Wellesley MS., dated 29 December, 1798, and 26 February, 1799.

impolitic introduction of a system of finance and judicature confessedly defective even where it has been long established and carried on by natives of the country, but which became altogether insupportable when it was introduced in direct contrariety to the usages, laws and habits of the people, and executed by men unconnected with their futures, enemies to their religion and having no interest but in opposing and despoiling them". He proceeds "had he (Mr. Andrews) been active in healing the wounds he had inflicted: had he brought to justice and punished those servants who had betrayed his confidence and committed his reputation, I should have been of opinion that no salary could have been too great, no dignity too high, no power too extensive, which may engage him to remain in this Island for the completion of a work so beneficial to the people and so creditable to himself. But.....he has not punished or dismissed one servant, shown no disposition to reform abuses." The Chief Secretary is still more emphatic. "I have not described, because I cannot as yet legally authenticate, the particular instances of rapine and cruelty which the Madras Dubashes have inflicted in Ceylon, upon every class of the native inhabitants. The very enormities of which I have received accounts will prevent me from stating these without the fullest evidence. But I have heard of these from men of the most undoubted veracity, and whose situations must have made it very difficult to impose upon them fictions for facts. And I have no difficulty in saying that if the Madras Government knew as they do, either Mr. Andrews' ignorance of business or his connivance with the dubashes, they ought not again to have employed him. And if that gentleman had felt with delicacy what is publicly said of his conduct, he would not have again accepted of his situation until he had obtained a full and fair acquittal of the facts alleged against his management. I have no personal prejudice

against him. I hardly even know him. But when the happiness and misery of thousands depend upon his conduct, that heart must be cold which can hear of oppression without indignation, and that understanding must be contemptible which can attempt to derive lasting public revenue from injustice and extortion". He adds: "Whether oppression upon unfortunate inhabitants has proceeded from his indolence or from worse motives, in his situation indolence and guilt are the same". But Mr. North insinuates even that "the Secretary had abused his absolute power in protecting Andrews and his rogues."* It is but fair to add that Governor North also expressed the opinion that, though his agents were rogues, Andrews himself was "clearly innocent". His errors were want of vigilance and activity, and ignorance of the habits and dispositions of the people of the Island. Further, Mr. North expected him to do well in India on account of his "experience, talent and incomparable temper."† Andrews no doubt at length realized that his further holding office in Ceylon was undesirable. He had certainly showed no "ignorance of business" in his correspondence in 1796-7 with his Assistant at Jaffna, Mr. John Jervis, nor in his direction of the Pearl Fishery of 1796. He replies to the latter on 20th February, 1796. "Your letter applying for a Court Martial to try Certain People who have been apprehended by you for theft. In all cases unconnected with the Military your Public Cutchery is the place for investigating the subject and your Authority during my absence sufficient for the Trial and Punishment of all Misdemeanours which are not of a heinous Nature without the addition of any Power which Captain Ferguson conceived he could delegate". Again, Jervis had apparently applied to the Government of Fort

*30 September, 1799, *Ceylon Weekly Literary Register*, Vol. 11, p. 270.

†*Ceylon Weekly Literary Register*, Vol. 11, p. 245.

St. George for directions as to how the Revenues at Mullaivadu are to be collected. The question was referred to Andrews, who proceeded to lecture him thus: "With regard to the Wanny I think an Aumildar should have been expressly sent from your Cutchery to make the collections and Mr. Fair (the Commandant) requested or rather directed to give him every requisite Assistance. 'Tis useless in most cases of collection to have reference to Government, who cannot be supposed to be at all competent to decision, the system here being so different from that of the Coast. We must endeavour to carry on the Business with giving as little Trouble as possible to our Superiors". (17th March, 1796).

With regard to the Fishery, Jervis had bought the rent of the 1796 Fishery, but finding that he could not get the number of boats that he expected and that Mr. Andrews had appointed Robert Alexander of the H.E.I.C.'s Service, Superintendent of the Fishery, he wished to give it up. He also objected to Mr. Andrews' employing Madras men in the Fishery. Alexander said he could not release him "from engagements which I have been taught to look upon as binding" and referred the question to Andrews for decision. Andrews lectured Jervis again. He should have started the Fishery with what boats he had assembled. It was not in his power "to determine the Propriety or advisability of your motives for Renouncing the farm of the pearl Fishery" without reference to Mr. Alexander whose "Local Knowledge made him more competent to reply than I could pretend to be". The acceptance of his resignation must ultimately rest with Government. Meanwhile he had not hesitated in giving Mr. Alexander directions for the commencement of the Fishery "judging it might be more productive to the Company by fishing it on their own account than holding you to the Farm". As to Jervis' not being appointed Superintendent he points out the

necessity for such superintendence being independent of the interest of the Renter. The persons he had employed were "not Madras servants but natives both from Nagore and Sadris who had been in the habit of trading with the Natives of this Island and well versed in the Business they were put upon."

But as we have seen, it was this fondness for getting his subordinates from the Madras Presidency that was the cause of his subsequent troubles, Mullaitivu itself afforded some instances. Two "Amildars" were sent to Mullaitivu and the "Adigars"—there were seven of them and they were all Dutchmen—were abolished and there were "instituted in their room Maniagars and Coniciplies conformable to the system observed on the coast" (17 June, 1796). Andrews remarks: "I am glad to hear the Adigars are recalled, their being stationed about the country only impressed the Natives with an idea of our restoring the Island, and gave the Dutch a more general opportunity of instilling such notions prejudicial to the public interest" (6 July, 1796).

The result was that in a short time a Maniagar was murdered, and Lieut. Fair, the Commandant, who also looked after the Revenue suspected that the Amildar of Mullaitivu (there were originally two but one seems to have been discontinued) had been accessory to a murder. Mr. Jervis and Lieut.-Col. Barbut, the Commandant of Jaffna found the Amildar innocent of the charge and sent him back in January, 1797, but in August Lieut. Fair reported that he had been "guilty of many irregularities" and he was dismissed.

But if Andrews made mistakes in Ceylon, in the Madras Presidency he seems to have been thought much of, if epitaphs are to be trusted. On his tomb in St. John's Cemetery at Trichinopoly, where he died on 13th November, 1821, at the age of 58, it is remarked that "If suavity ensure esteem, philanthropy respect and charity

gratitude, time will record the name of Andrews in the remembrance of the good''. This is followed by what must be a statement of facts: "In him truly did the wretched find a friend, the poor a parent and mankind a man."* If he has been much denounced by contemporaries and later writers, his gravestone panegyric has made up for it, and his own Government had no fault to find with him, for we find him Collector in the Trichinopoly District from 1804 to 1808. In the latter year he visited England, returning to India in 1810, when he was appointed acting judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Southern Division. In 1813 he was Postmaster General, Madras, and in 1815 First Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal for the Southern Division.†

There are some grounds for the conjecture that Andrews was a Westminster boy. A Robert Andrews was admitted to Westminster School on 24th January, 1774. In that year Andrews would be 11 years of age, and he would have been four years at the school when he was appointed a cadet under the H.E.I.C. So that the dates agree very well. Nothing more is known by the school authorities or is to be found in its registers of the new boy of 1774—quite likely, if he vanished at fifteen into the world of India, less likely if his after career was confined to England.

* Cotton's List of Madras Inscriptions, p. 345.

† The Editor is indebted for these particulars to Mr. J. J. Cotton, M.C.S.

DIARY OF AN EMBASSY FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE COURT OF CANDIA IN THE YEAR 1795.

Having received my Appointment and Instructions from Government respecting the Embassy I proceeded the 5th of August in the Honble. Company's Ship *Lascelles* for Trincomala where I arrived on the 13th.

The 14th I landed and waited on Colonel Stuart* who apprized of my mission informed me that from the peculiar situation in which he stood with the Dutch Commander, he had not deemed it expedient to forward either of the Letters from Government intrusted to his care for the King of Candia. From this period until the 20th I was merely a spectator of the operations carried on for the Capture of the Fort of Trincomala the Inhabitants of the Country had all retired from their Villages to the Hills and Jungle at a distance from the Fort, so that my time could not be usefully employed either in ascertaining the state of the Country, the nature of the Government, or the Revenues arising thereto.

20th August, 1795.

Several *Hircarrahs*† or Peons came into Camp from Candia signifying to Colonel Stuart they were sent by the King of Candia to obtain what information they could

* This was Colonel James Stuart, afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army. He served at the sieges of Cuddalore and Seringapatam, and in the Mahratta war of 1803, when he had Major General Wellesley under his orders. He was known to the Madras Army by the familiar appellation of "Old Row". He died on 29 April, 1815.

† *Harkára*, from the Persian *har*, "every" and the Hindustani *kár*, "business".

respecting our operations and would willingly on their return carry any Letters he might think proper to entrust them with, in consequence Colonel Stuart and myself wrote Letters to the King of Candia, expressing how much it was the wish of the English to obtain his friendship and alliance, that Letters were in our possession for him from the Government of Madras which should be forwarded the first favourable opportunity, and that likewise as Ambassador from the Company I only waited his permission for proceeding to Candia.

27th August, 1795.

Trincomala having surrendered to the British forces Yesterday* Colonel Stuart Judged it a favorable moment for dispatching the Letter from Government to the King of Candia which was accordingly sent off in charge of two Hircarrahs employed by the Colonel and a Peon of the King of Candia's who happened to be in Camp—an answer to which could not be expected under fifteen or sixteen days.

30th August, 1795.

Wrote Letter to Mr. Secretary Webbe informing him of my arrival at Trincomala but that no communication having been yet established with the King of Candia it was uncertain when I should proceed to his Capital.

3rd September, 1795.

Wrote Letter to the Right Honble. Lord Hobart Governor, &c., informing him of people having arrived at Trincomala from the King of Candia with orders to ascertain the arrival of the British Troops on the Island that on their return Colonel Stuart and myself took the opportunity of writing Letters to the King expressive of our wish to cultivate his friendship and Alliance and requesting his immediate assistance in supplying the Army with

* Fort Frederick and the port of Trincomalee capitulated on the 26th. Fort Ostenburg not until the 31st.

Provisions, informing him likewise that Letters from the Government of Madras for him were in our possession which should be forwarded, whenever we ascertained it could be done with safety that I also only waited his Orders for proceeding to his presence having subjects of importance to converse upon with him—That in consequence of the above some people apparently of note had this day arrived in Camp with Letters in reply to those sent by Colonel Stuart and myself expressive of regret that his Majesty had not been apprized earlier of the wishes of Government which would have enabled him to have had provisions in readiness for the Troops and that some days must elapse before he could intimate his wish for my proceeding to Candia.

10th September, 1795.

The King of Candia not having acknowledged the receipt of the Companys Letter until this period, yet satisfied by the repeated assurances of his people that he was friendly towards Us and ready to meet the views of Government I determined on proceeding to Candia, apprehensive that should I any longer delay, my return before the setting in of the Monsoon might be rendered uncertain—I therefore made known my intention to Colonel Stuart requesting such escort as he might think proper which previous to the capture of the Forts I knew it was not in his power to grant from the severe Duty on the Troops, in consequence a Company of Seapoys was directed to hold themselves in readiness and Colonel Stuart was so obliging as to admit of my pointing out the Officer whom I could wish in command of the Party; much difficulty was incurred in obtaining a sufficient number of Coolies for transporting the Tents and baggage, but few of the Inhabitants having returned to the Villages in the vicinity of either Fort at Trincomala: very little cultivation of Grain appears to have been carried on this part

of the Country, the ground which has been cleared of Jungle is now generally planted with Cocoanut trees nor does there seem pasturage sufficient for Sheep or Cattle: the Dutch I understand have constantly drawn their supplies both of Grain and Cattle from the adjacent Districts, Cotear, Baticola, and Moulloudive the ground in general about Trincomala is said to be a salt and poor soil.

