HISTORY OF CEYLON

BY

JAMES De ALWIS

No. 2

EVELYN RUTNAM INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY LANE
JAFFNA

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23 CHAP. ~~XIX~~. II

SRI WIKRAMA RAJASINHA

AD. 1798 – 1815

23A 'No more the laws inviolate reign'd
And public weal no more; but party raged,
And partial power and licence unrestrain'd.'

Thompson

Section 7 The King is Dead.

It was nine o'clock at night. The city bells were ringing in every direction. People were fast returning to their homes. Some were speedily arranging their domestic concerns before seeking rest for the night. Others were busy with their ablutions. Numbers were passing and repassing with lights in their hands.(1) The music of the Temple had ceased. Pilgrims from different parts of the country had left the Maligava. The lay officers of the Temples had finished their distribution of food to the strangers. Pilimatalawe had scarcely entered his town residence in the "Great Street," when a messenger hastened with the intelligence, that the King was dead. A crisis had indeed arrived. Pilimatalawe scarcely expected

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it so soon. He had not believed, when he left him an hour before, that his master's end was so near. He was therefore unprepared for an event, which was fraught with so much consequence for him personally, and threw so much responsibility on him officially.

It was especially the duty of the Prime Minister, with the concurrence of certain privileged chiefs and classes, to nominate a successor to the throne. But, he now felt that the chiefs were no longer united as they had been sometime before. Eravavala, the 2nd Adigar, and Dambagamuve Disava were decidedly opposed to the Premier. Gampola Nayakkar, a brother of the Queen Dowager, was not well disposed towards a chief who had wielded his power to the detriment of the Malabar race. Muttusami, another relation of the deceased King, it was well known, had aspired to the Kandian throne. There were other Malabars who might not silently acquiesce in an attempt to wrest the Sinhalese crown from the House of Madure. Though, as he believed, the people could scarcely

— direct what measures to pursue,
Who knew themselves so little what to do,'

Yet, he had still to overcome the pretensions of the

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Malabars on the one hand, and the animosities of his fellow chiefs on the other. Under these circumstances it was impolitic and unwise to take any bold steps to secure the Crown for himself. The King himself had spoken nothing of his successor. His hints at one of two resolves, as those which Pilimatalawe had formed, required mature deliberation. Both were subjects which were beset with insuperable difficulties. Neither could be taken on hand at once. The Minister was not ready with a plan. Indeed one could not be easily devised, since it was difficult to conciliate all parties in a moment; and it was still more difficult to settle the course of action in his own mind. A thousand thoughts bewildered him. A thousand fears disturbed his mind. His great caution, for which he was much more distinguished, than for his promptitude of action, — rendered it necessary that each suggestion of his mind should be carefully weighed. He began to do so, pacing to and fro in his narrow and ill-lighted dwelling, and occasionally speaking to his Valawe ~~Vidan~~ Vidan.(1a).

Pilimatalawe was, however, not equal to the task. He, like many of his fellow chiefs, had never been used to spend half-an-hour on ~~f~~ reflection. He

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had not been gifted with the happy intuitive faculty of seizing at once the different and opposite views of a question, or, as Bingham calls it, 'the preternatural power of suddenly producing all the mind's resources at the call of a moment'. (16) He had never been accustomed to balance evidence, to reconcile conflicting circumstances, and to weigh the probabilities of a case. Ratiocination had never been his study. To an undisciplined, and unpractised mind the attempt is indeed difficult and irksome. It cannot reduce each idea into propositions. It cannot discern the connection of different ideas, or their dependence on each other. It cannot, as it proceeds in this process of second reason, (to use a mathematical metaphor,) reduce the large figures which swell the numerator and the denominator of a complex question. These difficulties were peculiarly Pilimatalawe's. The more he attempted to come to a conclusion on the difficult question, which now absorbed all his thoughts, the greater became the confusion of his ideas. He therefore resolved to seek advice; and, with that object, repaired to the Malwatte Temple.

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This is one of the two Collegiate Monasteries, which stand in analogy to the English Universities of

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Oxford and Cambridge. Malwatta is not less renowned for its classic learning, than Asgiriya is for its Buddhistic literature. Both are not the most ancient; nor are they the most celebrated of the Monasteries of Ceylon. Neither of them is very spacious, as neither of them can be reckoned among the most elegant of the monuments of Sinhalese Architecture. Yet, at the period of which we write, they were the only recognised Monasteries of ~~Ceylon~~ the State-supported Religion, — the acknowledged Cathedrals where every Buddhist priest was legally ordained, — the abodes of the greatest hierarchs of the Religion of the land. Of the two establishments, however, the Malwatta was larger; and it numbers among its Fellows some of our ablest and highly renowned scholars. It was at this the residence of Paranatala, a clever and learned priest, who dabbled as much in politics as he mingled in social and domestic circles, and associated with laymen. He eminently possessed the confidence, and enjoyed the patronage of the Prime Minister. The fowls in the neighbourhood of the Malwatta Temple had scarcely proclaimed the first watch of the night, when Pilimatalawe was ushered into the presence of Anunayake Teruwanse, or the Second High-Priest. After the usual obeisance of the

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Minister, ~~— when he informed the Priest that the~~ which is never returned by the priesthood, but which was, as is usual, acknowledged by a benediction, (2) the High Priest, inquired, 'how the King was doing?' 'Tat,' ejaculated Pilimatalawe, as he cast his indignant eyes on a number of attendants who surrounded the high priest, 'get you away whilst we talk.' The order was instantly obeyed, by all except Manatugama, an old priest of Asgiriya who was also in the confidence of the Minister, — when he informed the priest, that the king had just expired, and it was necessary to keep it a profound secret until he could mature plans for securing a successor to the throne. One narakayeyi? 'May it not suit yonder,' is a very imperfect translation of Paranatala's pithy question. 'I have just been thinking over it, but have not made up my mind on it.' replied the Minister. 'Why not?' interrogated the priest. [Ayubovan] 'Hail! Venerable Sir,' joined the Minister, 'my plans have not yet been matured. There are some difficulties; and I believe you know that that intended alliance, by which I shall conciliate all parties, has not yet taken place' — implying that it was still necessary to gain over some party or parties. 'What say you to Bandaramahatmaya?'

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meaning Mampitiya Banda, the illegitimate son of Rajadi. 'He will never do,' replied Pilimatalawe. 'Perhaps you know the remark of Rajadhi's mother when I and the Bandaramahatayo quarreled.' 'Ah! true' exclaimed his listener, and pausing for a while, suggested that the Minister should select ~~some~~ one who would finally follow his own bent of mind. After another pause he added,—'But suppose you find your nominee is not so pliant as you can wish,— what then?' 'What then?' echoed Pilimatalawe, rather angrily, 'think you that we are such sucklings that we cannot take care of ourselves against a Malabar?' 'Not so, what in the event of your own chiefs joining the enemy?' 'In that case,' said Pilimatalawe, 'may we not apply to a foreign nation who may be easily induced to help us on some favourable terms?' 'Take care,' cautioned the learned Ascetic, 'don't you be led away by rashness. You know the old adage, that 'by going to take other's villages one loses his own'. Take care, by any proceeding of yours, either just now, or in the future, that you do not compromise our personal interests, those of the country, and still more of our Religion. I counsel you to deliberate well before you take any decisive step, or select a person.'

'That is precisely,' replied Pilimatalawe, 'why I have come over to consult you. The matter is full of difficulties. I have

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not,' added the Minister, 'yet ascertained the wishes of the people, nor have I fully consulted our Chiefs. With a view to reconciling the people to such a project, I had in contemplation several measures which I have not yet been able to perfect.' 'If then you require time, may we not,' rejoined the priest, 'please all parties by temporarily raising a relative of the late King?' 'I have not overlooked such a course; but your Worship will perceive that the selection of such a person as will suit our views, is a difficult task, if the measure itself is not a dangerous experiment. I had long intended,' continued the Minister, 'of seeking the protection of the English upon certain terms; but this project too I have delayed, not knowing them thoroughly yet.' 'You 24 B
are quite right,' responded the High Priest, 'for so far as I can perceive they have not behaved well towards us. That embassy during the reign of Kirti Sri Devi signified nothing and led to no results. That which followed it, at the commencement of Rajadhi's no one could understand. The English have not yet entertained your application for a sea-port; nor have they paid the slightest attention to our reasonable request to take possession of the relics at the Soma dagoba. I have also heard from those who attended the embassy of congratulation last year, that our Dissawas were not well treated, as our troops had been

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been previously neglected by the English authorities.(3) Their acts too in India, of which we have heard so much of late, induce me to think that they are a very grasping people.' 'Perhaps you are right,' said the Minister, and abruptly left the Pansala; but he did not seek his bed until he had held a conference at the residence of Kégatenne, his own nephew, at which meeting, it is reported, Davulagala Ratemahatmaya of Udunuvara, Diwelgama and Veragama Mohottalas, and Pusella Disavaya etc., were present. (4)

25A.

8. Long Live the King.

The result of the conference of Pilimatalavve's clan can only be gathered from the events which followed. After issuing a few ~~orders~~ hurried orders in respect of the funeral ceremonies which were shortly to take place, Pilimatalavve, very early in the following morning, waited upon a young Malabar. Dressed in a thin piece of muslin, and covered with another piece of the same fabric, he was basking in the rays of the morning sun, as he sat on his haunches in the open grounds of the King's Palace, covering his breast with his arms. (1) A conversation ensued which did not occupy long. Of course it is not known what

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transpired between them. But gridging from what indirectly escaped from the lips of the parties, at a subsequent date, we may perhaps, conclude that they came to an understanding, that the Minister should raise this young Malabar to the Throne, in spite of the many obstacles in his way; and that after that event, the king should not forget the kindness of his benefactor. The person, upon whom the choice of the Prime Minister fell, as was the wont in those days, was Kannasami, a nephew of ~~the~~ one of the Queens-Dowager -- "uneducated" in the sense in which Europeans use that word, but an intelligent youth of eighteen, with a prepossessing look, and a still more captivating figure. There was something peculiarly striking in his person, and distinguishing in his manners. No one - let him be of the most highly civilized country, - could be five minutes in his presence, without discovering in him a grandeur and of superiority which it is almost impossible to define. He was nearly six feet high. His limbs were of Herculean size, and yet beautifully formed, and well proportioned to his body. His forehead, though not very ample, was yet sufficiently large to add grace to his face, and belie his supposed deficiency of intellect. His features were regular and handsome; and there was blended in

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them, what could not be mistaken, animation with benignity. His piercing eyes were large and black; and indicated a commixture of intelligence, capacity for speech(3), as was manifested by 'the power and elevation of his voice'; — and a haughtiness, of which there was undoubted evidence even after he had become a captive, and was proceeding to his exile.(4)

Judging from his subsequent acts one could hardly believe that his features did not exhibit ill-temper, cruelty and malevolence; and yet the contrary was the fact, as we are assured by the best possible authorities, that there was everything to show that he had a kind heart, and that he was just, and generous. His hands and feet were small and elegantly turned. True to his Oriental ideas, and the traditions of the Dravidian family, to which he belonged, he spoke in a very high tone, or as described by
256 Granville, to whom we are mainly indebted for this picture, — 'in a voice raised to its highest pitch'.

Such was the person whom Pilimatalawe left to his own reflections on his unexpected good fortune. On returning to his residence the minister placed a guard over his protegé, and took other precautions to conceal his intrigue with him. The reason for this proceeding will hereafter be presently rendered plain. In the

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meantime we may record the steps which Pilimatalawe took for the election of a successor to Rajadi, which, according to usage, was necessary to precede the funeral rites of the deceased Sovereign.

He called a meeting of a few chiefs, composed principally of his adherents, spread a report that the deceased king was very ill, and proceeded to issue orders to the principal people of the Ratas, (5) who had a right to be consulted on the election of a king – to assemble at Kandy. His next step was to summon the great body of the chiefs, and to inform them that the king was ill, and that it would be proper to prepare for the worst.

When the people and the chiefs had assembled, Pilimatalawe consulted them as to how they should act. One of the chiefs who had been prepared for the task, replied: 'Since there is no direct heir to the throne, we leave it to the Mahanilames to make a proper selection.' The people in their turn, having regard to what they had heard as the desire of their chiefs, and paying the greatest deference to the Ministers, remarked: 'If there is no regular successor the Mahanilame-Hamudurus are the best judges of the Deyio who is most likely to prove a good king.'

On being thus authorized to act, Pilimatalawe

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described to all concerned the person on whom their choice had fallen; and desired that a representative from each of the Ratas, or elective districts, should see the Prince-elect ~~to~~ that he might be identified thereafter, and that the people might not be imposed upon.

This done the plot now opened fast. The Chiefs were assembled in the Audience Hall, and the people were collected in the open ground before it. The Mahanilames or great hereditary Chiefs, came forward, and inquired if the assembly was willing to the proposed arrangement. One of Pilimatalawe's satellites, who had no difficult whatever to obtain the consent of every one there present, came forward and stated that 'the Prince whom the Mahanilames had chosen, possessed all the virtues of the reigning sovereign, and was a fit successor for him after his death.' To which the Minister courteously rejoined; 'Well, remember that it is your own choice — do not blame us for it hereafter; for ourselves we are contented with the prince elected'.

Now it was pretty well understood that Rajadhi Rajasinha had been dead; and therefore the Dujavadana Nilame, and the Haluwadana Nilame

26A (6) waited on the Prince-elect to dress him in the robes and ornaments of royalty which we shall here

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describe.(7) Q.N.

He wore, as he usually did on all public occasions, (8) enormously wide trousers of satin, striped yellow, green and red, with a multitude of gold buttons down the outward seams from the hip to the ankle. A rich silk jacket, embroidered with gold flowers, and secured by jewelled buttons, covered his body; whilst a gold band encircled the edge of his garment round the waist. A threefold tippet, intermixed with gold lace and muslins, nearly approaching in appearance, though not so much jutting out, as the ruff of Queen Elizabeth, encircled his neck. The sleeves of the same material, wore widely puffed, and slashed after the fashion of the Spanish. They were also roughly embroidered and had handsome, stiff white lace round their edges. Three gold chains, set with precious stones, graced his breast. He wore two rich rings in his middle fingers. They were so ample in their dimensions that they nearly covered the entire hand. An open but high pair of golden slippers, with a high raised jewelled button in each, which rose between the two first toes, added to his otherwise noble stature. He held a sceptre in his right hand. It was a golden stick, most elaborately carved, set with stones and in length nearly half his height.(9) His head was covered with a turban of Muslin, spangled with gold, and surmounted by a Crown of gold, for investing which

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there was no special ceremony.(10)

Since the ceremonies connected with his inauguration and the cremation of the deceased monarch, are invested with deep and abiding interest we shall offer no apology for describing them here.

After he had gone through his toilette, Kannasami was conducted in a palankeen to the palace, where, getting out at the great ~~archway~~ arch-way, he proceeded to the Dalada Maligawa. Here he prostrated himself before the shrine, and offered flowers to the image of Buddha in acknowledgement of his being 'the defender of the national faith.' From this temple he proceeded to the Hall which stood in the place where the Pattiripuwa, the hexagonal pavilion at the head of the great square, now stands. A signal was then fired when the ~~King~~ Prince took his seat, a
26B curtain being drawn before him. The ceremony now commenced. Jingals were fired on one side; whilst the "five-bodied" band of Musicians played throughout the entire ceremony.

At this time the Chiefs in the square below presented themselves, each in order of his rank prostrating three times, and then making his obeisance on his bended knees. When the chiefs had been desired to rise, the people of the Ratas drawup in lines, and formed into a

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square, presented themselves — Pilimatalawe introducing them, and mentioning the different districts to which they respectively belonged. This concluded, the Chiefs repeated their prostrations, and the Prince-elect retired amidst the noise of the music, and the movements of tumblers, dancers and fencers, with which the preliminary ceremony was pro tempore hastily concluded.

The above ceremonies and incidents cannot fail to create in the Reader's mind a favourable impression of the Institutions of a despotic monarchy. Percival, who had been so impressed, wrote on the subject as follows:—

'What may seem as inconsistent with the despotic powers of the King of Candy, the monarchy is completely elective. The fundamental laws of the country, where a deposition takes place, are usually acted upon. It is in the power of the people to put aside the next branch of the Royal family, and to elect the more distant, or even a stranger. The present King, who was elected through the influence of the Adigar, I have already mentioned is a native of the island of Ramseram on the Malabar Coast, opposite Manaar. His only claim to the succession, except the power of the Minister, was his descent from a female branch of the Royal family. When the last King

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has no immediate descendants, and where the hereditary right lies between equi-distant males and females, the preference by the Kandyan laws is given to the female branch ~~of the Royal family~~. In the present instance, however, there were two other of the native princes who advanced claims of nearer alliance to the Crown. They came during my residence at Colombo to lay their pretensions before Governor North, and to implore his interference and protection. It is evident, however, that as long as we can preserve terms of amity with the ruling prince, it is by no means our interest to inquire into any claims which may be advanced to his Crown.

'The people do not consider themselves in their election bound to bestow the monarchy on a branch of the Royal family; but think they are at complete liberty to elect either a native or a foreigner, though nowise connected with the royal blood. The throne, however, has in general, been possessed by the ancient Candyan Royal family, which is now very nearly extinct.

'There appears to be no fixed regulation for conducting the election; and what is called the choice of the people may very justly be supposed

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to mean merely the consent of the ruling party at the time. There have been a number of absurd stories told by some voyagers with regard to the method pursued by the Candians in the election of a King. I had an opportunity of inquiring particularly into the foundation of these tales from some of the principal and best informed Candians whom I met at Sittivacca and Ruanelli. It has been said that when the Candians were about to elect ~~and dress him in the robes of royalty and ornaments of royalty which we shall here describe~~, a 27A
King, the whole people of the elective districts and other parts in the vicinity of Kandy were assembled for that purpose, and the candidates together with an elephant, produced before them. The elephant was then made arbiter of the throne, and the first of the candidates before whom he ~~stopped~~ stopt and made obeisance, of his own accord and without being any wise instructed to it, was looked upon as the most proper person to enjoy the Sovereign dignity, and was accordingly elected without further contest. This story has long been current on the island, and is still believed by many residing there; and yet upon inquiring into the fact among the best informed Candians they assured me that no such 27B
ceremonial had ever taken place." (11)

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It is perfectly true that no such ceremonies have ever taken place; for History shows that there was seldom a necessity for them. But it is equally true that the 'absurd' practice referred to is the one which is prescribed in the books, and of which we read in Indian history; a practice, however, to which in the peculiar circumstances of the present case it was not safe or politic to resort. Pilimatalawe therefore proceeded to obtain the consent of the people, as in the ordinary case of selecting a successor to ~~the~~ a king, from among a number of his heirs.

28A

Section 9. The Installation of the King.

It was now necessary to prepare the people for the funeral of Rajadi. His death was therefore formally announced. It was in this wise. An ornamented tent was erected before the Audience Hall, in which a man stood on a heap of paddy, and beat a bason made of mixed metal. This was a signal for the Chiefs and others to go into mourning, and for some of them, according to ancient usage, to cry and lament aloud.(1) At the same time another tent, which was called the Avadana Madura, was erected in the place set apart for cremation.

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In it a high platform was built for the coffin. This skeleton structure was filled and surrounded with wood, and different other combustibles. It was the funeral pile, which was fed with oil, ghee, pitch, sandal-wood, and various perfumes.

After the completion of the necessary preliminaries for the cremation, the body of the deceased king was decently clothed in white, and placed in a coffin; and was carried in a palanquin, preceded by a procession of Elephants, Chiefs, headmen and the people. Amongst the throng which formed this large assemblage were also ladies, 'the wives and daughters of the Chiefs.' (2) The only ceremonial that was absent on this, as on every like, occasion, was noisy music, instead of which the mourning tom-tom, muffled with a piece of black cloth, was played at intervals. As the funeral procession moved on, two women standing on a portable platform, borne by some men, continued to throw rice over the coffin; and, when it had reached the funeral pile, a number of Buddhist priests of the different Temples in Kandy, who were in attendance on the spot, recited some Pali verses; and received in return an offering of a number of white cloths which had been carried on the coffin to be given to them for discharging their pious office.

The coffin was now placed on the form raised above the funeral pile. Its lid being removed, a connection of

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the deceased Sovereign set fire to the pile. When the whole was enveloped in flames the assemblage returned in due order to the great square opposite the Palace, leaving proper guards to take care of the ashes, and to keep up the fire for ten days. The due performance of the last rites of cremation being reported to the newly elected king, the Chiefs and the people received permission to retire to their homes and purify themselves. This formal ~~allowa~~ announcement was also ~~the~~ a signal to the king to break a fast, which, in the case of nearest relations, it was customary to observe.

During the ten following days no ceremonies took place; nor was any public business transacted. The only thing that took place worth mentioning was, that during this period the mourning tom-tom was frequently sounded, and the funeral fire was kept alive. On the eleventh day, however, when the body had been completely burnt, and the wooden pile had been reduced to cinders and ashes, whatever fire remained was extinguished by the Chiefs and the people, who again congregated for that purpose. The fragments of the calcined bones were then collected into one heap, and the ashes into another. The latter with certain offerings, carried by the Chiefs and friends of the deceased, were then deposited in the Royal grave yard, and on this spot, in course of time, a monument was erected,—

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one of those remnants partially seen in a 'wilderness' where, as described by Forbes, 'decay revels and rushes rapidly on beneath dank vegetation and a gloomy shade' (3) The bones were next put into an earthern ~~ve~~ vessel, which being covered and sealed, was intrusted to a person of rank. He, dressed in sable attire, wearing a mask and mounted on an elephant, with sword in hand, headed a procession of all the dignitaries of the state, and a large concourse of people. When the funeral array had reached the Mahaveli, — and this was at the Katugastota ferry, — the masked officer descended from his elephant with the urn in his left hand, and his drawn sword in ~~this~~ his right; and stepped into a double canoe, tastefully decorated in the style peculiar to the Sinhalese. The vessel was then towed into the middle of the river by two men swimming, who, when they approached the deepest part of the stream, pushed the Canoe forward, and hastily retreated. The Mask, having reached the proper station, divided the urn with his sword, and in the act plunged into the river with his charge; and diving, came up as far as possible below, and landed on the opposite bank. The royal dust having thus vanished in the waters, the frail and gaudy vessel drifted along to destruction; and the elephant was taken across the river, and let loose never to be used any more. The women ~~w~~ who had been employed to throw rice on the Coffin, and the men who bore them on the platform,

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were all removed to the opposite side of the river, with the customary prohibition against recrossing the river. (4)

The funeral ceremonies having thus ended the Chiefs again returned to the Great Square, and report the fact to the king-elect, who thereupon again bade them return and purify themselves. We are not certain whether the king and the Court went into mourning as was customary when the deceased had been a near relation; but it is reported that a black turban, or a handkerchief, was worn by Kannasami for a short period.

Another Ceremony yet remained to be performed before the Prince could be considered completely king. It was the ceremony of naming the king, and investing him with the sword of state.

This was equal to the ceremony of coronation in other parts of the world, though the Sinhalese kings who always wore a Crown on state occasions, were not formally invested with it. The ceremony connected with 'Naming the King' was ~~held~~ not, it would seem, so full at this time, as it had been under the Sinhalese dynasty of kings, who following the practice of North India, and therefore necessarily of the Brahmans, performed a Brahmanical ceremony, being associated with a family Priest or Prohita, who sat on holy grass, and kindled a sacrificial fire, etc. With these and other trifling

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exaptions the ceremony (5) commenced with the determination of the nearest auspicious day.

On the day selected by Astrologers, the Kandian Ministers deposited in the Nata Devala several plates of gold, containing inscriptions of names intended for their King according to the fancy of each. Having first entered the Maha Vishnu devála in great state, and there worshipped Krishna, the prince-elect proceeded to the Nata, and having gone through the same religious ceremonies there, he inspected the plates, selected one of the names, and handed the plate containing it to the Prime Minister, who loudly proclaimed it to be

SRÍ WIKRAMA RÁJA-SINHA,

adding, in acknowledgement of the divine origin of Kings, in which they believed, "This is the name which the gods have chosen for our King." The prince being then seated under a white canopy of state, the Nalapata, or a gold band was tied to 29B
his forehead. (6) He was next invested with the sword of state, which was attached to a belt that passed over the shoulder and came down to the waist. (7) Consecrated waters were sprinkled on him out of the Mangala Kalasa. He was fanned by the Chámara. (8) He held the Rod of state on his left; and put the gold slippers on his feet; dipped his fingers in a pot of sandal, which was presented by a Kapurála (who then filled the place of the ancient Prohita), and then left the place of

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ceremony amidst the shouts of joy and the noisy clamours of the mob, who preceded him with his retinue, and under streaming banners, waving flags, the "five-fold" band of musicians, &c.

This was at night, for all ceremonies of the Kandyan Court took place at night time; and the reader, who has perhaps witnessed the Perahera of a recent date, especially on the night of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to the Kandian capital, (a) can easily picture to his mind the grand illumination which took place on this night, when the king-elect went round the great square, parading through the streets of his Capital, and followed by his Ministers, the Chiefs, and the people.

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Section 10. Sri Wikrama's Wedding.

Though Sri Wikrama had ~~thus~~ been thus installed into the regal office without a murmur, and indeed with the consent of all parties, — there were many who soon came forward to contest his right to the throne. As already hinted, Muttuswamy was one. He was the brother of one of the Queens dowager; whereas Kannasami was one degree further removed, being only the son of a sister of a queen.