15th September 1795.

Having made the necessary preparations for my Journey, and convinced that the King of Candia was disposed to cultivate the friendship of the English, I left Trincomala about Ten in the Morning and proceeded under the Escort of Lieutenant Kingston* and a Company of

* All that I can learn about Lieutenant Strickland Kingston, whom Andrews selected from the garrison of Trincomalee to command his escort on his embassy to Kandy, and who was himself anxious to go in order to see the country, is as follows.—

In 1781 he was appointed a cadet on the Madras establishment. He became 2nd Lieutenant, 14 Nov., 1782; Lieutenant, 21 Aug., 1790; Captain, 26 Dec., 1798; Major, 21 Sept., 1804; Lieutenant-Colonel, 19 Aug., 1808 (Dodwell and Miles' *Indian Army List*). In 1800 he belonged to the 2nd Madras Native Infantry. While at Trincomalee he probably belonged to the 1st Battalion, Native Infantry, which was one of the regiments forming the expeditionary force and had had one sepoy killed and six wounded in the attack on that fortress. From 1796 to 1800 he was Paymaster and Commissary of Grain and Provisions at Trincomalee, and there are in the Jaffna Kachcheri copies of several letters from him to the Assistant Resident, Mr. John Jervis, on official matters, connected with cattle, etc., but with something of human interest in passing allusions to social matters of the time and locale. In his letter of 13 October, 1796, he informs Jervis incidentally that Lieutenant Brown, probably of the same corps, is leaving Trincomalee for Jaffna "embarking on the wings of love", and it is open to the romanticist to weave on this gossamer framework a theory that Lieutenant Brown was paying his attentions to Miss Ritso, Jervis' sister-in-law, for what other unmarried English girl is there likely to have been, at that time, in Jaffna? (Research, if anyone were at the trouble to undertake it, might even show that he married her). Lieutenant Kingston concludes by sending his "best regards" to Mrs. Jervis.

In March, 1796, he was to have gone to Mannár as Commandant, relieving the first British officer to hold that position, Captain Bowser, who had captured the place, but Lieutenant T. Campbell, of the 73rd Foot, went instead. In 1808 he was with the 22nd Native Infantry; in 1810 with the 9th Native Infantry. In this last named year he was captured by the French, probably by a privateer and was a prisoner until 1814 when, on 25 May, with his retirement from active service, his name was removed from the Army List. It remained on the list of retired officers of the Madras establishment until 1832.

the 1st Battalion of Native Infantry towards Tomblagaumum distance about 15 Miles where we arrived at five O'clock in the Evening the Country appeared both to the right and left of the foot path (there being no carriage road) an impenetrable Jungle except two Bays on our left which we skirted, that prove to have communication with the great Harbour as they branch off from a River called The Mavil Gunga which takes its rise in the interior part of the Island and passing by Tomblagaumum empties itself in the grand Harbour at Trincomala. This River passes by Candia, but is navigable only a short distance beyond Tombalgaumum to which place a Boat for an Individual or small party would be by far more commodious than travelling the road.

16th September, 1795.

We proceeded on our Journey towards Cundaloy the next stage from Tombalagaumum distance about 13 Miles, the road tho' equally narrow with that which we travelled yesterday, was less stony and appeared in many parts to be formed by the force of Water descending from the Mountains in the rainy Seasons; about half way appears a natural tank* on the right of the road adjacent to which is an open spot of ground where a Choultry or resting place might with advantage be erected, near this place to the left distance $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile—was a hewn stone about 8 feet in length and 5 broad, its appearance as if intended for a Tomb Stone or to commemorate some great event,

* Mr. G. F. Forrest, A.G.A., Trincomalee, writes.—“The ‘natural tank’ on the right of the road must be, I think, a very old abandoned tank known as Paravipanchán Kulam. . . . It lies about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of the 19th mile (practically half way between Tamblegam and Kantalai). It is not however a natural tank, but an artificial one of considerable importance in its time. The bund is a magnificent one, some 40 or 50 feet high, and faced with dressed stone, rising in tiers or steps. I could not estimate the length of the bund properly owing to the thick jungle, but I should say it is not far short of a mile. There is a large breach (apparently where the sluice used to be) and water runs through this under the road into the Pér-áru (the channel running from Kantalai to the Tamblegam fields).

having several lines in Chingalees or Sanscrit carved thereon: upon enquiry am told it was the seat or cot of one of their deities who embanked a large Yary* which is at Cundaloy; here we first discovered a species of the black or round Pepper plant growing wild—but not that which is cultivated for use: within a Mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Cundaloy is a large Yary† bounded by high Hills except on one side which is a slip of low land covered with Jungle thro' which is erected a Stone Wall or embankment which runs North and South by Account several Miles to prevent a communication with another Yary of still greater extent which to appearance is about 5 Miles long and four broad said to be embanked on the South West side about 400 years ago by a Deity‡ whose Giants effected this work: between these Yaries a Nulla crossed the road we passed where being met by a few of the Inhabitants we were desired to descend from our Palankeens and requested to walk for about two Miles as the ground was considered sacred and to sprinkle ourselves with the Water of the Nulla, otherwise our mission would subject us to fevers and other sickness exclusive of incurring the displeasure of those who formed the Yaries. At Cundaloy we found only 15 or 20 Inhabitants altho' from the advantages of Water and the heavy works carried on in its vicinity to preserve it, the place must have been formerly very populous, as there is by account great extent of Vallies fit for Cultivation of Paddy. Vast numbers of Wild Elephants

* éri, tank.

† Mr. Forrest writes: "The tank, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles this side of Kantalai, is Vendarasan Kulam, a very old tank (earlier than Kantalai) still in very good order, except for one breach. It is separated from Kantalai by the 'Women's Bund'. I have not been able to get any information as to the history of this tank. So far as I can ascertain the ground is not now considered sacred."

‡ "The deity who is alleged by tradition to have constructed the bund of Kantalai tank is Munmulaithadakai (born with developed breast). She married Kullakkodu Maharajah. The latter repaired the tank bund with the help of the goddess." (Letter from Assistant Government Agent, dated 3rd August, 1912).

are constantly seen coming from the Jungles to quench their thirst at this Yary, and when not full at the dry Season of the Year Wild Buffaloes in great droves are daily seen grazing on its banks—hundreds were seen on the day we passed, it seems several of the cultivators have of late Years left this part of the country from receiving greater encouragement within the Candia Districts.

17th September, 1795.

We proceeded on our Journey to Aletoovelly* distance about 16 Miles, the first hour and $\frac{1}{2}$ of our march was skirting the Bank of the Large Yary described yesterday meeting several droves of wild Buffaloes and a large herd of Deer and Antilopes; from hence was a thick jungle to the right and left until within a Mile of Aletoovelly where we found an Artificial Tank of some extent which indicates that a part of the Adjacent Country must have formerly been in a state of cultivation. At about 4 P:M: arrived within about a Mile of Aletoovelly where we found a large square temporary building erected for our reception in the Bungalo style with four doors placed East, West, North and South, each face of the square was partitioned off into three apartments and in the centre of the square was a distinct one allotted for the reception of such Presents as it was supposed the Ambassador would be in charge of to His Majesty of Candia. The Head Inhabitants had no hesitation in avowing that their reason for erecting the Bungalo at a distance from the Village was to prevent the confusion which otherwise might have arisen by a mixture of people, strangers to each other, and unacquainted with the language or customs of the Country.

18th September, 1795.

We proceeded on our Journey about 8 A:M: towards Meenairy distance about 14 Miles the road narrow and for the most part formed by the force of Water from the

* Aletoovelly = Alutoya.

Hills in the rainy Season; on each side to all appearance an impenetrable jungle, nor was there during our march any Water to be found until within two Miles of the place of Encampment which was on the Bank of an extensive Tank, the Water of which in the Monsoon was said to cover an extent of ten Miles:* at present it affords a rich pasture on which many droves of Wild Buffaloes were grazing; and near our encampment were also a number of Cows, Bullocks and Buffaloes belonging to the Inhabitants of the adjacent Villages; the Weather for the most part of yesterday and to day cloudy, in the night frequent heavy showers. A similar Bungalo to that described yesterday was found ready for our reception.

19th September, 1795.

From not being able to assemble the Coolies so early as usual did not proceed on our march towards Gonavie

* The tank, two miles from short of Mineri, said to have an area ten square miles, is probably Giritalai, where Pybus and Boyd also halted. Pybus calls it "Tritolay Lake", and makes the same mistake as Andrews does with regard to Vendarasan Kulam, in imagining it to be of natural formation. He describes it as "a fine reservoir of water formed by nature, being surrounded entirely by hills. When full, I suppose it two miles and a half in length, and about a mile in breadth in the widest part of it. You travel by the side of it, about a mile and a half, to the village which is at the south-west end. . . and a miserable place it is." (p. 50)

Singularly enough, Boyd's version of the name also begins with the wrong letter, 'Tertolay', and he says much the same of the tank, "a very extensive and beautiful expanse of water, finely skirted with rising woods." (p. 116).

[The inference that both Pybus and Boyd stopped at this tank does not seem to be correct. Pybus mentions a place Tertolay or Tritolay, which according to his itinerary is 84 miles from Trincomalee. Boyd (Vol. II., page 116) says, he halted at "Tertolay Lake," which he describes as being 31 miles from Trincomalee. Boyd's route followed closely the line of the present road by which it is only 27 miles from Trincomalee to Kantalai, whereas it is over 60 miles from Trincomalee to Giritalai by any route. Boyd therefore probably meant Kantalai when he spoke of Tertolay. The similarity of Tertolay and Tritolay may be accounted for by the fact that Boyd had Pybus' journal with him (Boyd II., 170) and thought Pybus referred to Kantalai by his "Tritolay". But Pybus did not go near Kantalai. He left Trincomalee by the Batticaloa Road, apparently turning west near Kiliweddi. Pybus' "Tritolay" is most likely Giritalai, but Boyd's "Tertolay" would appear to be Kantalai.—Ed.]

distance about 18 Miles before ten A:M: after striking into the Jungle which was in about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile from the ground of Encampment the descent of the road for several miles was very considerable a part thereof thro' a narrow ravine the Banks of which on either side were 12 feet high, no Water was met with for the first 14 Miles where we came to the bed of a River thro' which was a running stream of clear good Water;* towards the conclusion of our Journey several spots of ground appeared prepared for cultivation: during this day met with more large timber Trees than on any preceding, of a size indeed as to make me conclude they could be appropriated to any use, particularly the (Elipy or Oil Tree).† Arrived near to Gonavie‡ about 5 P:M: where we found a Bungalo for our reception of nearly the size and shape as the former one but with the addition of the apartments being lined with white Cloths.

20th September, 1795.

In the morning previous to proceeding on the Journey, was apprized of two of the King's Messengers being near at hand, and wishing an interview which if acceded to, they requested a person of some respectability might be sent to conduct them. In consequence sent one of the Native Writers with two Seapoys who escorted the Messengers to the Bungalo who informed me they were sent forward from the Palace to see that everything was prepared which might be necessary for the party on the road, and that they were in charge of a Letter which when produced I found was addressed to Colonel Stuart who having given me authority to open any Letters I might

* The river between Mineri and Gonáwa, fourteen miles from the former place would be the Kiri Oya or Páláru, and the river half way between Gonáwa and Nálanda, the Ambanganga.

† Tamil *Iluppai*, Sinh. *mí*. *Bassia longifolia*.