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Muttusami also founded his claim on his greater fitness, arising from his more mature age. Of course he had no party; and there were no feelings in common between him and the chiefs, or the people. He therefore resorted to the neighbouring territory, and applied to the British authorities in Colombo for interference. The English would not, as they could not, entertain his application. When, however, his ill-success became known to Iyampola Nayakker, another relative of the deceased king, he too came down to Colombo to prefer his claims to a tribunal, to which neither Sri Wikrama nor the Kandians were in any way amenable. His application too was rejected. (1)

It was indeed not long before these matters came to the knowledge of Pilimatalawe. He had certainly been contemplating the removal of the puppet, which he himself had set up, when the conduct of the Nayakars (2) gave him an impetus to action, and pointed out a course of procedure which had not previously suggested itself to his mind. It was to incense the king against these pretenders, and such of his own countrymen as were opposed to his design to take absolute possession of the Kandian kingdom. We say absolute, for he was now the de facto king of Ceylon. As may be easily believed, the new king, who owed his Crown to what

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what he believed the disinterested generosity of Pilimatalawe, left nearly all the affairs of state to the care and guidance of his benefactor, an~~d~~ elderly and experienced Prime Minister. and this he had less hesitation to do since the late king had done likewise. Yet, Pilimatalawe was not satisfied with a power which might vanish like a bubble. His desire was not simply power. He aimed at something more — something of a more elevated kind. He desired to get rid of the Malabar king. He longed to set aside the foreign dynasty in Ceylon — a dynasty which had been hated by all Sinhalesemen from the memorable wars of Elala and Dutugamini. (3)

In carrying out this project, and being thus settled firm in the confidence of the Sovereign, Pilimatalawe resolved to get rid of all who would or could interfere with his own schemes of ambition. Scarcely a few months had elapsed from the time of this revolution before the Minister made Sri Wikrama the tool of his nefarious designs, and accomplished the object of his heart's desire. Murder, — which had not appeared for many years on the political stage of Kandy, again showed its face. (4). One by one those who had been averse to the Minister, or his interests, was put out of the way. Muttusami, and another dignitary were

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incarcerated as soon as the Minister represented the fact, that they had appealed to the British Government. When he had undoubted evidence that the Gampola Nayakar, an old relation of the King – said to have been an uncle, was not quite pleased with these transactions, Pilimatalawe resolved to incense the King against him. To get rid of him the Minister was as fertile in his expedients as he was unscrupulous in his acts. He told such a tale, that the king lost no time in incarcerating the Nayaker, and ordering his execution. (5) Many days had not elapsed from this when Erewavala, the second Adigar, a man of rare integrity in the Court of Kandy and Denagamuwe Disava, his nephew – another Chief of unexceptional character, – against none of whom the wily Minister dared openly to prefer a charge, – were waylaid and assassinated in a public path; and Karuppa, a faithful servant of the former, who might have revealed the bloody deed, and unfolded a horrid tale, was found hung to a tree.

30 B

It is, perhaps, true that no positive evidence has transpired of the complicity of Pilimatalawe in the murder of Erewavala, and his nephew; but no reasonable doubt exists as to his having inspired the act. The king himself, though he had not at this time entertained ~~the~~ any

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suspicion against his Prime Minister, was, we are told, peculiarly struck with his minister's act on a subsequent occasion, which evinced his implacable hate towards the murdered nobleman. We refer to the demolition, upon Pilimatalawe's orders of a public Lecture Hall, which the 2nd. Adigar from motives of piety, had built in the City. An ejaculation of Sri Wikrama, at a still more subsequent date ~~reveals~~ leads to the belief, that he was fully convinced that the foul murder of "the uncle and nephew" had originated from Pilimatalawe.

This proceeding was most detrimental to Pilimatalawe, and greatly affected his interests. Though it is very seldom that such an event creates a very great impression in the minds of an oriental people; yet there were circumstances connected with Erewwalwala's murder, which could not fail to excite much reflection and anxiety in the Kandyan mind. Erewwadla was undoubtedly a good and true man. He was truly the favourite of the people. He was beloved not less for his moral excellence, than for his social virtues. He was esteemed for his ardent love of justice and fair play. The people admired his bounty. They enjoyed his hospitality. They respected his impartiality. They could not therefore fail to speak of his death, and converse as regards its mysterious cause. His death was felt to be by them as dire a misfortune

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as could befall any people. His name was consequently on everyone's tongue. Every one's tongue was exerted in his praise; and as it very natural on such occasions, everyone inquired of the Murderer. It was however not long before they discovered the circumstances which ~~made~~ rendered it very ~~credible~~ incredible, that he had died, as suggested by Pilimatalawe, by the hands of a robber. On the contrary every little incident connected with the foul deed, indicated that it had been effected for political purposes. All political considerations pointed at Pilimatalawa himself as the murderer. The indignation which such a conclusion produced was very great. The hate which followed it towards the author of the murder, was indeed greater than the love which the people had borne towards the murdered. 31A

From that time the people as well as the Chiefs and headmen, lost all respect for their Maha Nilame. From that time did they perceive the murderer's brand ~~upon~~ on his forehead. From that time did friends regard him with aversion, and foes with implacable hate. Thus he had ever lost the good-will of his countrymen.

Whilst such were the feelings which were entertained of his Minister, those regarding Sri Wikrama were different; and the characteristics which secured such opinions may be here briefly noticed. He was as good as he was helpless; as active

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as he was industrious; and as just as he was merciful. He desired to please in all that he did. He was kind to his subjects; generous to his benefactors; just and merciful in his judgments. If he was not better in some respects, we must indeed not forget that he was helpless 'like a man blind folded and in fetters,' neither seeing nor moving except as his Adigar had directed him. Yet, in the early part of his reign his conduct was such as to justify us in placing him on the list of our best and most exalted Kings. (6) To him are we especially indebted for some of the finest buildings and civic ornaments in Kandy. 'More works,' as remarked by Governor Gregory, (7) 'in which the Kandyan Monarchs showed their refinement and good taste, but which the barbarous vulgarity of certain British rulers degraded and destroyed.' Sri Wikrama built the Pattirippuwa. He certainly improved, if he did not construct, the Maligawa. He first conceived the idea of opening the Kandy Lake. He alone carried out that conception. Though greatly hampered and impeded by his Minister, he opened several roads of great utility, and constructed several buildings of vast magnitude. The gift of an English Coach by Governor North, led him to construct a chariot to be drawn by twelve horses. Nor was he deficient in social virtues. He was not devoid of the common amenities of life which distinguished the Western, from the Eastern, nations. If the rigid formalities of the Kandian Court taught

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him politeness, and weaned him from rude Malabar habits, his natural good sense failed not to suggest the adoption of manners peculiar to the West. It is said that he administered justice with great impartiality, except in cases of treason, or suspected treason. Perhaps he was not the only man who saw and drew that distinction. It gains ground in the laws of every nation, and in the administration of all governments. It is unnecessary to refer to the thousand and one instances which history presents of a similar policy. Suffice it however to know that it has the example, if not the sanction of a Dispensation higher and more exalted than human; and can be supported by the Condemnation which by divine authority is extended to "the third and fourth generation".

To return to the immediate subject on hand. Marshall adds(e) that 'Sri Wikrama devoted much of his time to business, and to hearing causes in litigation, his leisure being spent in listening to music, and in superintending his artists, and workmen, a large number of whom he employed in beautifying his grounds, and in decorating his palace, and City'. Even after the ruthless hand of a besieging enemy had despoiled Sri Wikrama's elegantly furnished Palace, in 1803, there was undoubted evidence of the exquisite taste with 31 B
which he had furnished and embellished it: and its appearance, as remarked by Cordiner(q) was more respectable than

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Englishmen had been led to imagine. A man naturally fond of Music and the Fine Arts is, as a rule, seldom deficient in the virtues that ennoble humanity; yet though the Oriental sage thinks, that 'the innate disposition of the good turns not back from virtuous habits' - (Hitopodesa) the noblest heart and the most generous soul may be vitiated, as ~~it~~ we shall hereafter see the noblest heart and the most generous soul may be vitiated as we shall hereafter see, by the operation of different circumstances. In such an opinion we have not only the authority which we consider divine (10), but we shall indeed frequently have occasion in the course of our narrative to notice various traits of ~~his~~ Sri Wikrama's extraordinary character which bear out the fact. In the meantime the reader must be content ~~must be content~~ with the above qualities, as those which distinguished him in the early part of his reign, and which endeared him to the people (11) at a time when Pilimatalawe had been merely paving his way to his Master's throne, and had been deceiving the King by further acts of kindness, with a view more firmly to be established in his good estimation, and therefore more easily to carry out his own wicked designs.

One of these additional tokens of the Minister's generosity and good will towards the youthful Prince may be here mentioned. He forcibly added to the Royal

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Herem two beautiful maidens, the daughters of the last mentioned Nayakar, who were on their way to Ceylon, and who were fast retracing their steps from Matale to Madura on hearing what had happened to their innocent Parent (12). Though this act immensely pleased the youthful king, he was still more delighted with the advice of his Minister to take precautionary steps for his own protection against the pretensions of Muttusami and his friends. Before however any decided steps were taken against them Muttusami and his friends fled to the Maritime Provinces, where they were protected by the English Government, on condition however that they should not molest the Kandian king.

We shall now turn from politics to domestic affairs, and to the marriage of Sri Wikrama to his two cousins. Kings like all men, had no right by the ~~laws~~ usages of the Sinhalese, to have more than one lawful wife. That lawful wife was par excellence, the Queen; and her children alone were allowed to succeed to the throne. All others received the appellation of ~~Bandara~~ Bandara, and fared not better than the natural children of European Sovereigns. Undoubtedly all oriental nations from hoary antiquity had more wives than one; but they were regarded as concubines. Yet the case of the Malabar Kings, who now occupied the throne of Kandy, was different; and the fact that Sri Wikrama's

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choice had fallen upon two sisters rendered it still more necessary that no distinction should be shown to either, — that both should be placed on an equal footing — and both be admitted to the like privileges. The marriage of two Queens at the
32A same time was the result. It was a novelty; and though the ceremonial which we shall now proceed to describe differed in some respects from that which had been anciently the custom; yet the reader will notice, that in all essentials it was substantially in accordance with ancient usage.

With royalty, as well as with the nobility, or the peasantry, marriage was looked upon as an extraordinary event in a man's life, and was celebrated with lavish expenditure. As stated in the Sitopadesa (12a) it was one of the eight events in a man's life when there can be no excess of expenditure, festivity or enjoyment. An unusual exchange of civilities, an extraordinary relaxation of Court etiquette and stiff formalities now took place. The two ladies, to whom we have already alluded, being quietly inveigled into Kandy, — and it was on this occasion that the English Government helped the Kandians to do so — in time for the royal marriage, a time was fixed by the Astrologers. (13) The selection fell on an auspicious day when there was a conjunction of propitious stars, reference being also had to the asterisms at the dates of the birth of the

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bridal parties. The time being thus fixed a public announcement (14) was made to the people through the Chiefs, who were also called upon to make the necessary preparations, which consisted of the erection of temporary buildings, and halls of merriment, the decoration of the Royal apartments, the collection of bridal presents, etc.; for the reader perhaps knows that no one enters a marriage feast in Ceylon without some kind of present either to the bride or the bridegroom, or both, or to the parents under whose hospitality the wedding takes place. But on the event of a Royal alliance, chiefs and headmen in particular were expected to come out 'most strong', and to vie with each other in exhibiting their loyalty by the richness of their gifts. Nor was it the intrinsic value of the present alone that was acceptable. It should be carried and presented with due honours, and with great pomp.(15)

Long before the auspicious day the festivities commenced. For several days prior to it did the invited guests assemble with their presents, and they were fed with all the attention that the Royal bridegroom could command, taking care that each class or caste of people were treated separately, and with such consideration as suited their rank and station. (16) These festivities to strangers being thus concluded, the wedding commenced,

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as in olden times, lasted for seven days (17) previous to the lucky day already fixed. On the first day of the feast
32B the Ladies of the Court, the wives and daughters of the Chiefs, and the chiefs themselves, assembled in an apartment set apart ~~for them~~ for the queens to receive the king, where he soon entered and seated himself — the bands of musicians playing their best and most enchanting chimes. The assembled guests, including ~~the~~ ladies, rubbed sandal powder in the palms of the king, (18) a ceremony through which all were expected to go, — besides offering flowers and other tokens of affection or loyalty as the case might be. The departure of the king was the signal for the entrance of the brides-elect, who, when seated on a dais lower than that ~~on~~ which was prepared for the king, received the same attentions which had been shown to the bridegroom. This ceremony was repeated for seven days consecutively, when, on the seventh, which is the day of ablution, the royal bridegroom and brides had to submit (as observed by Davy) 'to have their nails cut and all superfluous hair, including the beard of the former removed — his barber operating on His Majesty, and a female on the ladies'. (19) The tonsure being thus complete, the bridal parties went through their ablutions, saffron being the ingredient which

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entered very largely into their toilette, and with which their bridal clothes were besmeared, if not completely soaked. This is a practice peculiar to the Malabars, as we see to this day among the Vaniyas. Saffron, according to Hindu writers, is 'emblematic of purity and ~~holiness~~ cleanliness', and is recommended in medical works for a variety of cutaneous diseases.

In these clothes the royal brides and bridegroom proceeded to the Hall of Reception, and seated themselves on either side of a curtain. Here took place the Malabar ceremony of putting on the tali – two necklaces which were carried on gold plate, the assembled guests invoking a blessing of Ayu bo-vera. The father not being present, the duty which otherwise devolved on him of pouring water on betel leaves out of a golden pot, was discharged by some one whose name has not transpired. When this had been done, and the mother of the brides had given her assent to the proposed alliance, the king took the necklaces; and stretching his arms over the curtain which was drawn between the brides and the bridegroom, put them on the necks of his brides-elect. This ceremony was followed by music and ~~the~~ firing of guns, and also by the removal of the curtain, when Sri Wikrama for the first time saw his brides and ~~who~~ was highly pleased.

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The whole ceremony concluded with the little fingers of each of the parties being tied together, and also the end of their garments.

Of the Queens who are thus introduced to the notice of the reader, one was young and very handsome. She was decidedly a very charming and agreeable person. There was a bewitching lustre in her eyes, and a sweet smile on her lips. Her brows were beautifully arched. Her dress was best suited to enhance her natural beauty, and very distinctly set off the ~~natural beauty~~ admirable contours of her bust. Her arms and hands, for the beauty of which Asiatics excel Europeans, were well moulded. Her jet black hair, which she wore by dividing it in the centre of the head, fell hanging gracefully behind in a loose chignon. The only fault, if fault it be, was that by parting her black luxuriant hair, in the manner which we have described, her ample forehead was not seen to advantage. But
33A such as it was, it was not devoid of beauty. As she sat with great ease and dignity one could see the perfection of her symmetry, the gradual slope of her shoulders, the slenderness of her waist, and the fulness of her bust — all which doubtless tempted the Painter to transfer them to his canvas. The jewels which adorned her ears, arms, neck and breast were very select and rich; and not being profuse, added grace to her

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comely figure. The splendid cashmir shawl, which partially enveloped her graceful form, was calculated to add to her charms.