‡ Gónáwa. Pybus, too, stopped here, and so did Boyd, who calls it "Gona". It is situated in Eréula wasama, Wagapanaha Pallésiya Pattuwa of Mátalé North, on the road from Arangala to Minnériya. The tank and village have long been abandoned.

meet addressed to him from Candia, found it to express much satisfaction at an Ambassador's being sent to the Court of Candia, and requesting he might proceed on his Journey as soon as possible: the Messengers after expressing their surprize and satisfaction at finding I had thus far proceeded on my Journey, begged permission to retire as they wished to return towards Candia without delay to give information of my approach: after dismissing the Messengers, commenced our march about 7 A:M: the greater part of which was thro' a Valley covered with Jungle, Hills of great height both to the right and left form'd the boundary of the Vale, from the number of Inhabitants which appeared at different parts of the days Journey 'tis to be concluded this part of the Country is better peopled than that we had previously passed; about midway halted on the Bank of a River where was a temporary small Bungalo which appeared recently made, near this was a Village which from the number of Inhabitants who appeared must have been of some extent, so guarded have the Candians been in bringing Us thro' the Country that this is the first Village We have been able to cast Eyes upon.* From hence to Nullunda† the road was for the most part stony with a descent very perceptible throughout the day, numbers of Inhabitants were met at different times both young and old which indicated Villages being adjacent thereto, within about half a Mile of the conclusion of this days Journey, intimation was given by an avant Courier that three people of considerable distinction were expecting our arrival, that out of respect to the Court to which we were advancing and the dignity annexed to the Persons we were about to meet, 'twas necessary for the Ambassador to alight from his Palankeen, which being acceded to, Notice was given thereof when we proceeded

* Probably Monaruwela. (Monaruwila is many miles away: the village referred to is Nayakumbura.—*Ed.*)

† Nálanda.

and pass'd on the right a range of Wall Pieces and about 200 people drawn up with standards, Pikes, firelocks, &c. when We had advanced about 300 paces the approach of the three great personages was announced by the noise of Tom Toms and other Native Instruments of Music, nor had this continued long before a Messenger arrived desiring that our Armed Party might be arranged, and that such Military Music as accompanied Us might commence playing, on which the Party was regularly drawn up and advanced with the Music of a Drum and Fife; in a few Minutes the two Parties met, when after Compliments having passed on both sides We proceeded to the Bungalo prepared for our reception, and by express desire of the Candia Ministers in the following manner—myself holding the hand of the principal Man said to be Nephew to the prime Minister,* Mr. Kingston holding the hand of

* This was "Denagomuwe Disawa", whose name was Arawawala Wikramasinha Wijayawardana Navaratna Rajapaksa Wahala Mudiyanse, and who was Disawa of Uda Palata. Sir A. Lawrie says: "I have not been able to identify and put in his proper place Denagomuwa Disawa, who, I believe, was a member of the Dodanwela family. He was a trusted servant of the king, and in 1795 was sent on an embassy to India with Mr. Andrews; afterwards he was put to death by the King of Kandy. He was nearly related to Erawwawela Adigar, who was put to death at the same time." (*Gazetteer*, Vol. I., p. 173). But in his notice of Arawawala Adigar, he gives the Disawa's full name as above, and adds: "The Disawa was sent on an embassy to India. His wife was the mother of Dodanwela Ratemahatmaya." This settles the question of his identity; he did not belong to the Dodanwela family, but to that of Arawawala, though he was connected with the former. His uncle was Second Adigar and Pilima Talawwe was First Adigar, and it was Pilima Talawwe and not the King (Sri Wikrama Raja Sinha) who, "in 1798 or 1799" had him beheaded. "The King did not hear of it for several years, and when Pilima Talawwe rebelled, the king said: 'If one Maha Nilame can behead another, surely I can behead a Maha Nilame.'" *Lawrie*, I., p. 227).

In his 'Life of Ehelapola', Mr. T. B. Pohath Kehelpannala, apparently quoting tradition, gives the following particulars of the execution of uncle and nephew. "When the disastrous news was brought to Arawwawela, he was strolling up and down his garden. On hearing it, he was greatly perturbed and sought his room, when he seized a silver chunam box and twisted the chain nervously round his fingers. Then he asked his Mohattala (Private Secretary) to call for his nephew, Denegomuwe Disawa. The young man was at the time confined to his room, slightly indisposed. The messenger returned saying that the Disawa was just

the 2d. in rank, the third left to take care of himself, on arriving at the Bungalo we immediately entered the distinct apartment where the presents were lodged when a conversation commenced by the Candian Minister, expressing his hopes that I had not suffered by the Journey: He then made distinct and separate enquiries after the health of the Governor, the Council, the Admiral, and Navy, and the Commander and Army at Trincomala, which being replied to, a return of Compliment was made by similar enquiries after the health of their King, Ministers, Generals, &c., and their respective healths after having advanced three days Journey to Meet Us, Each Party being satisfied as to the above Particulars we then withdrew to an adjacent apartment where seats being prepared we took our places as apparently designed opposite each other when a number of questions were put by the principal Man as to the means adopted for the capture of Trincomala the number of Troops and people brought to the Island on what number of Ships they were conveyed and how many great and principal Officers were employed in its reduction, being satisfied on these points he then pro-

then taking his medicinal decoction. 'A bitter decoction is prepared for us at the esplanade at Gannorutenne, . . . rejoined the Adigar and lost no time in going out to meet his fate. With a mighty courage Arawwawela tucked his cloth up, tied his hair in a knot at the top of his head, and presenting the executioner (*Ganrekuwala*, as he was called) with the silver box, asked him to cut him down with a single stroke, so that his struggles might be as brief as possible.' (p. 10, note) The regular place of execution was at Gannoruwa, on the site of the Government Agricultural Experiments Station. The same writer states that the First Adigar 'had the audacity to persuade the authorities into the belief that the death mandate proceeded from the Court, while in reality the king knew nothing about it at all.' Whether the king was equally ignorant of the fate of the Disáwa, Andrews' friend, and the trusted servant of the king's (*Rájádhi Rajasinha*) predecessor, history does not relate. Sir Archibald Lawrie states that Arawwawela was dismissed from his office by the king because he put people in possession of some lands without the king's orders. (*Gazetteer*, Vol. I., p. 227.)

(On an *ola Sittu* of Śaka 1719 (A.D. 1797/8) Denagomuwe's names are given as *Rájakaruná Navaratna Chintámaṇi Mudiyaṇsé*. In 1797 he was Disáwa of Wellassa and Uḍapaláta and Gajanáyaka Nilamé, and in 1798 Disáwa of Uva and Gajanáyaka Nilamé.—*Ed.*)

ceeded to question me on the rank I bore in the Company's Service, also that of Lieutenant Kingston, and the Native Servants who appeared employed about me, to this as propriety and policy prompted, he was informed that I considered myself as Ambassador and Minister from a great and powerful Nation sent to transact business with His Majesty of Candia which might tend to the Mutual Interests of both Parties and of equal Dignity with any Person whom His Majesty of Candia could employ in promoting our mutual welfare, the question was put so pointedly that I am led to hope the reply altho' not a little exaggerated as to my real situation may tend to a degree of attention and alacrity in business which I might otherwise not have experienced—I then informed them that with respect to the rank of Lieutenant Kingston it was such in the Army as entitled him to the command of any number of Troops the Company might choose to put under his charge, that on the present occasion he came as a friend of mine with a wish also of passing thro' a Country in possession of so great a King which accepting the present Command gave him an opportunity of doing, after having satisfied his curiosity as to the rank and situation of the Native Interpreter, &c., he then proposed our parting for the Evening, but previous it was necessary to pay a compliment to the Presents for his Majesty* which was performed by the Drum and Fife playing a Tune in Front of the Apartment where the Presents were lodged accompanied with different Instruments of Native Music which being ended in about half an hour we handed them back as before described for about 300 yards from the Bungalo when by desire as a token of Amity and Adieu

* "The two persons who had been appointed to take care of us made an early visit, not however to me, but to the presents which I had brought, and were deposited in a building for the purpose, in the centre of the inner square. . . . the morning passed without any communication, more than a message about health, etc., from our two first inspectors, and a visit from them, as before, to the presents." (Boyd, pp. 196, 202.)

We took the two hands of each within ours giving them an hearty shake (or rather they giving Us one to shew what was to be done in future) one after the other as you would to an intimate friend. The Compliment above described was desired to be repeated every Morning and Evening I consider this days march as the longest and most fatiguing yet experienced, the distance I compute to be nineteen Miles, Our Rear Guard did not get to the Ground before midnight, and were interrupted several times by droves of Elephants which obliged them from time to time to fire a Musket to deter their too near approach.

21st September, 1795.

From the fatigue of the preceding days march the baggage and followers also having come up so late, halted. At dawn of day the Presents for His Majesty of Candia were complimented by the Drum and Fife [playing] the *Revelly* in front of the apartment where they were lodged, to this succeeded a clattering of the Ministers Tom Toms &c. for about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour. To avoid as much as possible, the noise and buz occasioned by the Seapoys and followers in the Bungalo We had a Tent pitched for ourselves at some distance where about daylight we were roused by the snorting of a Wild Elephant which crossed the road close to our Tent. About 10 A:M: it was announced that the Minister and his suite were about to pay their respects to the Presents, and that it was necessary I should meet him at some little distance from the Bungalo, agreeable to his desire I proceeded with a Party of Seapoys marching in front the Drum and Fife playing when having met him about 300 Yards from the Bungalo we went thro' the necessary salutations as before described, and then proceeded with the same form as heretofore to the Apartment of the Presents, which is about 3 Yards long and two broad, where being arrived the usual enquiries after the health of each other took place which was

followed by various questions as to the treatment I had experienced on the road from the subjects of his Majesty. I took this opportunity of expressing to *the Minister's Nephew* the satisfaction I felt at the attention which was paid to the English Embassy which I thought indicated that His Masters Sentiments were such as to ensure hereafter a lasting and permanent friendship between him and the English, he however evaded expressing his Sentiments on the Subject and entered only into some trivial conversation 'til some pretence occurring for detaching his two Companions he embraced the Moment to make known that for some time past great differences had subsisted in the Court of Candia, that one of the Prime Ministers his Uncle, warmly espoused the English Interests, that the other also was in some degree favorable, and himself sincerely interested in establishing a lasting friendship between the two Nations, that his immediate Situation as Treasurer and Governor of the extensive Province we had passed thro'* gave him great influence and that altho' I might experience some difficulties at the commencement of our negociations he assured me that every thing would be happily concluded, He also informed me that his instructions were to have proceeded to Trincomala in order to facilitate my journey, and that a Letter had been written to the Government of Madras expressive of the King of Candia's wishes to cultivate the friendship of the English and beg'd to know if such Letter had been received previous to my quitting the Presidency. The above piece of Information gave me the most favorable hopes and

* Tamankađuwa, from which it appears that he was Disáwa of Tamankađuwa at this time.