In the above description of one of Sri Wikrama's ~~brides~~ Queens, we need scarcely state, we have not drawn upon our imagination. We have simply transferred the lights and shades of her faithful portrait (20) before us into writing. In doing so we are not conscious ~~of having~~ that we have committed any errors, except perhaps those which are ever incidental to a translation from one kind to another. We are certain however that the difference between the picture as we see it before us, and the one reduced to writing, is simply that which exists between the exquisite but faithful touches of the painter's pencil, and the rude and imperfect language of ~~the~~ a foreigner's pen.

The reader must however look to a less faithful source of information for a description of the second queen of Sri Wikrama. According to the tradition, she was not, as her sister, in the first stage of youth. She lacked some of those accomplishments for which the younger lady was distinguished. In complexion too she was darker – in stature shorter – and in body stouter. (21) Yet hers was the peculiar interest which woman possesses on her transition from youth to womanhood. Her full tremulous

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lips, and sharp rolling eyes clearly indicated that she could reciprocate a love which was, it is said, desperately felt for her by her lord. She might certainly have looked to greater advantage if she had, like her sister, been more sparing in her jewellery. But loaded as she was with ornaments, — a head-dress which concealed her forehead — huge but costly rings which altered the natural proportions of her ears — necklaces, chains and medals which literally covered her entire bosom, — her appearance made no favourable impression on the beholder. The collyrium, with which her eyelids had been painted, might have enhanced her beauty in the eyes of a Malabar. The ornaments on her nose might have invested her with an interest which belongs only to a Tamil. The sable unguents with which her gums had been incrusted, might have served to exhibit her teeth in bold relief. But, in our humble judgment, these served essentially to lower her in the estimation of moderate thinkers who might otherwise have pronounced her to be a mediocre beauty.

33 B

The ceremony of marriage last described was repeated for four consecutive days; and on the fifth day the bridal parties amused themselves with throwing perfumed balls, and with squirting scented waters at each other, — a diversion to which the wives of the Chiefs

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were admitted, and of which they were allowed to partake, being quite at liberty to pelt and bespatter even royalty itself as much as they pleased. (22)

When the king had been tired of this amusement he entered an apartment overlooking the Waiting Room, where the Chiefs had all assembled. Here they went through the Ceremony, which is common amongst all classes of the Sinhalese, nearly to deluge the object of their regard by sprinkling perfumed waters, from a perforated silver sprinkler.

On the night of the same day the Chiefs dined with the King, and their wives with the royal ladies. The mode in which they were entertained was not quite dissimilar to that described Granville – whose party in the Cornwallis were also entertained (23) by Sri Wikrama, – except perhaps in the seats provided for the guests, which were usually mats and carpets on the floor, covered with clean white clothes; and except also with regard to the plate out of which they were fed – the Chiefs having been provided with clean plantain leaves laid on white cloth, instead of the China as were used on board H.M's frigate.

The Chiefs were then treated, to rice and to several out of nearly fifty (24) curries. Their drink was water and tea. During the entertainment which concluded with Cakes and fruits, the king presided, seated in an elevated chair;

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and greatly encouraged mirth and conversation, occasionally bidding the servants attend to his guests, whom he named one after the other in courteous and polite language. The ~~repas~~ repast over, dancers, nautch-girls, singers and musicians amused the company till a very late hour at night.

A month after the last ceremony, the Chiefs again met, as was customary, to give presents, to the king and the Queens. The presents consisted of jewellery, trinkets, silks, embroidered clothes, shawls, gems, etc.; and they were ushered in with the same ceremonies and pomp that we have already described. When the Chiefs had made their presents they together with their wives were again entertained at the palace, as they had been a month before. The marriage festivities ~~concluded~~, however, concluded with the king on his turn giving the Chiefs his presents, suited to the rank and position of each individual.

Section II Intrigues of Pilimma Talavve.

34 A

Before proceeding to the troubles which ensued shortly after the marriage, which we have above recorded, it may be here convenient briefly to notice the position of affairs in Kandy

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Though the king had not the most distant notion of the iniquitous proceedings of his minister, he was sufficiently made aware of the intolerable exactions of a few of the chiefs, and consequently the grievances of the people. To redress them ~~to~~ Sri Wikrama at once applied himself. He took upon himself the investigation of all causes of importance. He protected the poorer classes against the tyranny and extortions of the chiefs.(1) Though he thereby created formidable enemies, he ever lent a willing ear to any complaints against them. In all conflicts between the chiefs and the people he exhibited a decided leaning towards the latter, but took no steps to punish the former.

As between the chiefs themselves, their relations were not the most cordial. Though Pilimatalawe had a few adherents, and though few shewed any open hostility towards him, yet, as we have already seen, none possessed a good feeling towards, or entertained any high opinion of, a man who had to their certain knowledge, been guilty of foul murders, such as those which we have mentioned. Though the Sinhalese took no active measures to repress wicked deeds like Pilimatalawe's, and though there was no public opinion ~~A~~ indirectly to restrain them, yet it may be believed that at the proper time, when the perpetrator was out of power, or sought the

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protection or interference of the people, he found no favour whatever with them. This, as well as the fact, that the king sided with the people, was well known to Pilimatalawe. This knowledge created an uneasiness in his mind. It seriously affected his designs. It disturbed his plans for the attainment of regal power. It also roused him to speedier action; for he could not have failed to know, if he had not already remembered the prediction of Rajadhi, that, under another's sway, sooner or later, he would be called to account. His position thus became painful and irksome; and his desperation unbounded. He yet reflected that his time for action was at hand — even 'now, when he was in the undoubted zenith of his power.' He therefore devised plan after plan to wrest the Crown from Sri Wikrama. At first, it is said he planned to get rid of Sri Wikrama as he had disposed of Eravala. But assassination without the co-operation of the Chiefs and the good-will of the people, would only have been a mad freak. He next purposed temporarily to elevate another Malabar. This too was out of the question; for there had been at this time no Malabar of any consequence. Muttusami was under the charge of Colonel Barbut at Jaffna. The rest of the Malabars, who had claimed a right to

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the throne, were under British protection in Colombo. All were moreover the bitterest enemies of Pilimatalawe. A third resolve was to seek the interference of the people. This was not practicable for the reasons already known to the reader. Though he was the Prime Minister and the Diwasa of Yatinuwara and Udunuwara, — two of the most populous, out of the five districts which had the right of electing a king; (2) he knew nevertheless, that 34B the people would not act in opposition to the great bulk of the Chiefs, or the higher class. The help which he sought from this source was thus dependent on the wishes of the Chiefs. Those Chiefs, too, in the midst of the discord which existed at this time, were not likely to elevate to the throne one who had not possessed their confidence.

In this posture of affairs — discouraged and perplexed — with an uncertainty as to the course which affairs might take, without encouragement from all that had gone before, and with a gloomy foreboding of the future — but nevertheless with an unbending determination, Pilimatalawe resolved to follow the only course left open for the gratification of his heart's desire, — to rise into supreme power, and at the same time to destroy the Malabar dynasty. This

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was to seek the aid of the English in the neighbouring territory. He was the more encouraged to pursue this course, as he, in common with his countrymen of the time, sincerely believed that no European nation would or could longhold the impenetrable mountain fastnesses of the Kandian Provinces. With such an ill-conceived opinion, Pilimatalawe proceeded at once to action.

Accordingly early in February 1799 he sought an interview with the British Governor of the maritime settlements of Ceylon, who was the Honourable Frederick North, afterwards Earl of Guildford. The interview was gladly accorded; and Pilimatalawe had a conference at Avishawella (3) Though this interview had for its object the attainment of certain advantages for the Kandian government, — in fact to renew the negotiations of 1796, yet it was not a little strange that the ambassador of that government opened the conversation with a complaint against the Kandian king. His representation of the Malabars being instruments calculated to subvert his own influence, and that of the Chiefs, had no manner of application to the claim of 'the Levayas or salt pans of Puttalam;' nor did it affect 'the demand for a sea-port,' which formed another of the subjects of the Treaty already mentioned. Much less did such bickerings comport

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with the grave subject of diplomacy on which he had professed to meet. Mr. North thus perceived that the Kandian minister had stated nothing definitely; that his conversation was veiled in great mystery. So it was; for his was not the object of renewing the treaty which had not been accepted by the Kandians in 1796, nor of proposing an other; but simply to try the temper of the English, and clearly to learn the views and designs of ~~the~~ their government, preparatory to fully developing his perfidious and ambitous project of attaining supreme power, and of deposing his king.

In December the same year, a second interview took place, when the Kandian minister was more explicit than he had been before – expressed the desire of the Sinhalese nation to get rid of the Kandian usurpers – represented the kind of treatment which they accorded to the Sinhalese, and the influence which a few Malabars exercised over the King as immense – and made 35A
a direct request to take away the life of Sri Wikrama, and to place himself on the throne, on which conditions he declared he would accord to the English certain privileges, which they were sure to appreciate.(4) The high treason involved in such a proposal must have been very distasteful to an English mind, – and much more detestable to an English nobleman like North. The conference at which the Adigar, North and his Maha Modliar, took part, therefore ended without any result;(5) but it is quite clear from his subsequent conduct,

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that Pilimatalawe's statements had created a deep impression in the Governor's mind as to his future policy. That policy had already been shadowed forth in the conduct of British authorities in India. Perhaps, he, like Lord Clive, 'considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair.' The difference between the standards of Oriental and Occidental morality, — the absence generally in the East of what Europeans understand by honeste or Honor — the frequency with which solemn treaties had been disregarded by Indians — and the intrigues in which Asiatic Ministers had excelled, were all circumstances which induced British Indian authorities to think that any artifice which would defeat such cunning was justifiable; or that they were not bound to act according to principles other than those by which their opponents were guided. Accordingly North, like Clive, — 'in the other parts of his life a good and amiable English nobleman was no sooner matched against an Asiatic intriguer than he himself became an Asiatic intriguer' (5a). The policy too of British India was at this time clearly to 'undermine the authority of sovereigns by clandestinely supporting disloyal ministers' (6). How far these considerations influenced North we shall see as we proceed. In the meantime we may remark that the crafty, far-seeing Kandian Minister was by no means discouraged by any supposed "indignation" of the English

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Governor. He therefore requested that Mr. Boyd, the Chief Secretary to Government, might be sent to him.

Mr. Boyd accordingly had a meeting shortly afterwards, but wherefore it is not easy to understand. If, as is above shown, Pilimatalawe's overtures were abhorrent to the English, — and there is no doubt they were to every honest man, — there was no necessity whatever to return to a conference, which, as we have seen, had no object beyond the massacre of an unoffending Sovereign of an adjacent territory. It is however remarked by Lord Valentia, who had chiefly derived his information from North, that he did so from his humane solicitude for preserving the life of the king." This explanation is not satisfactory, and must be received cum grano salis. It is impossible to believe, from his subsequent conduct that "solicitude" for Sri Wikkrama's welfare, was the motive for Boyd's mission. Another object, as it oozed out on a subsequent date from the writings of Cordiner, was, that the object of these conferences was "to elude the arts of the Adigar." We sincerely wish we can accept the first explanation, or pronounce the second to be reasonable. We indeed regret that we can not do either the one thing or the other. Solicitude for another's welfare under similar circumstances is not an ordinary sentiment of humanity. It is certainly not a feeling easily awakened in the mind of a statesman, especially as regards one who is an inconvenient neighbour. The sequel will indeed shew that 35 B

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such was by no means the case.(7)

At this conference, the Adigar again used every possible argument to induce the English Government to adopt his favorite scheme. He entered into fuller details than he had mentioned before; stated how, and by what means, the Malabars had obtained an ascendancy – explained the reasons which had induced his forefathers to raise the Malabar standard, and himself to set up Kannasami on the throne – and concluded by expressing his desire to establish a race of Kandian Monarchs commencing with himself. Mr. Boyd replied, that however willing the English were to uphold the Adigar's power, and to secure it for him, they were unable to interfere so long as the King did not place himself and his country under the protection of the English Government, or did not commit an act of aggression, which alone would justify such interference. He also told Pilimatalawe, – and it greatly annoyed the wily minister to hear it, – that the Governor was most solicitous as to the safety of the King, without whose consent first obtained, he would not act in any manner hostile to his interests. The sincerity of these statements is not borne out by the Correspondence of North. Boyd also proposed, what we cannot understand or justify, – "That his Kandian Majesty should voluntarily remain at Kandy under the safeguard of an English garrison and that the Adigar should exercise

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sovereign authority in his name." (8) This cool proposition excites in us more surprise and indignation than perhaps it did in Pelimatalawe. There was no necessity for any one to desire the interference of British authority to place His Kandean Majesty in durance vile; for he never expressed a desire to lead a life of torpidity. Nor was there any object to be gained by an English garrison at Kandy; for neither the King nor the Minister desired it. Nor again had the King prevented his Adigar from exercising that authority with which, in the Governor's solicitude for Sri Wikrama's welfare, he was anxious to invest the Minister; for he was already exercising that function by the sufferance of the King. 'The settlement of a British force', it is confidently asserted by native authorities, was never hinted at by the Adigar as insinuated by English historians. (9) That it first emanated from the British ambassador may be easily believed. A British force, doubtless, proved another of "the political advantages" which the English Government had in view for continuing this conference. It was neither to the Adigar's advantage under the Constitution which he had intended to establish, 'nor', as he told Boyd, did 'the King desire British troops to be sent to Kandy.' But more of this hereafter.

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Section 12 Intrigues Continue

Though the Adigar thus saw no opening to prolong a conference, which naturally ended from his inability to accept the terms offered; there was, however, one circumstance which had created a great impression in his mind. It was 'the act of aggression which would justify hostilities on the part of the British Government.' Pilimatalawe was ignorant of the Law of Nations. He did not know what would legally justify a State to rise in arms against another. He had believed that such a proceeding was not deemed contra bonos mores at all times, and under any circumstances. But Boyd's remarks, now rendered such belief extremely doubtful. He therefore asked to know what would be accepted by the British Government as an act of aggression — whether the mere profession of hostile feelings ~~would be~~ was sufficient. "If so," said he, "Sri Wikrama was at heart an enemy of the English;" — and he further inquired whether nothing short of an attack on the English was deemed necessary to justify any hostile attitude towards the Kandians." The reply of Boyd, which only conveyed, "that in the event of an irruption into British territory the English knew how to defend themselves," — (1) gave Pilimatalawe all the desired information; and from that moment

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did he resolve to involve his country in the horrors of war.

Yet as a prelude to such warfare he desired a further conference at this time between the English authorities and Sri Wikrama. As a basis for the proposed conference a Treaty was drawn up by the English authorities for the King's signature. It was approved of by the Adigar without demur; but when tendered for his signature he refused to give his assent in writing, remarking that it was not necessary to do so; and inquiring what the English Government would do if the King himself refused to sign it. This showed clearly that the King was not aware of his minister's proceedings; and that the Minister alone desired to create an act of aggression by which the English might be induced to declare war against Sri Wikrama. Still, notwithstanding all these questionable proceedings the Kandyan Minister's overtures were not repulsed; nor on the other hand, was the conduct of the English Government such as to deter Pilimatalawe from further prosecuting his wicked schemes. He still desired to draw out the English and the English still wished to take advantage of the disorders of the Kandian Court for the extension of the British territory. But, says Marshall, "North's cunning was not equal to the craft of the Adigar" (2)

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This is rendered very plain from what followed. When the Adigar had again represented that the King would accede to the terms of the treaty, which the Governor had already abundant reason to doubt, if not to disbelieve, – Mr. North at once expressed his willingness to send an Ambassador to the Kandian Court. The feeling which this ready assent on the part of the Governor produced in the Minister's mind; and the fraud which he had intended to practise in respect of the King, may be both gathered from the reply which, after gazing a while in silent earnestness, he made in the shape of an inquiry, – "May we not hold the conference, and conclude the treaty, at Sitavaka? – a place, as the reader is aware, in the confines of the maritime provinces, and many miles away from Kandy, the seat of the King's Government, and the city where it
363 was intended to place a British force. If the treaty could be concluded at Sitavaka, it could likewise be, in Colombo. But wherefore not in Kandy? The answer is very suggestive; And we indeed wish we could believe that the entire transaction admitted of a creditable explanation, or that it did not suggest itself to the minds of the Governor, and his advisers, especially when he was distinctly told at this time that the Adigar had no authority from the King to enter upon an agreement of that kind.

To return, however, to the conference: The Kandean

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minister, it is said, was again given to understand that the Governor was sincerely desirous of the continuance of his power, and would secure it if the King of Kandy, could be induced to place himself and his country under the protection of Great Britain, and to admit an English garrison into Kandy. This proposal was further explained to mean, that "it was the Governor's wish that the King should voluntarily remain in Kandy under the safe-guard of an English garrison, and that the Adigar should continue to exercise sovereign authority in his name".

If the professions of anxiety for the King's safety, under the safeguard of a British garrison – which was not very different from imprisonment – surprized the Minister greatly, his bewilderment was still greater to find out what could render such a safeguard necessary; since the very occupation of the English in the maritime provinces was already calculated to afford it as against foreign foes; and there were no internal enemies in Kandy save the Adigar himself, who was to exercise supreme authority over it. It was also to him inexplicable, – and he therefore asked to know – 'how he and the King could be in power at the same time?' If as proposed, he alone were to be vested with supreme authority, the King was a political nonentity. As for himself he had no enemies; and he

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needed no subsidiary British force.

Since, however, the matter of a 'subsidiary force' had been very strongly pressed on his attention, the minister naturally desired to know, 'Who would command the troops?' When he was answered, 'Colonel Champagne', he fully perceived the drift of the English Government. He was not the only person who could see through the entire transaction. Marshall, the Deputy Inspector General of Military Hospitals, who arrived in Ceylon in 1800, and who had abundant materials for a correct opinion, says: 'The Governor, in apparently adopting the interests of Pilimatalawe, had, no doubt, for his ultimate object the establishing of a military force in Kandy; well knowing that, in such cases, protection is very nearly synonymous with supercession.(3) Though the Minister undoubtedly perceived this object, he did not wish altogether to abandon a scheme, in which, however perfidious, North had participated. He therefore purposed seemingly to yield to the proposals on the other side, and to trust to the chapter of accidents for the consummation of his pet project.(4) North too, on the other hand, clearly saw the design of the Minister, which Cordiner ~~says~~ [describes at p. 167]. (4a)

37A Not at all discouraged by anything that had preceded ~~the game of "hide and seek"~~ both parties then continued this

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game of "hide and seek". Without replying to the question proposed, as to the anomaly of two people governing the country at the same time, the Governor again informed the Minister of his intention to send an Embassy to Kandy under the guidance of General Macdowal. This announcement staggered Pilimatalawe not a little. The proposed proceeding was the very one which he most desired to avoid, lest the King should be made aware of his treacherous and perfidious conduct. As Marshall says, he therefore "paused a little, and then observed that the Governor might send a strong escort with the General." (p.75) Wherefore this 'strong escort'? Surely it was not to intimidate the King, or to raise the British power in the king's estimation; for the sequel will show that he had no such intention. It could not be with the intention of rendering facilities to the English to make an inroad to Kandy at a future period? a catastrophe against which he ever took the greatest precaution. Indeed there is no conceivable object for this proposed 'strong escort'. But Cordiner states, that it was 'to maintain the Ambassador's independence'. This would only be intelligible if the proposal had come from the Governor, which tradition asserts it did. With all the inclination on our part to attribute to human actions such motives alone as guide those of sensible men, in the situation of the parties concerned, we are indeed inclined to believe that the suggestion for 'a strong escort' came from

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the English side: and we are confirmed in this belief by the subsequent proceedings of the English Government, and the refusal of the Minister himself to admit a strong escort into Kandy. Be this however, as it might. The abrupt termination of the conference upon this announcement was very significant. Pilimatalawe after exchanging the usual compliments at parting, took his departure.

A month had scarcely elapsed from this date when we again find the two statesmen at their favourite game. At this time the Governor announced his intention to apprize the King, by letter, of the Governor's intention to send General Macdowal to Kandy. The object of this embassy, if we reject the alleged desire 'to elude the arts of the Adigar,' — was undoubtedly, as stated by Cordiner, "to establish a permanent interest in Kandy to the advantage of the political and commercial arrangements of the English." (5) The proposed letter was accordingly sent, and an answer was duly received. It was signed by the Minister alone, though it bore the royal seal, of which he was the Custodian. There was no longer any reason for doubting the Minister's duplicity. The Chief Secretary to Government considered this insufficient, and very properly insisted upon a reply with the King's own signature. When the Adigar had been made aware of the decision of the

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English Government, the former acquiesced in its propriety — and requested to read over the proposed treaty, a circumstance, which though very trivial, clearly showed that it had only then occurred to him for the first time to see if the terms were such as to justify his placing them before the king. On reading the treaty which he now proposed to lay before the sovereign, he, — different from his conduct on a previous occasion, when he gave no attention whatever to its terms, — suggested several 378
alterations. One of the terms of the proposed treaty was that the Kandians should pay to the English government annually two lacs of pagodas, the exact sum which the Indo-British government had just before fixed as an allowance for the maintenance of Hyder Ally Khan.(5a) This proposal the Minister properly rejected. It was then proposed that for the protection which the English Government would render to the Kandians, they should place at ~~its~~ their disposal the revenues of the country, chiefly consisting of rice, areca nut, and pepper; — that they should give them full power to cut wood, and to collect cinnamon wherever they chose; that a British subsidiary force should be placed in Kandy; — that if the King so desired, he should transport his person and his Court for greater safety into the British territories, there to enjoy all his royal rights, — and that Pilimatalawe as his deputy should

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exercise his power in Kandy (6).

From the above terms one would suppose that the English authorities believed the Kandian King to have been such an imbecile as would tamely submit to terms, the acceptance of which must terminate in his down-fall; or that some infatuation had so blinded the English authorities that they were unable to notice the fact, which was repeatedly made manifest, that the object of Pilimatalawe was simply to raise his own standard in Kandy. Indeed from what appears in the English writers of this period it is quite clear that the first of these suppositions was the correct one. Not only did the English believe Sri Wikrama to have been an 'idiot'; (7) but they were utterly ignorant of Kandian resources, when they asked for two lacs of pagodas annually — a sum of money which perhaps the Kandian government never received in five years; and when too they proposed the surrender of the articles above mentioned, — articles which constituted the sole appreciable revenue of the kingdom. So far as the above terms were concerned, we may state that the effect of them was to demand a cession of the kingdom to the English; and as regards the proposed removal of the king to Colombo, it would have proved, if carried out, little better than penal transportation. Yet, it is amusing to notice the reservations which were made in favor of the king, and the minister. The one was in a foreign territory "to enjoy

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all his royal rights" — the same rights being at the same time transferred to the other; and that other was to exercise regal power in a country, all the revenues of which were being placed at the disposal of a foreign nation!

Such a proceeding is not susceptible of a more satisfactory explanation than that given by Marshall — that 'decency forbade North openly harbouring the design of the Adigar to take away the life of the Sovereign, but interest urged him to promote a similar one, in a more secret manner, and by an apparently honorable line of conduct.' (8) Our surprize is, however, very great that North, knowing as he did the underhand countenance he had given to Pilimatalawe's treacherous designs, failed to notice the fact that the cunning and crafty minister was sure to think very meanly of His Excellency's international policy, and to lose all confidence in his professions of friendly relations between the two powers.

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Section 13 Macdowal's March to Kandy.

In the conference at which the above terms were proposed, Mr. Boyd clearly perceived, as it ~~was~~ is admitted, that the Adigar had not abandoned his long cherished project of stepping into the Kandyan throne by the deposition of the

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youth, whom for his own purposes, he had previously placed on it.(1) Yet it is strange to observe, that the English authorities who had declared their immutable resolution not to assist in any undertaking which had in view an attack upon an innocent person,(2) again sought a conference with the wily Chief on the 4th March 1800, when he again threw out many hints, which clearly proved, that he was not sincere in his proposals for a treaty, but that he was simply making an effort to bring about the end which he had explicitly stated on several occasions. It is admitted that Mr. Boyd perceived, and declared, that he had seen the drift of these 'hints,' and thereupon again repeated what he had said before, that the English would on no account commence hostilities without an act of aggression on the part of the King. Pilimatalawe too, again wished to learn what would be accepted as such, — and whether an irruption into English territories of 3,000 men would suffice. He received a reply in the affirmative, which was supplemented by an expression of Mr. Boyd's opinion, that in the event of such provocation it would be impossible to hold Pilimatalawe irresponsible, or to offer him any protection.

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It cannot any longer be doubted what the policy of the minister was at this time. It was clearly to involve the King in hostilities by an act of aggression, to which he could easily drive him; little doubting ~~that~~ from the too ~~pliant~~ flexible and pliant disposition of North, that he could be easily induced to abandon and depose the King, notwithstanding his professions of friendship towards him. The minister was right in his anticipations as we shall see hereafter. North clearly participated in many of the minister's designs; and, both with a view to further them, and, as stated at the time, 'with a view to a perfect knowledge of the Kandyan Court, and also with the hope of establishing a permanent interest there to the advantage of the political and commercial ~~interests~~ arrangements of the English Government, (3) he ordered Major General Macdowal on an embassy to Kandy. He set out from Colombo on the 12th of March, 1800, with an escort of 1,164 English and native troops, with four field pieces and two howitzers, besides pioneers and gun lascars. At the same time the letter which was intended for the King was intrusted to certain Appuhamies, who accompanied the embassy.

A week after the embassy had reached Sitawaka, the confines of the Kandian Kingdom, the Adigar met

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Macdowal with a great illumination; and with about a thousand men and seven Elephants, paid every attention to the Embassy, besides showing regard for the letter intended for royalty by depositing it in a building exclusively assigned for its reception. This is said by Cordiner [p. 288] to have been according to ancient custom. We have failed to ascertain that such was the fact. When Pybus and Boyd took letters on previous occasions, no such custom was observed. The letters were taken by them, and delivered by themselves in person, as was also the case on this occasion. (Vide infra.) The matter, however, is not of any importance, except for the circumstance, which we learn from tradition, that the Adigar by representing an old custom had access to the letter, with a view doubtless to ascertain if it contained any allusions to his own intrigues with the English Governor.

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It is not our intention to enter into the minutiæ of the progress of this Embassy. They are fully recorded by Cordiner and Percival. We shall therefore only refer to such facts and circumstances therein recorded, as may throw light on the history of the period.