There seems to be some confusion here on the part of Andrews or his interpreter. It was of his uncle and not of himself that Denagomuwe Disáwa was speaking when he talked of "his immediate situation as Treasurer and Governor of the extensive province we had passed through" for it was Arawwáwala Adigar and not himself who was Disáwa of Mátalé and Tamankađuwa at this time. Arawwáwala held this office in addition to the Second Adigarship, which perhaps included that of "Treasurer".

evinced his sincerity by making such a material circumstance known. His Companions now returned and after conversing for near two hours on different frivolous subjects in this small Apartment within which we were ten or Eleven in number, I proposed retiring to some more spacious part of the Bungalo but was told that so long as we were *conversing on matters which related to His Majesty* it was necessary We should stand,* nor was it under another half hour that the subject of conversation was considered such as to admit of our occupying that part of the Bungalo which had been prepared with seats for more easy accommodation than that experienced in the public Hall of Audience. Having some consideration for the fatigue which the Native public Servants had undergone, I proposed that as We had now retired to converse in a friendly and private way a carpet should be spread on the floor where the Interpreter, &c., should be permitted to sit, on this point a conversation of some length took place wherein I was opposed on the plea that as his Interpreter could not by the rules of the Court be permitted to sit down neither could mine. By the same rule finding it in vain to urge the point further I turned the conversation by questioning the Minister as to whether he had Hircarrahs on the road between Candia and Jafnapatnam as I expected he would soon hear of the capture of that place,† being answered in the affirmative I was then desired to furnish a List of my suite, describing their rank and situation from first to last, this being promised we parted with the same fuss and form annexed as on former occasions. In the Evening as the principal Minister did not pay his respects to the Presents I was

* "Upon my desiring him to sit down, he begged to be excused, having something to say to me in the name of the King, and I find no one is allowed to transact any affairs, or discourse upon any business in his name, sitting, without his particular leave." (Account of Mr. Pybus' Mission to the King of Kandy in 1762, p. 58.)

† Jaffna capitulated on 28th September.

informed that my attendance would be dispensed with but that Lieutenant Kingston was requested to escort the two next in distinction that they might pay their devoirs as custom prescribed. I also received a Message from the Ministers Nephew desiring my Interpreter might be sent to his place of temporary abode having some circumstances to communicate which would tend to promote the good of our cause; on the return of the Interpreter late at night he informed me that the Ministers Nephew after recapitulating the substance of our mornings conversation proposed that I should pass an Agreement or Cowle to his Uncle, of such a tenor as would induce him to espouse the business I was sent upon with confidence and alacrity. I informed him that I conceived the Interest of his Master the King of Candia was sufficiently concerned to prompt him to a speedy conclusion of any treaty which would tend to relieve him from the oppression and injustice under which he had so long labored: and that the most effectual means he could take would be relinquishing his connexion with the Dutch and entering into a firm and lasting alliance with the English, that if he deemed these Motives not sufficient to act upon I begged he would furnish me with a rough draft of such agreement as he wished I should pass; In consequence of the above prior to our March on the 22d. I was furnished with the following Agreement which he proposed I should sign to and send off to his Uncle.

TRANSLATION of a strong and Eternal Malabar Agreement Dated 10th. Poorattaucy* of Ratchata† Year Answering to 23d. September, 1795.

I Robert Andrews Esqr. Ambassador from the Honble. Company and sent by the Right Honble. Lord Hobart who extends his Authority over Madraspatam and

* ལྔམའི་ལྷན་ཁྲིམས་, *Puraddási* = Sept. 14 to Oct. 13.

† *Rákshasa* = 1795 (Śaka 1717 = A.D. 1795/6.—*Ed.*)

its dependencies do give this strong and Eternal Agreement to Woodacumboya Adegaura Ninar. That is to say Whatever Letters from this day you send and whatever Messages you send and also whatever Verbal Speeches you may make face to face to the Honble. Company they shall prefer and accept them but never accept them from the other Minister and Members or any other persons of Distinction nor any Messages from the Island of Ceylon to the Honble. Company they shall never agree to it altho' they shall be given many Lacks of Pagodas the Honble. Company do hereby engage to continue according to the above Agreement not only in your time but also in your succeeding *bloody* Generations time,* and also as long as their Colours exist on Earth Notwithstanding the above from this day in course of the continuation of our friendship in case there should be any difference or dissatisfaction by understanding or by misunderstanding On either side there shall be no occasion to take it the least amiss. Thus I have given you this strong and Eternal Agreement in the Name of a great God and with my free will and consent. This strong and Eternal Agreement was drawn by Robert Andrews's own Hand Writing.—

WITNESSES.

Judging myself unauthorized to enter into any private agreements of such a nature as promised the succession of his heirs to the situation of prime Minister, and apprehensive I might justly incur the displeasure of the King of Candia should it be known I was entering into correspondence with his Minister before I was publicly acknowledged as Ambassador at his Court I acquainted the Ministers Nephew that prior to my entering into any such engagement as he proposed, that I must receive in writing from his Uncle the strongest assurances

* This is not coarse language, but I suppose means generations of the same lineage or stock.

of his Services hereafter being constantly exerted in promoting the mutual Interest of his Master and the English Company; this he acceded to, and begged I would draw out a Paper of such a nature as I wished to which he would obtain his Uncle's signature and deliver it previous to receiving any agreement from me should the one he had proposed be objectionable he begged I would make out another which should be submitted to the consideration of his Uncle; wishing to protract the execution of a business I considered both impolitic and improper yet anxious to preserve the confidence and friendship of the Minister and his Nephew I framed the two following agreements for their consideration intimating that I could wish a personal interview with his Uncle prior to the signature of either party being affixed to the different papers.

Agreement given by Navaruttana Veeravickarama Woodacomboya Autecaura Ninar The First Minister* to Robert Andrews Esqre. Ambassador to the Court of Candia on the part of the Honble. East India Company which is as follows That from a wish to establish a permanent and lasting friendship between the Kingdom of Candia and the Honble. Company my faithful and utmost exertions shall from this time be constantly employed to promote the same, nor will I hereafter on any account listen to the advice or opinion of any which does not tend to fix and increase the before-mentioned desireable purposes, and further in consequence of the friendly assurances and agreement passed to me by the beforenamed

* "First Minister" must be used merely as the equivalent of "Prime Minister", for Arawwāwala was Second and not First Adigar. Both Andrews and the writer of the diary of the embassy of 1796 speak of either Adigar indifferently as "Prime Minister" Navaratna is one of the names of the Galagoda and Denagomuwe families. Arawwāwala Adigar married a Galagoda lady. "Woodacomboya" is an attempt to write "Udagampaha," which was the title of the Second Adigar. The name "Veeravickarama" (Wīrawikrama) has not hitherto been met with among those of Kandyan chiefs of the time. "Ninar" may be an attempt at a Tamil honorific.

Robert Andrews Esqre. I shall consider myself and descendants ever bound to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Honble. Company as well as that of the Kingdom of Candia.

22d September, 1795.

I Robert Andrews Esqre. Ambassador on the part of the Honble. Company sent by the Right Honble. Lord Hobart Governor of Madras and its Dependencies do pass this strong and lasting Agreement to Woodacumboya Adegaura Ninar—Which is as follows; That from this day whatever Letters you may Write, whatever messages you may send and also whatever conversations may pass between Us on the present or future public business shall be preferred and attended to, as long as they promote the welfare of our two Kingdoms, nor will I ever accept or listen to the advice of any other Minister or people of Distinction on the Island of Ceylon which is not for the benefit of both Parties; The above shall not only stand in force during your time, but also during the time of your descendants as long as the Honble. Companys Colours fly—And further from this day during the continuance of our friendship should any trifling differences arise they shall always be speedily and amicably adjusted. This being the moment for you to secure the friendship of the Company to you and your heirs for ever. I herewith have affixed my hand and seal that the same may for ever stand in full force and virtue.

22d September. 1795.

It was announced about 8 A:M: We were to proceed on our Journey,* but that prior thereto it was necessary the Letter for His Majesty (which as yet I had kept in my writing Box) should be deposited with the Presents,

* Pybus stopped only one night at Nálанда, Boyd was delayed there for thirteen owing to Kandyan procrastination. He had a much worse time than his predecessor and his successor in the rôle of ambassador to the Kandyan Court, owing to this and to scarcity of provisions for himself and his suite, sepoy, and coolies, due chiefly to the bad times.

in doing which some ceremonies were annexed, the performance of which it was hoped I would not object to.* Having promised to accede to their usual Customs, on my producing the Letter a large Silver Salver was brought forth whereon two or three pieces of White Cloth were placed in which the Letter was to be folded up this being done and carefully sealed by me in different parts (as by desire) it was deposited on the Salver and then first having spread over it a painted hankerchief a rich piece of Silk was laid thereon, above which a square piece of gold and Silver rich brocadé with a tassle at each corner adorned the whole a superb canopy was next brought supported by four of his Majesty's Yeomen which being held over the Salver decorated as before described, I was desired to place it on my head and proceed with it a few paces from the apartment which agreeable office being performed apparently much to their Satisfaction I was

* "Behind these came the letters or papers of the Company, which were steadily escorted under a canopy by men of four races, the letters themselves being carried by a patrician of their people, bearing them on a silver tray on his head." This tray was "specially made for them." (Heydt.)

"I then desired they would acquaint me whether any, and what ceremony was to be observed in carrying this letter, which readily consenting to, they conducted me into the room where the letter was lodged, and producing a silver salver which they had brought with them for the purpose, covered with two or three pieces of fine muslin, they desired that I would deliver them the letter, which having done, they laid it upon the muslin, covering it again with as many folds more, and over all a square piece of silver tissue, with large silver tassels at each corner, and then delivered the dish into my hands, which, by their directions, I carried out a few steps from the room, white cloth being spread on the ground as far as I was to walk with it, holding it a little above my head, where a person received it from me and placed it upon his head, two people holding a canopy over it made of China silks, such as are used by the Moors." (Pybus, p. 71.)

"I had unlocked the box in which the letters were contained and delivered them to the old general, who folded them very carefully in muslin, and then laid them on a large silver salver, spreading a rich piece of gold brocaded silk over them, and covering the whole with fine white cloth. He then gave me the salver to hold with both my hands above my head, and in that attitude I was to march with it out of our little temple; I then gave it to the person appointed to carry it to Candy, and I was very glad to get a business of so much weight off my hands, for it was really very heavy." (Boyd, p. 208.)

desired to deliver it over to those who were to be the bearers of it during the days march. The Presents preceding the Salver were carried in the centre of the Seapoy Company with the Canopy supported over it accompanied by the noise of various native musical Instruments with an occasional interlude of our Drum and Fife and hundreds of the Natives bearing Flags, Pikes, Firelocks, &c. In the above order we proceeded the whole days journey and as matter of favor Mr. Kingston the Native Interpreter and myself were permitted to travel in our Doolies* but desired to keep some distance in the rear of

* They must have been palanquins without arched tops. "The General did me the honor of a visit. . . . it was to acquaint me that as an arched bamboo to a pallankeen was not allowed to any but the King, he was under the necessity of desiring me to take off mine, and offering to furnish me with a straight one, which he had brought with him, for tomorrow's journey" (Pybus, p. 59). This was at Nálände. It was not proposed at first to let Boyd off so easily. The King's people wanted to make him walk, and by a roundabout route, from Nálända to Kandy. "It being a place of particular estimation and consequence, it was the custom, and would be expected as a proper compliment that I should alight from my palankeen, and walk the rest of the way." But he objected on the ground of his fatigue and the heat, and was allowed to use his palanquin or to ride as far as Gannoruwa. "But no one is allowed to ride near Candy, because it is in this country a kingly custom, which no subject is permitted to enjoy, except as a special favour from the King." He promised to comply with the custom of walking to Kandy from the other side of the river, but being extremely weak and fatigued "requested the indulgence of a dooley. But all that I could urge to obtain it was in vain: they said it was contrary to custom and inadmissible. . . . there could be nothing more important than the customs of their country, and the respect due to their court; that ambassadors who could not walk to Candy, must remain at Gunnoor; and that one from Goa, on behalf of the Portugueze, had actually been detained there, on that account, five or six weeks." He explains further: "On the Candy side of the river, the King has the sole privilege of being carried in any manner, horseback or palankeen, and on the other side, from Nallendy-Caravery. . . . no one is allowed to travel in a covered dooley," which was exactly the experience that Pybus had. In the end the King "consented to dispense even with the sacredness of custom in my favour, and allow me the indulgence of a dooley, to a certain distance, about a mile from Candy." (Boyd, pp. 195, 198, 207.) Pybus had to walk from Gannoruwa, but on his return after he had walked a mile and a half or two miles, was permitted to get into his "pallankeen," or rather dooley. (In this way Pybus distinguishes between the කුනාම (kúnama) or royal palanquin with arched top and the දොලාම (dóláwa) or canvas palanquin. He too was told that "nobody but the King was ever allowed to be carried in a dooley, on the Candia side of the river." (Pybus, pp. 72, 81, 84.)

the procession, that all others who had before made use of Doolies must henceforward walk, and that two people of respectability should be placed near and attend to the safe guard of the Salver and its contents, in consequence my two Native Writers were appointed to the performance of this Service. On arriving at our Journeys end I underwent the same agreeable task of receiving the Salver and lodging it in the apartment prepared for its reception when after going thro' the usual musical ceremony we took leave of each other for the night. Our March about 15 Miles was continued thro' a Valley on either side of which was seen spots of Ground cultivated with Paddy and other grain; we passed several Villages both to the right and left which I conclude were well inhabited from the number of people who appeared on all sides to gaze at our procession; frequent and heavy showers during the day, which occasioned the Inhabitants to make use of an Umbrella formed by dividing a large species of Palmira leaf, hardly a native of the Country but appeared with one of these convenient screens which from their nature fold up into small compass and are carried under the arm.*

23d September, 1795.

About 8 A:M: received Information it was His Majesty's pleasure that we should not proceed on our journey until the next day, which obliged Us to recall a few sick Seapoys with part of our baggage who had proceeded early in the morning in order to gain time and admit of their marching more leisurely. As usual went thro' the ceremony Morning and Evening of paying our devotions to the Letter and presents wading mid-leg thro' mud and dirt it having rained more or less hardly without intermission during the last twenty four hours.

* He must have halted for the night somewhere near Mátalé, probably like Pybus at Hulangomuwa, "three quarters of a mile W. by S. of the Government House at Matale." (Pybus, p. 63.) Boyd stopped at "Allwalay", a place I cannot identify, but seemingly 3 miles nearer Kandy. (Elwala, *Ed.*)

24th September, 1795.

Having obtained the permission of Majesty to proceed on our journey, about 10 A:M: after performing our Mornings ceremony, which occupied nearly two hours We set forth in procession as before described about half our march was thro' the termination of the Valley already mentioned intersected with several rapid streams or rather small Rivers over most of which temporary bridges had been thrown for the convenience of our crossing We next ascended a stupendous and almost perpendicular mountain, the road leading round the outside, and that so badly made as to render it impossible to benefit by the indulgence of our *Doolies* (not being permitted to style them Palankeens as Majesty only could ride in one of that description) the distance to the Summit of this Ghaut or pass* is computed two Miles which we gained with much difficulty and danger, the rain having made the road; (or rather foot path) exceedingly slippery in many parts of the ascent had any person fallen his death in all probability would be the consequence as he instantly would have been precipitated into an abyss the bottom of which was not perceptible: attaining the summit opened to our view one of the most beautiful tracks of Country ever beheld Downs covered with the richest verdure and clumps of Trees dispersed in the most luxuriant state of vegetation the sides in an highest state of cultivation so formed as to give them the appearance of a flight of Steps; this was done in order to reserve a certain quantity of Water on the ground necessary for the growth of Paddy and at the same time to admit of the surplus running off to streams which took their winding course between this beautiful range of Hills the Vales of which were highly cultivated; the mode above described for cultivation was generally adopted throughout the country we passed where the natural level of the ground would not admit a

* The Balakaduwa Pass.

sufficiency of Water to lodge necessary for the cultivation of Paddy. The road which was merely a foot path along the sides of these Downs was rendered very disagreeable by the constant showers of rain which fell during the day. Arrived at our halting place called Horseputtoo* at 5 in the evening a distance about 14 Miles where we found a Bungalo of greater extent and more commodious than the former ones which induced his Majestys Ministers to urge our residing therein intimating their apprehensions that the accommodations prepared were not sufficiently convenient—assuring them to the contrary and wishing to do away any idea which they might entertain of our holding their attention in contempt we resided most of the day in that part of the Bungalo appropriated for our use but the same inconvenience of noise and confusion from the mixture of people still continuing, We had a Tent pitched at some little distance to which we retired at night: during this days Journey which was to Horseputtoo we found the Cinnamon Tree and round Pepper plant growing wild on either side the road.

25th September, 1795.

Received no intimation of what was his Majesty's pleasure until 10 A:M: when information was given that his directions were, we should proceed on our Journey—this intimation was followed by the arrival of his ministerial men when after going thro' the prescribed ceremonies our march began a little before 12 which was attended this day with more difficulties, than can possibly be described; it commenced with our ascending a very lofty and Steep Mountain which tho' not so rocky as the one we crossed Yesterday was rendered more difficult and fatiguing by the rain which made it not only very slip-

* Hárispattu. By this name doubtless is meant Alawatugoda the first village met with in the division of Hárispattu. There is no village of this name. So Pybus calls it "Hawseput" and Boyd "Osspoot". Andrews gets nearer to Knox's "Horsepot."

perly but very deep; instead of being gratified as before on attaining the summit, we found only in appearance an endless succession of these Mountains which indeed we had soon proof of as our march during the whole day was ascending and descending these stupendous Hills which reared themselves as if designed by nature to oppose our progress to the presence of so great and august a Majesty as in this part of the World the King of Candia is considered—on our left for many Miles was a rapid river* of some breadth which took its course to the northward in particular parts over rocks and precipices which occasioned its fall to be heard at least the distance of a Mile which as we approached appeared both grand and beautiful. We cou'd perceive the skirts of these Hills and the Vales between to be richly adorned by the luxuriant growth of various sorts of Grain, principally Paddy, which afforded a pleasing and striking contrast to the rude and craggy Mountains we were then ascending; Our march was terminated at the Bottom of one of these Mountains between five and six in the Evening at a place called Gonavia† which tho' not above ten miles distant from our last halting place was thus prolonged by the difficulties we encountered. Here we found a very spacious and permanent Bungalo of similar form to those already described much better fitted up than any we had yet seen, and sufficiently accommodated with offices to make us relinquish the idea of occupying our Tents altho' with some difficulty I induced his Majesty's Ministers to admit of their being pitched should I think proper so to do. At some small distance from the Bungalo we were met by our ministerial travelling friend who informed Us that two people from the Capital of greater Distinction

* The Mahaweliganga.

† He means Gannóruwa. The v may be a mistake for r. Pybus and all other ambassadors stopped here but he does not give its name. Heydt makes it "Cananor", Boyd "Gunnoor", and says it is 18 miles from "Osspoot", whereas Andrews says "not above ten miles".

than himself were waiting our approach accordingly as We advanced we perceived these great personages richly clad according to the fashion of their Country attended by many Elephants and other marks of Native Dignity after the salutation of taking off our Hats and shaking them by the hand we proceeded to the Bungalo where performing the usual ceremonies in Depositing the Letter and Presents a similar train of question and answer followed as described on our first meeting with others from the Court, this being ended they retired promising to repeat their visit the next day We here met with the Coffee plant growing luxuriantly and wild.

26th September, 1795.

About 10 in the morning a deputation from the Court was announced who made the usual enquiries as to the care which was taken of the Letter and ourselves who after performing the prescribed ceremonies took leave, the (sic) Evening I received intimation that two of His Majesty's confidential people* would wait upon me to converse on business of importance about 5 O'clock they

* Doubtless, though with an annoying want of precision, Andrews does not expressly say, the two chiefs who had met him the day before. These were the Disáwa of Four Korales and Sabaragamuwa, who are designated as parties to the draft treaty subsequently drawn up. (*Vide infra.*) The identity of the former I have been unable to ascertain, but it is stated by the diarist of the second embassy that he was a first cousin of the Prime Minister, *i.e.*, as I take it, Arawwáwala, but possibly Pilama Talawwé, a fact which may enable some Kandyan member of the Society to settle it. The Disáwa of Sabaragamuwa was Migastenné, junior, who returned with Andrews to Madras as an ambassador with Denagomuwé, Disáwa of Tamankaduwa and subsequently of Uda Paláta, to the Government of Fort St. George. (See Diary of second Embassy.) He was styled "Amunugama Abayakón Wáhala Paṇḍita Mudiyaṇsé." He was appointed Disáwa of Seven Korales (in addition to Sabaragamuwa) and Adigar "soon after the last king came to the throne, in 1798. For some time the whole power was in the hands of him and Pilima Talawwa. He married a sister of Ehelapola Adigar; he divorced her. He died in Kandy about 1808, leaving no children." (*Lawrie's Gazetteer*, Vol. I., p. 49.)

Lieutenant Mahony conceived as violent a dislike of the personality of Migastenné as he did an appreciation of the character of Denagomuwé Disáwa of Uda Paláta (See Journal of the 1796 embassy.)

arrived attended by the Ministers Nephew and their Interpreter after the accustomed Ceremonies and Compliments were passed they requested that no people might remain within hearing who were not confidentially employed in public business; by my desire therefore every one retired except the Native Interpreter and they were as particular in obliging all their attendants to withdraw except the Ministers Nephew and their Interpreter. Matters thus arranged they commenced a conversation by desiring to know where I was born of what country I considered myself and how long I had been in the Company's Service having satisfied them on these points they next proceeded to question me as to when I left Madras by whose Authority I had done so and what was the business which brought me to Candia; fully persuaded that these circumstances they must be already acquainted with from the receipt of the Government Letter which Colonel Stuart had forwarded and the correspondence which had passed from Trincomala I took the liberty of saying that I conceived these questions were put merely with a view to retard our entering upon more serious matter and that as so much time was taken up by holding conversation thro' our different Interpreters we ought immediately to discuss the several points contained in the Letter from the Right Honble. Governor but that in strict propriety I ought to be allowed an opportunity of delivering the Letter at present under my charge when I should hope his Majesty would point out the particular Ministers with whom I was to transact the business I was sent upon. To this I was informed that as they were sent expressly from the King to make themselves acquainted with the business I came upon; the delivery of the Letter prior to such communication was quite unnecessary and requested to know if there were any matters contained in the Letter I had to deliver which were not set forth in the one already received. Totally ignorant of the quality of the

people I was conversing with or by what authority they acted; having only their bare assertion for either, I again urged the propriety of first delivering the Letter I had in charge seriously apprehending the displeasure of the King and his Ministers by making known that which it might perhaps be their intention to keep secret from those who were now seeking information. After an altercation of some length they brought it to a point by asserting that unless I immediately thought proper to make known to them the business I was upon, the letter I had in charge would not be received. I then in a decided manner informed them I did not think myself authorized to communicate the purport of my Embassy prior to an interview with his Majesty and should that not take place in a short period I hoped for permission to return to the Presidency that if they were acquainted with the contents of the Letter already received by his Majesty I was ready to converse on any points they might wish an explanation of. After some private discussion the conversation was renewed by their asking if it was the wish of Government to form an alliance with the King of Candia I informed them certainly yes and that I trusted that it would last for ever—they next wished to know what arrangements were likely to take place after succeeding in the capture of the different Settlements from the Dutch—to this I informed them that a great deal would depend upon the line of conduct which their King might pursue that the Company were not unacquainted with the oppressive and illegal proceedings of the Dutch towards their Sovereign therefore should they find themselves assisted with spirit and activity in accomplishing the task they had undertaken of driving his oppressors from the Island I had no doubt but the Company would afford his Majesty ample justice by the restitution of such places as had been illegally wrested from him that in order to ascertain so material a point it was necessary they should lay before

me all treaties and other documents which had hitherto passed between the Dutch and the Court of Candia which after being submitted to the Government of Madras would be a principal guide in their future conduct—taking memorandums of the latter part of our conversation they proposed breaking up the conference informing me they should make his Majesty acquainted with what had passed and that they would return the next day with such further instructions as they might receive. Being perfectly exhausted and fatigued I heartily acceded to their proposition having undergone this tedious and unprofitable harangue from 5 in the Evening 'til past midnight.