At the meeting above mentioned nothing took place that is worthy of notice, except the conversation between the Ambassador and the Kardian Minister,

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which chiefly referred to the proceedings of Lieutenant-General Stewart, the officer under whom Colombo had been taken by the English. When the embassy had however arrived on the 31st March, at Ruanwella, it is important to observe, that the Minister, from whom, as is alleged, had originated the desire, that 'the English Ambassador should take with him to Kandy a large body of troops,' only suffered a small escort, consisting of two Companies of Malays, and an equal number of Sepoys, to pass the Kandian frontier.(4)

There is a slight discrepancy in the English writers of this period as to the cause which led to this determination. Percival says that it was reported, that the king had wished, owing to the internal divisions and factions among his subjects, that the escort attending the embassy should be as strong as possible, but that 'the adigar, who was 'a man of great power and intrigue, and, as we had reason to suspect, not very friendly to the English, had sufficient influence to overrule several of the king's orders, and in many instances to counteract his intentions.' (p.394) We have already seen how improbable the alleged report was, and how very probable that the wish for a 'strong escort' had proceeded entirely from the English Government. As it was one of the matters to which the Adigar had

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yielded his assent he would probably have allowed the entire escort to enter Kandy, but for the effect which a 'large body of red-coats' would have on the people. He clearly saw that the people were greatly alarmed at the appearance of such a military force as now entered Ruanwella. They expressed their displeasure, says Percival p. 394, 'at our bringing artillery into their country.' 'On the approach of a red-coat, the alarm was instantly given, and the people, men, women and children fled directly into the woods.' They showed little inclination to have any connection with the English. (5) No sooner were tidings brought to them that the English had set forward on their route from Colombo to Sitavaka, than they began to assemble in large numbers on their frontiers. Though a message from the king, according to Percival, partially removed their apprehensions; yet neither the king nor his minister could see the policy of irritating the people and of unsettling their minds. The minister moreover desired that the matter of a 'large escort' should not form the subject of discussion thereafter; nor did he wish that the king should at all know of his having given his assent to it. He therefore very properly arranged with Colonel Macdowal, that, with the exception

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already mentioned, that the entire force, including every one of the English troops, should be left behind. Accordingly they remained in a royal Park at Ruanwella.

With such evidence of the Minister's want of fairness, the Embassy proceeded in a country clothed with verdure, and teeming with many things which both pleased the mind and delighted the eye, and several of which gave employment to the pencils of Messrs. Jonville and Moreau. In their journey amidst scenery the most enchanting and picturesque, and hills the most stupendous, they observed that though the Kandians easily clambered on their elephants over the Balane kanda, an English army might not carry over it their guns without much labour and perseverance; an observation which was father to the thought. When at length the Embassy had arrived at Gannoruwa on the 9th of April, very nearly a month after they had left Colombo, the Kandian Chiefs, among whom were the two Adigars, the Dissavas of Uva and Matale, and other headmen with upwards of 1500 of the best Kandian troops, gave a right royal reception to Genl. Macdowal. Here again we meet with a statement of the Adigar, which to our mind is very significant, that the King had ordered the Dissava of Matale and another chief, both of whom were adherents

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of Pilimatalawe, – to take charge of the presents and the letter for the King.' That such a statement was made admits of no doubt; that it was contrary to custom, and that therefore the letter at least was taken with some particular object are equally undoubted.

As we proceed the affairs connected with the journey from Gannoruwa became invested with interest. Maadowal found the road in pretty good order. Four or five pallisades ran across it, with gates in the centre of them. There was at each of them a guard of about twenty five Malays. At three of them there were cannons, all three pounders.
39B From this place the Ambassador's party were led by the Adigar, and proceeded to acquaint the King of their arrival. In about half-an-hour when Pilimmatalawe had returned with the King's permission, the party went from thence into an open Court, and reached another gate, where we again find (p. 301) the letter, which had already been taken charge of by the Chiefs, on "the head of an Appuhamy", one of the very people who had been intrusted with it in Colombo. How it came there is not stated. Nor is it easy to conceive what necessity there was to replace it on his head, if it had been taken charge of by the Chiefs under the King's orders – much less why it was again put into the Ambassador's hands as he approached

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royalty. Suffice it however to state that when fourteen drummers began to play on European drums and a most indescribable melange of vocal and instrumental music began to deafen the ears of all present, the Ambassador was led with much ceremony and gravity; and on his approach to the palace, took the king's letter off the Appuhami's head, and, holding it with both hands ~~at the~~ level ~~of~~ with his eyes — instead of putting it on his head, as the practice had been previously, — he moved on towards the Audience Hall, the two Adigars holding him by the arms. [p.301]. On being told that it was the wish of the Ambassador that his suite should follow, the seven gentlemen who had accompanied the Ambassador (amongst whom was a Malay prince), were allowed to pass through a gallery which led directly to the Hall. This passage was lined by H.M's body guard who held their fire locks nearly in the position, which military men designate "Recover arms," and which might have alarmed strangers, had the fire locks not been cased in white muslin, an emblem of peace, which completely concealed them. p302

It is unnecessary to describe all the formalities which took place in an Oriental Court,

'where cumbrous pomp and vanity preside'.

We shall content ourselves with a simple relation of such

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matters as are the object of these pages.

Several formalities which were distasteful to the English Ambassador having been dispensed with, in recognition of a 'power which Sri Wikrama unmistakeably acknowledged to be far superior to that of the Dutch,' [Percival, p 410] General Macdowal was presented to the King.

40 Section 14. Futile negotiations.

He sat in state upon his throne. It was a large chair, raised upon a platform, three or four steps high. It was plated with gold, set with precious stones; and, like his attire, was very rich and magnificent. The canopy above the throne was made of white Calico, with a fringe of the same fabric. Many Europeans, among whom we may mention Cordiner, seem to have divided the King for ~~using~~ the use of this inferior material for his state canopy. But they may well believe, that if it was not in keeping with the other parts of his throne, or if it was less costly, the circumstance was not owing to a "sad falling off!" of the King's perquisites, or the riches of the country. The "White canopy" of state had continued from the earliest ages to the period of which we are writing to

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be what the Ambassador of this period saw. White silk might certainly have been used; but we much doubt if at this time any of that stuff was procurable in Ceylon which nearly approached the whiteness of Calico. We ourselves have not seen any cream white satin, or silk until long after the English accession. ~~But~~ Be this as it might.

The King, who occupied his seat under this white canopy, was dressed in a robe of very fine muslin, embroidered with gold, fitted close at 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. He wore several large rings of great value, set with precious stones. A number of gold chains in addition to a large round gold ornament, were suspended from his neck over the muslin ruff which we have already described. On this day he wore a turban of muslin spangled with gold, and surmounted by his Crown. He had a rich sash, to which was suspended a short Kandian dagger, the handle of which was richly ornamented, and the scabbard of gold filigree work. In appearance, says Percival, His majesty much resembled the figures which we are accustomed to see of King Henry VIII. How much in other respects he was like or unlike the

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same English King we shall hereafter have occasion to notice.

It is now time to return to the Ambassador, who, being presented at the Court in due form, handed over North's letter to the King, which he laid aside. Though Pilimatalawe, after removing the white muslin with which the letter had been enveloped, disappeared, the other Chiefs, including the second Adigar were present, and made the usual prostration. When thereafter, the members of the embassy had sat down on a rich carpet spread on the floor, the conference commenced. The King directly addressed the second Adigar, who repeated the King's words to the Disava of Uva, who in his turn conveyed them to the Maha Modliar who acted as Interpreter, repeating the same in Portuguese to Mongonville, and leaving that gentleman to explain it in French to the Ambassador.

From the exclusion of Pilimatalawe from the conference one may be led to suppose that the King placed no confidence in his Prime Minister. The contrary however was the fact. Owing to the great estimation in which he held his aged benefactor, it would seem, he never employed him as his 'spokesman.' Besides, it appears
40B from the position which the King occupied,(1) and the fact that Pilimatalawe had early retired from the Hall,

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suggests (1a) ~~[suggests]~~ that he had placed himself close to the centre of the door through which the King spoke to the second Adigar. ~~[p.315]~~ Cordiner himself has correctly surmised the object with which the prime Minister had retired, and which he says "probably was to prompt this tool of State." [p.315]

This complimentary part of the conference, says Percival, lasted for three hours, during which rose-water was frequently sprinkled around from curiously wrought vessels of gold, and perfumes were handed about on salvers of gold and silver filigree work; and scented oils burned in the lamps, of which there were four chandeliers and eight hanging lamps of European manufacture. (2) It would also seem that whilst the conference was going on the company was regaled not only with Sinhalese vocal music, the airs of which the Ambassador thought were pleasant, — but there were some persons, whose heads alone were seen, and with whom the king gaily conversed and laughed. These persons as stated by a native gentlemen acquainted with the Court, and who saw their persons only by their reflections on the mirrors in the Hall, were his favourite Kavatiyo whom he afterwards carried with him even to his exile.

The complimentary ceremonies being ended, the parties withdrew for the purpose of bringing up the

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presents to the king, which consisted among other things of an elegant state coach drawn by six horses — an ~~or~~ ornamental betel dish of solid gold, valued at 800 pagodas, and which had belonged to Tippu Sultan, etc, etc. On their return to the Hall the king began business by inquiring of the Ambassador 'if he had not forgotten any of the Commissions intrusted to him by the Governor.' General Macdowal replied that "he had not, but that he was authorized by the Governor to propose a treaty to His Majesty". Well — 'let it be submitted to the Chiefs' was the laconic reply of the King. (p340)

This does not appear to be conduct of a tyrant, such as Sri Wikrama is represented by the English. Neither does his conduct show any distrust of his Chiefs; nor indeed a wish, much less an impatience, to effect a change in the constitution of the Kandyan kingdom. All that we can see is, that the anxiety and the desire were on the part of the English Government to enter into a treaty for their own "advantage".

After the Ambassador had been referred to the Chiefs for negociations in respect of the proposed Treaty and after he had partaken of refreshments offered in the style, which we have described in a previous

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chapter – General Macdowal left the Palace. In process of time he proposed the following articles of treaty: 1. The establishment of a formal alliance between the English and Kandians. 2. That the English should recognize Sri Wikrama as lawful Kandian King; and that he should treat his enemies as the enemies of the English. 3. That for the security of the Kandian throne, the English Government should, when necessary, place their troops in Kandy – the Kandian King defraying their expense. 4. That the Kandians should recognize the English as the legitimate successors of the Dutch in the maritime provinces. 5. That the English should have a monopoly of cutting Cinnamon in the Kandyan kingdom; 6. and also timber. 7. That both parties might mutually trade without being subject to any import or export duty on their respective frontiers. 8. That each nation should be subject to the lex loci. 9. That the religion of the people and their Temples should be respected, and not insulted. 10. That whereas it is of great consequence to His Kandian Majesty and the British Government that a free communication should take place between the English troops wherever they are, and the sea ports, such as Trincomalee, Jaffna, ~~Colombo and~~ Galle, and Colombo; his Candian majesty authorizes the establishment of a post to keep up a regular communication between the commanding officer of the forces, and the different garrisons in 41A

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the island of Ceylon.

The reader will perceive that the above Articles did not embrace the scheme for transporting the King – a proposal which, though he had the example of Indian authorities, as remarked by Marshall, General Macdowal had not sufficient effrontery to suggest. p83.

As regards Art. 3 of the terms which were actually proposed we have already pretty freely expressed an opinion, which was identically that of the Kandian Chiefs. Of the rest, the fourth, the sixth and the tenth deserve some passing observations. If, apparently, there was no objection to the fourth, there was however this difficulty in acceding to it, – that the Kandians did not desire to recognise the English as the successors of a people whom they had resolved to drive out of the island, lest they might by such recognition compromise themselves, and impose obstacles against the preferment of advantageous terms. As regards the sixth article to cut timber, the reader will perceive that the Sinhalese were not so mad as to give up the inaccessible forests of the Kandyian country, the only security which they had against invasion, and the sole means by which they proposed to hold their own territories. In that point of view the tenth was still more objectionable than the sixth. The Kandians could not be deluded into the

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belief that it was to their interest to have free communication between English troops. If they accepted the words of the tenth article literally they certainly regarded that the opening up of the country by roads was of "great consequence to His Kandian Majesty and the British Government" – the consequence being in the case of the former his utter ruin, and in the case of the latter the inestimable advantage of acquiring an auxiliary by which they might more speedily bring about that ruin. Though this proposal to construct a sort of Military road through the Kandian country naturally awakened the jealousy of the Kandyan Court; (3) yet it made no remarks thereon so as to convey its sentiments. In unqualifedly rejecting these three articles, how far they agreed to some of the other propositions may be seen from the terms which, in their turn, they proposed to the English Ambassador, and which were: 1. A firm and perpetual alliance between the two powers; 2. that both parties should consider the enemies of the other as their own; 3. that Buddhism and its establishments should be protected; 4. That the English should upon application, cut Cinnamon in the Kandian territories only as far as the Balane-kands; 5. That deserters from the armies of both parties should be restored; 6. That the Kandians should be permitted ~~at~~ to have ten ships to sail from, and return

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to, English ports with merchandize; and that these vessels should neither be examined nor subject to any duty; 7. That the Kandian king should issue orders for cutting Cinnamon and that on its delivery the English should pay its value at Kandy in money or goods; and 8. That an annual embassy should be sent to the court of each of the contracting parties as had been customary.