27th September, 1795.

I received an intimation from the Prime Minister that it being his intention to dispatch some Hircarrahs to Colonel Stuart if I wished to send my Letters they should be forwarded Availing myself of the opportunity which was presented wrote the following Letter to Government.
TO

THE RIGHT HONBLE. LORD HOBART

President and Governor, &c.

FORT ST. GEORGE.

MY LORD

I have the honor to inform you that leaving Trincomala on the 15th I arrived in Safety with the Escort allotted me on the banks of the Gunga within two Miles of Candia on the 25th Instant The Journey has been attended with great fatigue and inconvenience from the difficulty of the road and the heavy rains which have fallen during our march the latter part almost impracticable even for foot passengers The treatment We have experienced since entering the Dominions of Candia has been most friendly and attentive having erected spacious Bungaloes at the different Stages for the accommodation of the Party and furnishing an abundance of provisions daily to all ranks of people for which no compensation

would be received, This is to be attributed to the attachment which the Prime Minister professes towards the English and his Nephew under whose Jurisdiction the Provinces We passed thro' were;* There are those I learn in administration who espouse the Dutch cause but I trust the influence of the Prime Minister and his adherents, is such as to induce the King of Candia to enter cordially into the alliance which your Lordship has proposed nothing on my part shall be wanting to promote so desirable an end. Various are the forms and ceremonies which according to the customs of this Country I have already gone thro' and many more I am given to understand are yet to be executed previous to the delivery of the Letter. A detail thereof will be inserted in the Diary I shall have the honor of laying before your Lordship on my return to the Presidency—shall take the earliest opportunity after delivery of the Letter to inform your Lordship what measures are likely to be pursued and from time to time shall transmit such subjects for your Lordships information and consideration as hereafter may appear necessary.

I have the honor to be with respect
Your Lordships Most Obedient
Humble Servant

27th September, 1795.

On the Banks of the Gunga two Miles from Candia.

Either from the fatigue of the preceding nights debate or from some other motive was not honored with the promised visit, therefore had only to go thro' the prescribed ceremonies before the Letter, &c., accompanied by the Ministers Nephew.

28th September, 1795.

Not being yet relieved of my important charge the Letter and Presents were greeted as usual about 10 in the Morning the Deputies from his Majesty accompanied

* *i.e.*, Tamankaduwa.

as before by the Ministers Nephew and the Interpreter announced their approach who being received with the usual parade, &c., requested that the same secrecy might be observed as at our former meeting which being acceded to they produced the Government Letter which had been forwarded by Colonel Stuart apparently to do away any doubts I might entertain of their not being the public and confidential people they had represented themselves after discussing the different subjects of the Letter at some length and endeavouring to impress them with a just abhorrence of the destructive politics we were opposing I ventured to propose that his Majesty should immediately relinquish all connexion with the Dutch and enter into a firm and lasting alliance with the English that in order to fix it and avert a return of the sufferings they had so long labored under, some situation favorable for erecting Forts and Factories should be ceded to the Company for ever where such a body of Troops could be stationed as always to afford a ready assistance if required, that one of the most effectual means to cause the expulsion of the Dutch would be by with-holding the trade from its usual channel and hereafter carrying it on with the English whom they would find acted on a far more honorable and liberal scale than what they had been accustomed to experience, the deputies readily admitted the ill usage, particularly of late years, which they had suffered from the Dutch but that prior to embracing an alliance with the English it was necessary to capture the different settlements of the Dutch on the Island and to enter into most solemn engagements that neither by treaty or otherwise they should ever be permitted to re-establish themselves on Ceylon—that without this material point was effected they could only look forward to a temporary relief by any immediate connexion with the English; that the Dutch having broke thro' all Treaties and Agreements which had passed between them and the King of Candia; His

Majesty could wish to withdraw all further protection from them and would gladly make over the different settlements they had enjoyed to the English. I informed them that before the Company could accept such an offer however liberal, it was necessary by an inspection of the Treaties, &c., which had passed between them to ascertain that his Majesty was justly authorized to execute such a Proposal and that I conceived if his Majesty would but accede to what I had submitted for his consideration the Dutch would soon find the inutility of remaining in the Island. Here I was told that all enquiry was unnecessary that by the established custom of the Kingdom of Ceylon his Majesty's pleasure was a law which no one could dispute and that unless I could ensure and would pass Agreement that the Dutch should be totally expelled the Island and not permitted to return all attempts at further negociation were useless. After taking up much time in vain to convince them of the impossibility and inconsistency of my executing such an agreement it was with much difficulty I could prevail on them to take memorandum of the plans I had suggested with a promise of obtaining his Majestys opinion thereon—it being near five in the Evening the Deputies took their leaves.

29th September, 1795.

Received an early visit from the Nephew of the Prime Minister attended by many others of inferior quality from Court when after the accustomed ceremony before the Letter he informed me it was His Majesty's intention to receive it as to day that shortly Messengers would arrive to notify the same and direct the necessary preparations to be made prior to which if I had no objection he would afford me some private instruction as to the forms and manners to be observed in the delivery; expressing myself obliged by this mark of favor I acquainted him that anxious to submit to whatever were the forms and manners of the Court I should gladly receive any instruction

he might be induced to give. He immediately began to tutor not only myself but Lieutenant Kingston and the Native public Servants who were to be ushered into the awful presence of so august a King; the success with which we performed our task will be detailed hereafter. In the course of conversation I took an opportunity of signifying that as it was yet early I hoped our visit would be made during the day to this he informed me that on all former occasions the night had been adjudged the proper time* but that having before known my wishes on the subject his influence had been used with the Prime Minister for our preparations to commence thus early and trusted therefore our visit would be performed before sun set my anxiety I must own was great to witness the splendor and magnificence we were taught to expect in the broad face of day but in this I was disappointed as the sequel will shew. About 2 P:M: an avant courier proclaimed the near approach of many distinguished Personages who were to conduct Us to the presence Lieutenant Kingston and myself therefore lost no time in putting on our best apparel being soon equipped Lieutenant Kingston in his uniform myself in a plain Casimeere Coat we made our appearance before the great people when the Prime Minister's Nephew took an early opportunity of expressing his hope that We would comply with the wish of his Uncle by wearing the Cloathes which he had prepared for Us to appear in before Majesty, not approving

* All these audiences took place at night. Heydt does not expressly say that Agreen was received at night, but that this was so is clear from his allusion to the lamp-holders round the audience-hall, on which stood "small lamps made of clay which had to light up the whole chamber." Pybus left Gannoruwa at 7 p.m. and did not get back until half-past five next morning. Boyd says: "All their political operations, I found, were transacted at Candy by night, as I had experienced at Nallendy-Caravery," where he spent from half-past one a.m. to seven a.m. in an interview with two Disáwas sent by the King to meet him. For his first audience, he left Gannoruwa at 7 p.m. and arrived back about five o'clock in the morning.

As at the time of Heydt's visit, so at Pybus', the hall was "very badly illuminated", but when Boyd saw it, it was "well lighted by lamps attached to the pillars, and very large wax lights".

of the plain and unadorned style in which he then beheld Us; without further preamble he then uncovered two trays or flat baskets on which were displayed two very rich and brilliant suits of brocade made after a fashion in the European style and two very large cocked Hats adorned with broad gold lace. It can easily be imagined the figures we should have cut neither Hat or Cloathes probably adapted to our size but rather calculated to adorn some gross and corpulent Dutchman—finding I could by no means bring myself to a compliance with his wishes in this respect I informed him that had it been judged necessary to adopt the dress of the Country I should have had no hesitation in appearing therein—but that I could not admit of any European dress being more proper than an English one which we now appear'd in this reply which was given with some firmness evidently disconcerted him nor was it 'til his Interpreter assured him according to their superstitious notions that a change of dress now would be productive of some misfortune that his countenance resumed its usual serenity; about 4 O'clock every thing on both sides being prepared for the procession The Salver containing the Letter as before described was placed on my head and thus carried to the Outer door of the Bungalo from thence to the side of the Gunga River distance about 300 yards it was borne by one of my Native Writers and then given in charge to some of his Majesty's Yeomen who were the bearers of it to the Gates of the Palace. Having to cross the River which was not fordable and very rapid it was nearly eight before the whole Party was ferried over by five or six canoes collected together for the purpose. We then proceeded in the following order; Our Company of Seapoys formed a street in the centre of which was the Letter preceded by the different packages of Presents from the Government in front of them to the right and left were drawn up several hundred people with Flags Pikes Bows

and Arrows, Muskets, &c., and great variety of Native Music; thus arranged we marched with several of the Courtiers in front of the Letter and others in the rear; the distance from the river side to the Palace by the road we went I compute to be four Miles this our Native Servants of every description were made to walk Lieutenant Kingston and myself keeping some little distance in the rear of the procession were indulged with our Doolies for the first three Miles, in the road we passed several Barriers of no strength which appeared to be guarded by small parties of Malays; arriving at the end of a long and broad Street* which commences the Town of Nagree† we were made to alight from our Doolies and enter a small Choultry which had been prepared for our reception it was now $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine having been near two hours proceeding thus far; here we were told to remain 'til some of the principle people of the Court should come to escort Us to the Palace; being detained here near an hour we took the opportunity of refreshing ourselves with some things which had been brought by Us from the Bungalo and having gone thro' much mud and dirt at setting off I employed a moment in putting on clean shoes and stockings hoping to find the streets sufficiently dry to admit of my appearing cleanly at the Palace our escort arriving we proceeded on and were met at different stages by several gradations of Nobility richly dressed according to the fashion of their Country; but so far from finding the Streets clean or dry we had to walk ankle deep in the mud the whole way. From the Choultry where we halted they formed a Street with their Troops towards the Palace a motley Group of Malays, Coffres, Topasses and Chingalese and as we advanced we could perceive those troops whom we had passed move up in order to continue the Street to the

* Trincomalee Street.

† Nagree = Nuwara.

Gates of the royal residence; several of the principal people took occasion to mention that had I not pressed the visit thus early a greater body of troops would have been drawn together to do honor to the occasion, that those I saw were the constant attendants about the palace but I am led to think they had mustered every Firelock Pike, &c., that was in his Majesty's Dominions and such another undisciplined rabble I never beheld, their numbers were calculated at 2,000 from which I do not believe 100 serviceable firelocks could have been collected. Arriving at the Palace Gate We found a number of Elephants drawn up in front and a small body of Topasses, on passing the outer Gate we entered into a spacious square wherein we were desired to draw up the Companys Seapoys to form a street between the first and second Gate way, so soon as we were thus arranged the prime and 2d. Ministers descended some steps which led from the second Gate and after making many enquiries under the tumultuous noise of Tom Toms, &c., &c., as to the safe conduct of the Letter signified it was his Majesty's pleasure we should immediately proceed to deliver it. On which some of the Nobility took the Salver and putting it into my hands directed me to place it on my head this being done I was led after passing the second Gate thro' a long Gallery lined on either side by pikemen and Archers which was extremely well lighted up Lieutenant Kingston The Interpreter and the two Native Writers were the only part of the suite Admitted within the 2d. gate which was shut as soon as We passed it. Arriving at the end of the Gallery we were made to turn to the right and face an arch'd door way across which was drawn a Chintz curtain this was in a short time removed and discovered a second arch way about 30 paces from the first, here again any further view was obstructed by another curtain which being withdrawn shew'd only a third arch way and another curtain this in a short time being removed displayed

the Sovereign of Candia arrayed in all his glory seated on a Throne of solid Gold richly studded with precious Stones of various Colours a Crown of Massy Gold adorned his brows enriched with valuable and shining Gems the product of his native Sovereignty the moment he blazed upon our sight Lieutenant Kingston and myself (with the Salver on my head) were directed to kneel* while the Native Servants and the Courtiers who attended Us prostrated themselves on the ground and went thro' various gestures similar to those performed by Musselmen when praying with their face towards Mecca or the setting Sun—much was said and sung (I presume in praise of Majesty) by the Courtiers while prostrating themselves as above described—this being ended we were told to rise and then proceed within the Hall of Audience. This is

* Agreen and his suite knelt. Heydt says, "when he gives the Dutch ambassadors an audience, they must appear before him kneeling," but on the other hand Boyd states positively that the Dutch ambassadors to the Court of Candy were always obliged to submit to the ceremony of throwing themselves prostrate on the ground "until the conclusion of the last war between them when it was made a condition of the treaty of peace, that it should be laid aside in all their subsequent negotiations." Some time therefore between 1736 and 1765 it must have again been required from the Dutch envoys, as it was from Boyd. He remonstrated and it was given up "and the ceremony of the Knee, to which I assented, agreed on." Pybus on the other hand was only required to kneel, and he very foolishly "peremptorily refused" to comply, with the result that as soon as the curtain was drawn up, disclosing his Kandyan Majesty, he was, with a considerable loss of dignity, pulled down by the skirts of his coat and "forced to kneel upon one knee on the bare ground", and when he entered the hall of audience he was brought down upon both knees, though later he managed to recover one. He had strongly objected to "the ceremony of the Knee" as Boyd calls it, on the ground that he had not come on the same footing as the Dutch ambassadors, but at the King's special request for an English envoy. He wanted to be allowed to present the letter standing, but his representations were not even conveyed to the King. In consequence he was very much "out of humour" at the want of sufficient regard shown for his high mission, and he would have been more so if he had known the terms in which, twenty years later, it was referred to by the two Disawas sent to meet Boyd. "They said that his was a stolen and wandering sort of expedition, but they considered mine in a quite different and much higher light." Yet Boyd himself considered that Pybus had much more respect shown him than he himself had, and certainly, he was much better supplied with provisions and did not meet with so much vexatious delay en route.

a spacious Apartment its roof supported by Pillars covered with Cloths of purple dye with wreaths of muslin White twining round each Pillar to its capital—a colonade on either side was fully occupied by his Courtiers and other nobles of the land clad in apparel calculated to appear in at so great a Court a number of wax tapers placed in Silver sconces and advantageously disposed threw a splendid lustre on the scene. Advancing some short distance up the centre of the Hall we were again made to kneel and the same ceremony was repeated by the Natives as before described; again rising we advanced to the edge of a Carpet about 30 paces from the throne when being again brought on our knees a repetition of the Native performance was gone thro'; this concluded I advanced with the Salver on my head to the foot of the Throne where kneeling his Majesty was graciously pleased to take the Letter from the Salver of which burthen I was immediately relieved by one of his Courtiers: then rising as directed I made three respectful bows at the foot of Majesty. I was then made to walk backwards to the centre of the room where I found Lieutenant Kingston still kneeling. Taking the same position we were told to remain so until his Majesty's permission was obtained for our seating ourselves on the floor, this appeared rather a cruel injunction as the Natives were already seated on their heels according to the custom of the Court; however we lost no time in making the request, which nevertheless exceeded a quarter of an hour before it was complied with from the various channels it had to pass before it reach'd the royal ear; it was first made known from my Interpreter to the Malabar One of the Court, from him in the Chingalese language to one of the principal Courtiers who sat near me and from him to one of the principal Ministers who sat near the Throne after his Majesty's assent was obtained which was made known thro' the channel above described. I was about to relieve myself from the uneasy posture I had so long continued in

but was prevented from doing so by its being notified that as a mark of respect I must solicit his Majesty's further permission before I attempted to sit down—in conformity therefore to the rules of the Court I continued kneeling until my request was repeated and acquiesced in as before-mentioned not being permitted to sit with our legs across. We were made to adopt as far as the pliability of our limbs would admit the same position as the Courtiers around Us. His Majesty then commencing a conversation re-echoed thro' the channel already described it was whispered that no questions on my part were to be put until His Majesty was pleased to signify that he had finished his discourse which consisted of the following questions—As to the health of the Governor the Members of Council, the General and the Army, my own particular health and the care which had been taken of me since entering his Dominions, after giving distinct and separate answers to each question as they recurred it was notified that his Majesty had nothing further to say, and that for his condescension in making the above enquiries I should make him three respectful bows which I was admitted to do in the posture I was then sitting. It was then signified that had I any thing to say permission must be first solicited for so doing and that my conversation must not exceed enquiries after the health of Majesty and praying his gracious favour to accept of a few presents which had been sent by the Government of Madras: all matters beyond that were to be made known to the prime Ministers and thro' them to the King. Having received assurances of his Majesty's good state of health and his assent to receive the Presents, I was then told to retire and deliver the Packages to the Prime Ministers. We now retreated backwards out of the Hall kneeling three different times and going thro' all the ceremonies and fine sayings which had been performed in advancing. The Curtain was then drawn and we were handed without the 2d. Gate where

the Presents were delivered over to the Minister who sent them in, I presume for the inspection of Majesty—after being detained for about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour without the Gate we were told it was his Majesty's pleasure that we should return to the Hall of Audience and receive his thanks, accordingly we were ushered in precisely the same manner as on our first entré when being honored with his acknowledgements to Government he granted Us permission to retire, which was done in like manner as before described—after reaching the square where our Seapoys were drawn up we were informed that some refreshment had been prepared for Us in an adjoining apartment to which we were immediately directed—here we found Sugar cakes, plantains, Milk and Syrup—nor were they less attentive to our Seapoys and Native Suite who were regaled in a similar way—after remaining here some little time we commenced our return to the Bungalo which we effected about 7 O'clock in the morning of the 30th. The performance of this visit took up about fifteen hours.

The King from his appearance I consider to be about forty years of Age, a full face with the complexion of a Malay, not tall but a square athletic make, when seated in his royal robes he brought to my recollection the representation of Henry 8th.* his Crown exactly the form

* From the fact that he makes no reference anywhere to them, we may infer that Andrews had not read the diaries of his two predecessors who were sent by the same Government on similar missions, Pybus and Boyd, though they must have been accessible to him among the records of Fort St. George. If he had he could hardly have refrained, one would think, from remarking that Boyd was also struck with the likeness of King Rájádhi Rája Sinha to King Henry VIII. The following is his description.—“He is about thirty-six or thirty-seven of age, of a grand majestick appearance: a very large man, and very black, but of an open intelligent countenance as I found afterwards on a nearer approach. On the whole, his figure and attitude put me much in mind of our Harry the Eighth. He wore a large crown, which is a very important distinction from the other princes of the East.” (pp. 213-4.) Yet Andrews, thirteen years later, took the King for only forty years of age. It is curious to find Captain Percival, in his account of the embassy of General Macdowall in 1800, noting that King Wikrama Rája Sinha “much resembled the figures we are accustomed to see of King Henry VIII.” His description

of those in Europe, richly studded with precious Stones over his shoulders were plates of Gold from which were suspended Gems of different colours as a fringe. His Cloathes of rich Brocade with a fine White Muslin over part of the sleeves, a pair of tight long drawers with feet to them made of rich Bengal Kingcob* several Massy gold Chains round his neck and a rich breast plate set with valuable Jewels. The dress of the principal people of his Court resembles much the ancient style of Europe particulatly the upper part—having a sort of square bonnet generally made of scarlet Cloth, embroidered with Gold and a tassle on the Top a short jacket of

is.—“He was in appearance a young man, very black, with a light beard. He was by no means so portly or well looking as the Adigar and several other of the officers around him. He was dressed in a robe of very fine muslin embroidered with gold, fitted close to the breast with several folds drawn round the waist and flowing down from thence like a lady's gown. His arms were bare from the elbows downwards. On his fingers he wore a number of very broad rings set with precious stones of different sorts while a number of gold chains were suspended round his neck over a stiff frilled piece of muslin resembling a Queen Elizabeth's ruff. His head was covered with a turban of muslin spangled with gold and surmounted by a crown of gold, an ornament by which he is distinguished from all other Asiatic princes, who are prohibited by their religion from wearing this badge of royalty, and whose ornaments when they use any, consist simply of a sprig or feather of precious stones. His waist was encircled with a rich sash to which was suspended a short curved dagger or sabre, the handle richly ornamented and the scabbard of gold filagree work.”

There can be little doubt that it was not the personal appearance of these kings, the last of them a youth of twenty, so much as the semblance of corpulence and the quasi-mediæval or Tudor effect given them by the Kandyan dress and headdress, as well as the wearing of a very Western looking crown that reminded these three Englishmen of bluff King Hal. All the English diarists noticed and described the crown; and Boyd equally with Percival refers to the wearing of it as a unique distinction of the Kandyan monarch, so much so that the practice had provided him with an additional title: “The king who wears a crown.” (p. 214.) Kirti Sri, when Pybus saw him, “had upon his head a cap of scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, much in the form of an Armenian's cap, upon the top of which was a small crown set with precious stones.” (p. 77.) Naréन्द्रa Sinha also wore the scarlet cap but no crown. (Heydt.)

* “Kincob. (An English corruption of the Persian *kimkhwab*.) Cloth interwoven with gold or silver thread, brocade.” (Whitworth's *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*.)

brocade with large full sleeves drawn up above the elbow and round the neck a ruff of white muslin edged with lace much resembling those worn in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

VIJAYANAGAR AND CEYLON.

BY H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

In Valentyn's account of the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI., Englished by Mr. Donald Ferguson and reprinted by Mr. Edward W. Perera in this Journal (Vol. XXII., No. 63, pp. 36, 37), the order of events is as follows:

1. Coronation in A.B. 1958 expired.
2. Removal of the Court from Rayigama to Kótté, and the adoption by the king of the princes Sapumal Kumárayá and Kuḍá Kumárayá.
3. Birth of the princess Ulakuḍa Déví, which, according to the *Selaḷihini Sandeṣaya*, took place in the 36th year of the reign.
4. "Not long afterwards the emperor was very unexpectedly attacked by a large army that had been sent by the king of Canara to Ceylon with a numerous fleet, but the prince having speedily gathered together some troops defeated that mighty army, which act gave him a very formidable name throughout the whole East".
5. "Shortly afterwards" a royal ship laden with cinnamon was attacked in the Bay of "Driampatam", or Adrampet, a port in the Tanjore district, by "Rajam Malavaragam", whereupon the country of that ruler was "ravaged. . . with fire and sword". The Sinhalese troops then proceeded to "another territory, named Soliratta", and captured "the town of Mahacoelan Cottaja".
6. The insurrection of Jotiya Siṭánó in the hill country.

7. "Some years after", the reduction of the Vanniyárs.