These proposals appear to us as such as might have been agreed to with some modifications. They were all ~~unobjection-able~~ unobjectionable, except perhaps the fourth, the sixth and the seventh. The fourth and the sixth related to the cutting of cinnamon, and may be here considered together. The revenues of the Kandian country were not very great. Those which brought in cash into the treasury were very few. Of these, that which was calculated to yield the greatest income was the trade in Cinnamon. Cinnamon formed the principal article of Commerce. If this article was exported, the English were not likely to abstain from taxing it, as they had imposed a tax of 75 per cent on their areka nuts, which formed the next principal article of commerce. In addition to these advantages which the English already possessed the Kandians could not forget the immense income which the salt pans of the country yielded to the English, who charged

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at this period from 800 to 1000 per cent above the cost of its production. In this state of affairs it was not possible to give up ~~all~~ all the revenues from cinnamon to the English. For the benefits which an alliance between the two Governments was calculated to confer on the Kandians, they deemed it quite sufficient to allow the English a portion of the cinnamon which grew in their territories, and in respect of that portion to place them exactly in the same position in which the Dutch had been placed previously — that is, to allow them to cut cinnamon upon permission first obtained; paying therefor a reasonable sum, which, when it had been fixed at eight six-dollars for a bale of 88 lbs. of Cinnamon, left a very great profit to the Dutch, giving the Kandyans only a fourth of that sum, as the remainder went fully to pay the expense of preparation. (4)

As regards the remaining treaty for 'free trade', — the privilege asked could not but prove of vast advantage to both the contracting parties. The restrictions which now existed against a coasting trade, being removed, it was naturally expected that the neighbouring countries of British India would consume a considerable portion of the productions of Ceylon; and that a proportion of British goods, and Indian commodities would find a ready market in the Kandian country. Yet it was not very reasonable to expect that the English would forego their

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right, which was founded on just principles of political economy, — to charge a fair sum for port duties; and, with that view,
42A to inspect the imports and exports of the Kandians. Such a demand might also have been defended on the claims that the Kandians had made to charge for the cinnamon taken away by the English. Still in a political point of view nothing could have proved of greater advantage to the English than the permission which had been applied for to carry on a coasting trade. It would have indirectly led to the very end which the English had in view, — of opening up the country (5) — a consummation which was far from being desired by the Kandians, in whose opinion the woods ~~had been~~ were an essential object of security against any hostile advances, and against any possible ravages of an enemy.

After several meetings on the subject of these proposed terms the conference broke up without any alteration in the connection between the two parties. But the English authorities were soon made aware that Pilimatalawe had not only failed in some of his engagements, had not only interposed difficulties in the way of the English and had led the Ambassador in a less practicable path than he could have pointed out; but also that he had not sufficient influence to carry through a treaty which he had agreed to, though with a sinister object.

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Referring the reader to Cordiner (6) for what took place at parting, especially the compliments of the Kandian Court, which included the expression by the King of his gratification on learning the desire of the English Government to cultivate terms of friendship with the Kandians; we may bring the affairs of this Embassy to a conclusion by stating that Major General Macdowal left Kandy on the 25th April, but not without thanking Pilimatalawe for his kind attentions, and expressing his good wishes towards his Majesty and the Nobles, whom he yet hoped to see in Kandy; and also not without receiving the customary presents which consisted of a gold chain, which the King himself put round the General's neck; a sword with an embroidered belt and Scabbard; a valuable ring set with precious stones; and an elephant. (7)

On his way to Colombo General Macdowal received orders from Colombo for a renewal of negotiations ~~which~~ with the Kandians, which necessarily delayed his journey a few days but produced no favorable result.

Though such was the result of the embassy yet there was undoubtedly a sincere desire at this period on the part of the King and Governor North to enter into terms of amity and alliance. Accordingly the King through his favorite, Leuke Disava, soon after proposed another treaty; and several overtures were also made by North to the Kandians during the two years following

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Macdowell's Embassy.

On February 5, 1802, Migastenne, the second Adigar, came down to Colombo on an Embassy from Kandy. (7a) The ambassador appeared in his capacity of Disava. He was the nephew of Pilimatalawe, and the successor of the murdered Ereewavala. He was a good man, but his conduct was greatly influenced by his uncle. At Colombo he took lodgings at Wolfendhal, and represented himself as the representative of the king, though in point of fact he was only sent by the First Adigar, whose views he expressed at a private conference with North.

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'When the Adigar and two other nobles of the Kandean Court entered the fort, the streets were lined with troops; and on their arrival at the portico of the Government-house, they were met by the town-major, and the Governor's two aides-de-camp, who handed them, in the manner that gentlemen handladies, into an inner chamber, where the Governor attended by the Chief Justice, Commander of the forces, and Chief Secretary, was prepared to meet them in state. Seven chairs were placed at the further end of the room, one by itself, and three on each side at right angles to it. The Governor sat at the top, the three Candians on one hand, and the three Councillors on the other. All the rest of the company were obliged to stand. The Candians were conducted to the Government-house from

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their lodgings in three Dutch carriages borrowed for the occasion. They insisted that the Chariot doors should be kept open, that they might not appear like prisoners in a place of confinement; and it was with much difficulty that they were persuaded to let the Coachmen sit on the boxes, in a more elevated situation than themselves. (8)

It is stated that when the Conference commenced that the Adigar stood up in an erect position without moving and made a long speech. He spoke ill of the King, although there was naught at this time to justify such a statement; and requested his dethronement, little knowing that such conduct belied his professed representative character. When however he received the same reply which his uncle had previously received, he proposed terms for a treaty, by which he demanded the cession of three small islands which had been granted by the Dutch treaty of 1766, with the right of employing ten vessels in a free Commerce. We have already stated the views of the English Government on this subject, and need scarcely say that although the Disava had received due honours, he departed from Colombo without an agreement being concluded. For, the Kandians were content with nothing less than the attainment of a footing on the Coast for the purpose of trade; and the English were averse to nothing more than conferring this benefit on them.

All hopes of attaining each other's objects being thus at

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and end, both parties ~~became~~ became simultaneously prepared for decisive action. If North was only too glad to commence hostilities, Pilimatalawe was still more glad to commit an undoubted aggression by which he could promote hostilities. In this state of mind the latter wrote to General Macdowal, evidently with a view to put him on a false scent, — stating that he would permit the English ~~troops~~ to open a road from Trincomalie to Colombo, provided it was done speedily, and without the knowledge of the King. He also at the same time requested a conference at Sitawaka with the object of vindicating his conduct towards the English. This application was properly rejected; and from that day did the English Governor on the one hand, and the Kandian minister on the other resolve upon "war to the knife."

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Section 15 **Macdowal's second Expedition to Kandy.**

A month had scarcely elapsed from this date when — quite unknown to the King, — Pilimatalawe assumed a hostile attitude towards the English. He made preparations for war; and issued orders to every one in the villages adjoining the British territories to hold himself in readiness for such an event. He even ordered parties of armed men occasionally to appear on the British frontiers, which they did. When, after such means, Pilimatalawe perceived that he had not succeeded in drawing out the English, he resolved upon another mode of action, which

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will presently be explained.

Certain Moor traders of Putlam, who had in 1802 purchased from the Kandians two hundred and ninety-two amunums of Areka nuts, were despoiled of the whole quantity by a headman, who was reported to have acted under the orders of the Kandian Government. On the matter being represented to the English authorities, a searching investigation took place; and it was clearly proved, that the traders had not been guilty of any misconduct, or wanting in respect to the authorities to justify the conduct which was imputed to 'a person in authority under the Kandian Government.'(1) On the contrary, all the circumstances of the case made it quite evident that the designing Adigar had been the author of this act of violence and injustice.(2) Upon such evidence North forwarded in September 1802, a letter of Complaint to the Kandian Court. To this remonstrance an answer was returned early in the October following, acknowledging the spoliation, admitting the justice of the demand, and promising reparation by the restitution of the property, which the King at the same time ordered. The answer was doubtless satisfactory; the Traders gladly proceeded to Kakanakuli to receive their property; and the King's orders also reached the authorities there to return the plunder; — when for

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the first time, all parties including the King, were made aware of the fact, that the Areka nuts had been sold. But the additional facts, that the sale was by a confidential agent of the Adigar, to some traders of Ruanwella, and for a sum not far below £1,000, only transpired long afterwards. The Kandian Court, only wishing to return the articles in kind, and finding the time unfavourable, when the crops had not come to maturity, promised the traders that they should have in the January following a quantity of Arekanuts equal to that which had been despoiled. At the same time the King was not wanting in courtesy to the English authorities; for, he explained to them the circumstances, and communicated the promise his Government had made to the traders. According to this arrangement a Commissioner was despatched to Kakunakuli in the middle of January 1803 to receive the Arekanuts, or, on failure of delivery to receive their value in money at six dollars ten per amunam.

It is needless to say that Pilimatalawe raised obstacles against the King's orders being carried out; and that on different pretexts he postponed a settlement until he was ready for warfare, which soon ensued after menacing appearances had been

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made in different places, — acts which, Pilimatalawe did not scruple to avow, had originated upon his sole responsibility, and which, as we shall presently see, were confined to a few localities.

Under these circumstances North determined to send troops into Kandy to enforce the claim of the English government to full indemnification; and to exact sufficient security against the repetition of a similar outrage. 43 B

Before, however, doing so, North wrote both to the King and his Minister, proposing terms of settlement. The letter to the King was intercepted by the Minister; and the one to himself was not even acknowledged. When the English Government, being ignorant of these facts perceived that the Kandyan Government (?) were not willing to accept the proferred terms, and that nothing short of hostile measures would accomplish 'those objects of accomodation' for which the proposals had been made, he resolved to make an appeal to arms. Though, perhaps, such a course might be defended, the commencement of hostilities without any notice to the King was not only contrary to law, but indefensible under the circumstances of the case. In accordance, however, with this resolution

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Major General Macdowal left Colombo on the 31st January 1803 (5) with the division of the Army under his command. It consisted of two incomplete companies of the Bengal Artillery, with the usual proportion of gun lascars, two Companies of H. M's 19th Regiment of Foot, the whole of the 51st Regiment, – six hundred and twenty five strong, – one thousand men of H. M's Ceylon native infantry, one company of Malays, and a small corps of pioneers. Few persons indeed, out of the vast numbers that thronged the streets of Colombo to witness the imposing spectacle of a gallant British Force marching out for war, – were not struck with their grandeur, the beauty of their colours, the strains of sweet Music which the Band of the 51st discoursed; and above all, as eye-witnesses have declared, the cheerfulness and the joy which were too clearly depicted of the 'chosen heroes rushing into victory,' as they left the 'Whist Bungalow' (6) after three hearty English cheers for their Sovereign.

After eleven days' march the troops reached Dambadeniya without any hindrance or mishap; and at that date, far from obtaining any evidence of any preparation for hostilities on the part of the Kandians, the Military authorities, during the four

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days they halted there, were indeed surprized to find every indication of a desire for peace — every endeavour to please the approaching enemy — and every desire to minister to their comforts. Cordiner says, referring to the date of which we are writing; "Nothing as yet indicated the approach of any hostile natives: on the contrary, the headmen declared that they had received orders from the King to treat the English troops with kindness, and supply them with every accommodation in their power. At the same time the most correct discipline was observed in the army; the property of the inhabitants was protected; and no disorder of any kind was allowed. Many of the Kandyan 44A
peasants visited the camp, and likewise several of the priests of Buddha, who were looked upon as spies, but civilly permitted to make any observations which they pleased. The priests as well as the chiefs of the villages, frequently paid their respects to the general, behaving with much obsequiousness and civility, saying that they wished to do everything in their power to afford assistance to the troops; and only requested protection in return." Such is a true statement of facts, upon which the reader need no longer entertain any doubt, though the Prime Minister of the King had been deluding him with the belief, that the English were on a friendly visit to his Capital, —

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thinking that when hostilities had begun, he should easily find an opportunity of dispatching the King; and trusting to secure his own power, by offering an advantageous treaty to the English.

We need scarcely say that both parties were greatly mistaken — the King in listening to the specious representations of his benefactor; and the Minister in entertaining the hopes to which we have just alluded. For before the 19th of January the King as well as his Minister had undoubted evidence of open hostilities which the King could not withstand, and his Minister could not easily turn to his own account. The King was wholly unprepared to offer any resistance; and when he was informed by his own adherents that his strong posts of Galagedera and Giragama had been attacked, and that his own troops had suffered, he lost no time in seeking his own safety in the inaccessible wilds of Hanguranketa. When the people of the city found that the King had fled, and that there was no hope of a successful encounter with the 3000 British troops that were then approaching the City, they also fled to a man — leaving nothing behind, except what they could not carry; a few houses on flames; (?) and a few pariah dogs in the streets.

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It was now quite clear that the traitor Minister could no longer hold his ground. He had his enemies, and they were now by the King. He had no people, for they had all fled. He could not take a bold action against the King, for he was not sure that the King might not still overcome both him and the English. He moreover could have no confidence in the English Governor, who had refused his last application for an interview. His only course of action was therefore to join the standard of the King, and defy all his enemies to gainsay his professions of loyalty to the Kandian throne. With this object he lost no time in joining his Master, leaving the city, as described by a Sinhalese writer, 'little better than a wilderness which had been the sport of devils' (8)

Section 16 **The British Puppet fails in Kandy.**

Such was the condition of the capital of the Kandian provinces when the conjoint forces of Major General Macdowal, and of Colonel Barbut from Trincomali, at once entered the city as they would a parade ground; and took possession of it on the 4th of February. On occupying it they found that all the treasures of the king had been removed; — that part of the palace had been consumed by flames, and along with it the State Coach which North had presented to the King, — and that the grand arsenal had completely blown up.