8. The conquest of Jaffna by Sapumal Kumárayá.

Valentyn's account is clearly taken from a version of the *Rájávaliya* differing from our present version, in which the events appear thus:

1. Accession in A.B. 1944 expired.
2. Removal of the Court, as above, and appointment of Sapumal Kumárayá and "the young prince who was at Ambulugala" as ministers.
3. Conquest of Jaffna.
4. Attack on the king's ship by Víraráma of Yápapaṭuna *al.* Ayapaṭṭanama, pillage of the Soli country, and levy of tribute from Makuḍam Kóṭṭa in the same.
5. Revolt of the hill country.

The invasion by the king of Canara is absent.

If Valentyn is right, this event must have taken place shortly after A.D. 1444/5 or 1449/50, according as the regnal years are reckoned from A.B. 1953 or 1958: if these Buddhist years are expired, the date will be A.D. 1445/6 or 1450/1. The contemporary documents, however, seem to connect the invasion of India closely with the conquest of Jaffna, apparently early in the reign.

Thus in the *Girá Sandēṣaya* the army of Parákrama Báhu is said, after conquering Jaffna (v. 124), to have crossed the sea and taken Ráyanvalavaráya and Adivarámapaṭuna in the Chóla country (vv. 125, 126). In verse 132 the hostile king is described as *Kannadi niriñdu*, "the Canarese king".

In the *Kóvul Sandēṣaya* the messenger sent from Dondra to Sapumal Kumárayá at Jaffna is bidden in verse 236 to pass Jávakakóṭṭé, where this prince and the host of Parákrama Báhu crushed the Canarese foe. In verse 251 the Jaffnese enemy is described as "Kerala", which is rendered in the *sannaya* by "Karnáta".

Mr. E. W. Perera takes the defeat at Jávakakótté to refer to the Canarese invasion of Valentyn. But in this account there is no mention of Sapumal Kumárayá, the hero of the Jaffna exploit, at all, the “prince” clearly being the king himself. It seems more natural to refer the battle to the expedition against Jaffna, for Jávakakótté, according to the *Kovul Sandésaya*, was the next place on the road southwards from Kalmunai on the shore of the Jaffna lagoon, where resistance might be expected to an invader from the south.

Jaffna, according to tradition, was colonised by people from the Chóla and Pándya countries. Why then is Árya Chakrayarti’s army described as Canarese?

The Álampúndi plates* of Virúpáksha dated in Śaka 1305 (for 1307=A.D. 1385/6) state that “having conquered the kings of Tuṇḍira, Chóla and Pándya (and) the Simhaḷas, he presented crystals and other jewels to (his) father,” i.e., Harihara II. of Vijayanagar, who reigned c. A. D. 1379-1406. Further, Nuniz records that the king of Ceylon paid tribute to Dévaráya of Vijayanagar (c.A.D. 1422-1447), whose minister Lakkanna Daṇḍanáyaka went on a voyage to the frontier of the Island,† and an inscription dated in Śaka 1360 (A.D. 1438/9)‡ calls Dévaráya ஈழந்திறைகொண்ட “who levied taxes from Iḷam”, a *biruda* also employed by his successors.

The Vijayanagar empire had incorporated the Chólas by 1365, and about the same time the Pándyan country was occupied by Kampana II., nephew of Bukka Ráya. It therefore seems quite possible that the Árya Chakravartis of Jaffna were also tributary to the great power of the mainland. If this was the case, the expedition of Virúpáksha may perhaps be identical with Árya Chakravarti’s campaign in the Sinhalese country in the time of Bhuvanéka Báhu V., unless the *Rájávaliya* account is

*Ep. Ind. III., No. 32.

†Madras *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, 1916, p. 139.

‡*Ib.* 144 of 1916.

merely a misplaced version of the great Tamil attack recorded in the *Nikáya Saṅgrahava*, which took place apparently before A.B. 1912.

The maritime expedition of "the king of Canara" mentioned by Valentyn may just possibly be the same as the voyage of Dévaráya's Daṇḍanáyaka, but this is far from certain.

All that seems clear is that the Vijayanagar kingdom had dealings with Ceylon. If the kingdom of Jaffna was tributary to that power, and this may well be the meaning of Nuniz' statement and of the *biruda*, used first by Dévaráya, the name "Kannāḍi" in connection with Jaffna is explained.

SINHALESE COINS IN JAFFNA.

A pot filled with Sinhalese coins was dug up this month (October) in a land at Maḍḍuvil in Tenmarádchi at a depth of three and a half feet. The coins are little worn, and the lot brought to the Kachcheri consisted of 60 of Śri Rāja Lílávatī (1197-1200 A.D.), 105 of Srimat Sáhasa Malla (1200-1202 A.D.), 10 of Śri Dhammásóka (1208-1209 A.D.), all being copper *massa*. The mouth of the pot was found covered with a brick, but neither the pot nor the brick was of interest, and both were broken to pieces.

P. E. P.

DATE OF THE COMING OF THE BODHI TREE.

BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

In the course of a very interesting note on "The Nágas of Ceylon," Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gunasekara writes as follows in *Ceylon Notes and Queries* (Pt. VIII., p. 129):—

"The southern branch of the sacred Bo tree at Buddha Gayá, was brought over to Ceylon in 288 B.C."

This date is wrong by about 42 years.

Mudaliyár Gunasekara arrives at this date presumably on the footing that Devánampiya Tissa came to the throne in 307 B.C. and—presumably again—basing his calculation on the “error in the Ceylonese tradition which puts the conversion of Ceylon as far on as the eighteenth year”^{*} of Asoka as well as of Devánampiya Tissa, and the coming of the Bodhi tree in the year following: Thus B.C. 307 – 19 = 288 B.C.

The above date (307 B.C.) for Devánampiya Tissa’s accession—based on the now discredited “monkish tradition” that the Buddha died in 543 B.C. and that the era in Ceylon was reckoned from 543 B.C.—is not accepted by the best scholars[†] who place it at 247 B.C. Devánampiya Tissa’s first coronation took place this year and his second coronation in the next. It was only a month after the latter event that Mahinda came to Ceylon, followed almost equally shortly by the coming of the Bodhi tree.

The arrival of the Bodhi tree ought, therefore, to be placed in 246 B.C., or 42 years later than the date assigned to it by Mudaliyár Gunasekara.

According to the revised chronology,[‡] 288 B.C. falls in the reign of Mutasiva, whose regnal years are B.C. 307-247.

O FORAL DE JAFANAPATAM.

The existence of this important document at the Bibliotheca Nacional of Lisbon has been known for the last fifteen years, and a copy of it has been secured recently for the Ceylon Government. The original consists of 52 large folios, and has been reproduced in a volume of

^{*}Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, Introd. p. xvii.

[†]Fleet, Geiger, Sylvain Lévi, Ayrton, Wickremasinghe and others.

[‡]See my Paper on “The date of Buddha’s Death and Ceylon Chronology” in *C. B. R. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXIII. (1914), No. 67, p. 145.

325 pages. Briefly it may be said that the document contains the scheme of administration which was laid down for the Kingdom of Jaffnapatam and for Mannár by Dom Philippe Mascarenhas, when in 1645 he was wrecked off the northern coast while on his way to Goa to assume duties there as Viceroy. It commences with a Resolution of the Board of Revenue at Goa, bearing date the eighteenth of January, 1646, formally adopting the Viceroy's scheme.

The Foral proper deals with Jaffna and the Vanni, and consists of a detailed statement of the quit-rents due in respect of the lands granted to various parties. These are arranged under the names of the individuals. Each entry consists of the individual's name and the amount due from him in respect of his holdings in the various villages, the villages themselves being grouped under the different districts, with a reference to the page of the Land Thombo. The amounts are given in *pardaos*, *chacarans* and *mas*. The names of the landlords are almost exclusively Portuguese.

This Foral is followed by a list of the parties who had to pay a tribute of elephants, among the *Pencionarios*, as they are called, being one Portuguese and two groups of villagers; the rest are mainly Vannias and Udayars. Next comes a statement of the Rents, such as the Arrack Rent, and the amount realised by them for 1645. The rents of the various villages, and the Poll Tax due from each village, are shown in detail village by village under the various districts, the statement for each district being concluded by another showing various sums due from the inhabitants of the district according to their caste. These sums are then totalled up and form the Estimates of Revenue for the year.

Folio 25 commences with the sanctioned Expenditure and includes matters so diverse as the salary of the Captain Major of the Kingdom, and the two reams of paper

which were allowed to the Factor. This section concludes by striking a balance between revenue and expenditure and showing what sum would be available for expenditure in Ceylon. Mannár and Mantota are next dealt with on somewhat similar lines and the grand balance available for the Conquest in Ceylon shown.

A *Regimento* or Regulation, dated Jaffnapatam, 30th June, 1645, deals in minute detail with the rules which should govern the responsible officers in matters affecting the Revenue and general administration. The hours of work for Customs officials were from 7 to 11 a.m., and again from 2 till 5 p.m. The rug which was allowed for the table at the Customs had to serve for three years after which it became the perquisite of the Porter. Two garrisons were maintained in the North, one at Jaffna and the other at Kayts, amounting to four companies of fifty men each, with the usual complement of officers, while eighty lascarins and four Arachchis formed the Captain Major's guard. Officers were allowed all manner of fees and perquisites in addition to their fixed salaries, and the Viceroy had little hesitation in expressing his opinion regarding the honesty of public servants.

The various levies which had to be paid to Government or to those who farmed the rents from Government, must have seriously embarrassed the growth of industries and been a strong temptation to deceit. Few things could be sold without the renter having a share in the price. Every cloth which was manufactured had to be stamped with the Government stamp by the renter. Foodstuffs conveyed by the Colombogama ferry paid a contribution in kind for the use of the Adigar.

The Kúruwé Vidáné was in charge of the most important revenue department, the Elephant Hunt, for all elephants had been declared in 1612 to be the property of the Crown. There were various kinds of Adigars, the carpenters, washermen, Carreas, and weavers having

similarly named officers of their own. There were three *Recebedores* who supervised the revenue collection in the four districts, and attached to them were three *Mudaliyárs*, each of whom was paid 12 pardaos from the treasury.

There is also valuable information regarding *Marallas* or Death Duties, and the system of adoption prevailing in Jaffna.

A separate *Regimento*, dated 17th July, 1645, deals with the administration of Mannár, and the districts dependent thereon. The most important subject is that of the Elephant Hunt, regarding which full details are given. Whoever captured a tusker of five *covados* received, among other rewards, a pair of bracelets. Two Cornax and three coolies were detailed off to attend on such a tusker, and all sales had to be conducted at Jaffna. The Mannár Hospital was closed as from the 1st of June, 1645, as the military and naval men for whose benefit it had been opened, no longer congregated at that Fort in large numbers. Rules were laid down with respect to the opening of *chenas* and the dues which were leviable regarding the same, the bringing of judicial fines to account, and the establishment of a preventive guard, as well as the rate of exchange:

On the 30th of June, 1645, an arrangement was entered into between the Viceroy and two Moorish representatives of Periya Maracan, Chief of Adramapatam, with respect to a subsidy paid by this latter for certain rights in connection with the Pearl Fishery, a subsidy which had been used by the Captains of Mannár as a means for extortion.

A *Regimento* of 18th July laid down in detail the rules to be observed at the Fishery. Among the dues which the merchants participating in it had to pay were a fixed tribute to the Crown, "Shoe-money" for the Queen, allowances to various officers, fees, differentiated according

to religion, payable in order to purchase the right to take part in the Fishery, etc. The inhabitants of Kila-kare had further to supply four perfect pearls, two being of five carats each, and two of two carats each. As in the case of the Cinnamon Captain, special qualifications were expected in the officer who was in charge of the Fishery, where so many people of so many different races and religions met. There is reference to a proposed scheme for fishing for the oysters with deep-sea nets.

P. E. PIERIS.