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In the "immense square of irregular buildings" which constituted
448 the King's Palace, and some of which had escaped the fire,
there was some elegant glass and china; and also some golden
cups, many immense pier glasses, etc. etc. (1) Among a variety
of other objects which fell into the hands of the English, were a
large quantity of ammunition, brass cannon, smaller arms,
pots full of copper coins, a few horses and three milk white deer
which were 'esteemed a singular curiosity'.

Before entering into the details of affairs which follows
the occupation of the capital by the English, we shall briefly
notice the policy of the British Government in Ceylon. It was,
in respect of the Kandian Country — for we shall hereafter
shew how widely it differed in the maritime settlements —
precisely the same that guided the actions of the East India
Company. Their great desire was to make Britain the
paramount Power in India — to establish free trade —
and to do everything that conduced to the acquirement of
wealth. All these objects they secured by subsidiary
alliances with native princes, whom they held under
such severe terms, that they could at any time be
'brought to sanction any wish of the British Government'. (2)
They therefore preferred to let the natives themselves rule
the country, knowing that as a secondary Power in
the State, with an intimate knowledge of all circumstances,

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and the protection afforded them by the English Government, they could collect the revenues with far greater facility and regularity than the English; and that the exorbitant sums stipulated by the native princes would come into the British coffers without reference to any fluctuations of the revenue. It was also their rule frequently to change the native rulers, and to pension those whom they had deposed, with strict injunctions to them to be neutral in political affairs that passed around them. It was in accordance with such a policy that they conceived the project of espousing the cause of Pretenders — to pick holes in the pedigrees of the ruling princes — to denounce them as 'illegitimate and spurious descendents of soi disant princes. In their transactions with native princes, they were guided by no honourable motives, no regard for truth and no desire for justice. Like Lady Macbeth they 'would not play false and yet would wrongly win.' 'Win' indeed they did wrongly. (3) The East India Company, at the period of which we are writing, deposed Vizier Ally, and placed Saadut Ally on the Musnud. They set aside the claims of Serfugee and put Amasin in his place. (4) They again deposed Amasin and sent him away with an allowance of 25,000 pagodas and a country seat, which he occupied till 1802.

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They secured an enormous subsidy from the Carnatic and stipulated that the revenues of Tanjore should be held liable to the payment due to them. They placed Ranni Sudapadi on her brother's throne, and obtained by treaty of 90,000 pagodas per annum, being nearly two-thirds, the revenue of Ramisseram. In nearly all these tributary states they placed a British Resident. These facts when coupled with those which we shall presently relate, will furnish abundant evidence to justify the belief, that North assimilated his Kandian policy to that of the East India Company. Lord Valentia, who was his guest about this period, and who, from his cordial concurrence with North's policy, might be considered as simply reproducing that which he had heard from North's lips,— says that 'Sri Wikrama was a son by the late King by a Cingalese mother, and consequently a bastard; since the King of Candy can only marry a Malabar of his own cast.' 'This young man', he adds, 'had therefore no legal right to the Crown.' (5) This is a statement for which we have no one's authority except perhaps that of Pilimatalawe; (6) and even he it would seem was not bold enough to assert it, nor by such an assertion to impute to Sri Wickrama a disqualification to the throne. All that he had actually said was that he, Sri Wikrama,

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was an 'obscure youth' – an expression, which, in accordance with the feelings that actuated British authorities of this period, and with a foregone conclusion, was easily transformed into a 'bastard.' Lord Valentia's law was also clearly at fault. It was purely an Indian inspiration; for, whatever might have been the Indian, the Kandian law, never interposed an obstacle against a Sinhalese king – to whatever nation he might have belonged – being legally married to a Sinhalese woman. Rajadi, also a Malabar King, was legally married to a young lady of the Mampitiye family (6). Lord Valentia is also at fault on his facts. Sri Wikrama, as we have already seen, was not 'a son of the late king;' nor was he the issue by 'a Sinhalese mother.' He was a pure Malabar of the island of Ramiseram, on the Malabar Coast opposite Manaar. (7) Be this as it might. The assimilation of North's policy to that of the East India Company appears also from what Lord Valentia further says in respect of Ceylon – that 'the native (Sinhalese) might be gratified by being governed by one of their ancient line of Princes, who might keep his court under the superintendence of the British Government.' (ib, p. 123)

These were the views and the policy of the Government of this period which induced Colonel Barbut to suggest that Muttusami, who had been

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under his official care for sometime, would make a fit successor to the fugitive king. He went farther and stated that all the people who inhabited the Northern and Eastern provinces of the island, — people who as the reader is aware, had a Dravidian origin, were in his favor. He also assumed that from his near relationship to Rajadhi, the last king, and the customs of the country, Muttusami had the best title to the throne. He also praised his character for "humanity and politeness, as well as his discretion and dignity." Indeed he was so greatly desirous of forwarding Muttusami's claims to the Sinhalese throne that he brought down the claimant as far as Minneriya, and reported the circumstance to the English garrison in Kandy. Upon this the authorities, who had already felt the want of some native agency by which they could procure food for their troops, lost no time in sending for Muttusami, in "expectation that through his influence, the army would be supplied with provisions." (8)

Colonel Barbut was accordingly despatched on the 22nd of February with his Majesty's Malay regiment, and two three pounders of the Bengal artillery to this scion of royalty, and to escort him to Kandy; and on the 2nd of March, a party of men of the 19th regiment marched from Kandy to meet the detachment under Colonel Barbut; since

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it had been reported that he would meet with considerable opposition on the part of Pilimatalawe. The escort however returned to Kandy on the 4th with Muttusami, but without any opposition.

Soon after his arrival, terms were proposed to him by the British authorities, and on their acceptance, he was selected King on the 8th of March. This was a proceeding 45B
however to which neither the Chiefs nor the Kandian people were parties. The English authorities had such confidence in the representations of Colonel Barbut, that they readily believed that the people would flock round his standard; and under such a belief they entered into a Treaty, the terms of which were as follows:

1. That Muttusami be declared king of the Kandian provinces, except [the fertile regions of] the seven Korles, the forts of Galagedera and Giriagama, and a strip of land sufficient for a public road across the Kandian territories, and communicating with Colombo and Trincomali 2. That he should treat the enemies of the English Government as his own. 3. That the English should recognise Muttusami as King of Kandy as soon as he had been duly installed into his regal office; and that, if required, they should give him an auxiliary force to maintain his authority, he paying their expense. (9) 4. That all duties on the

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common frontier be abolished. 5. That all Europeans and Malays be sent out of Kandy to the British territories; and likewise all persons of such nationalities as committed crimes in the Kandian provinces. 6. That all persons except those named in Art. 5. should be subject to the lex loci. 7. That Muttusami should protect the monopoly of cinnamon enjoyed by the British Government – that he should allow pickers to gather in his territories to the west of the Balane Kanda, – and furnish as much cinnamon as ~~may~~ might be required at ~~forty six~~ forty-six dollars per bale of eighty pounds. 8. That he should permit the English to cut timber. 9. That he should abstain from prohibiting the exportation of paddy, grain, or arekanuts. 10. That he should permit Sri Wikrama freely to retire with his family, into the maritime provinces, and pay him annually a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars. 11. That all who had opposed him should freely be permitted to retire with their families into British territories. 12. That every facility should be given to all persons for free commerce. 13. That British subjects be free in Kandian territories to build houses and sell and purchase goods. 14. That Kandians be likewise free in the maritime settlements, and on the same terms as Sinhalese subjects of His Britannic Majesty. 15. That the British government be allowed to examine rivers and water courses, and to render them navigable. 16. That a

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British Resident be stationed in the Kandian country. 17. That these Articles be forwarded for confirmation to His Majesty (we believe the King of England.)(10)

After the above Treaty had been concluded with the most sincere cordiality between Muttusami and the English garrison at Kandy, the former was put in possession of the Palace of the old king, together with his valuable furniture, which the English authorities refrained from selling at Muttusami's earnest request. Many days had not however, elapsed from the date before the English found that the new king met with no adherents; that he remained in the palace 'as a mere shadow of authority,' without any Court excepting his own domestics; and that he was supported by no other power but the English government which had elevated him to the throne. (11)

It was soon afterwards ascertained that Muttusami was not such a 'good and true' man as had been represented by Barbut. (12) Not only was Muttusami not supported by the Kandians, but they also evinced decided hostility against him. "The armed inhabitants of the country', says Cordiner, 'Continued true to the fugitive monarch, and his artful Minister, whose head quarters were at this time established at Hanguranketta – a royal palace in strong position, two days march from Kandy." (p. 188) 46A

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Muttusami's elevation to the throne, of which Sri Wikrama was utterly ignorant, had a severe effect on Pilimatalawe. It affected his feelings like an electric shock on the human frame. He was greatly vexed and agitated on hearing it. a fiendish hate of the odious Malabar, and the Governor who elevated him to the throne, took possession of the Minister. He clearly saw that with such evidence of hostile intentions on the part of North, no sincere alliance, no concord of sentiment, and no union of views could be established with him. He also clearly perceived that North's professed amity and attachment were delusive. He, consequently, cherished an irreconcilable aversion to the English nation; and an eager desire to get rid of the English Governor. Yet the perturbation of his mind, consequent upon such thoughts and reflections did not last long. For, he speedily came to a firm resolution to carry out both his objectives by conciliatory measures, by false representations, and by evincing the sincerest submission to North's views – doubtless remembering the old Sanskrit adage, that 'even by stratagem there might be success against a powerful monarch.' (13) In this temper of mind he soon found the exact position of affairs – not only as they regarded the lazy Malabar who enjoyed his otium cum dignitate in the seclusion of the Maligava, but as respects the English authorities in Kandy who were now bewildered how to act.

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For they had no king to deal with. The one who had occupied the Kandian throne had proved himself in no wise better than 'King Log' in the fable. There were, besides, no chiefs with whom they could enter into a treaty,— and no people with whom they could converse. The inclemency of the weather and the climate had already begun to tell seriously upon the European soldiers' health. ~~Numbers~~ Numbers of Sepoys were actually sick in hospital. There was great difficulty in providing them with suitable provisions. The delay of getting them from Colombo, was, owing to distance and other disadvantages of travelling, very great. Communication with Head Quarters occupied so much time, that the authorities in Kandy were not able to decide upon the course of action.

This was undoubtedly a situation which favored the intentions of Pilimatalawe. He therefore set about at once to practise his arts on the honest simplicity of Colonel Barbut; and he had not been long occupied in his overtures to capture the fugitive King, before the unsuspecting Colonel unwarily listened and consented to send a strong force to Hanguranketa. When he had thus dexterously managed this little diplomatic manoeuvre he warned the King of his danger, admonished him to retire into a still wilder part of the country, and gave directions to friends and foes — for both had now a common interest — to raise the largest force which the country could muster. Even whilst the Kandian forces were assembling on the environs of Kandy, and on the very path which led to the supposed retreat of the King, a British force left

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the town upon "this disastrous expedition". (14)

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Section 17 The Arraignment of North.

The two detachments consisting of 800 men, which left Hardy on the 13th March, under the command of Colonel Baillie and Colonel Logan, had scarcely advanced a few miles when a heavy firing commenced upon them in all directions. "Lieutenant Fredrick Hankey of the 51st. Regiment, Brigade Major of the King's Troops in Colonel Baillie's division, and Lieutenant Edward Graham of the Bengal Artillery, in Lieutenant Colonel Logan's, were severely wounded. Three European soldiers, with a considerable number of Malays and Sepoys, fell at the same time". The firing continued without interruption for a considerable time, until at last the vigour of English musketry, and the able direction of English cohorts, drove them from their batteries, and their ambuscades" But, though compelled to shift their ground, they relinquished not their attack; but continued from neighbouring hills and thickets to annoy the troops with jingal pieces and firelocks; and the two divisions moved on accompanied by the forces of the enemy. The road was mountainous and

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rugged, and the march one of the most harassing and toilsome which can possibly be imagined." (Cordiner, p. 190) Though they had thus marched many miles in search of the King, they had only the poor satisfaction of burning his empty and deserted palace, and to know that their loss had not only been great, but that a number of native soldiers had gone over to the enemy — one of whom, a Malay of the Ceylon regiment, was several times observed to level his piece at Colonel Baillie(1)

It being now very clear that Pilimatalawe had only intended to draw the English into new snares, and had calculated on involving them in perplexities which would have placed them entirely in his power; it was wisely resolved to return to Kandy, where they arrived on the 16th of March, but not without experiencing the same opposition which the British forces had met in their journey to Hanguranketa.

If the situation of the English garrison in Kandy had before been bewildering, it was now certainly "perilous and embarrassing." Numerous bodies of Kandians continually hovered round the British posts. Parties of armed men were concealed in the woods and thickets. English guards and sentries were attacked during the night time. Every straggler that fell into the hands of the Kandians, was murdered. A sum of ten rupees

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had been proclaimed as the price of each English head that was produced before Pilimatalawe. Before the last proclamation which was intended to stimulate the activity of their vengeance, had been in force for twenty four hours, numbers of British subjects fell into the hands of the enemy. One European of the 19th, several Malays, ~~and~~ sepoys and cookies were found mangled in the most barbarous manner. Even the women of the enemy had not escaped the fury of the irritated Kandians.

Colonel Barbut, who went with a detachment on the road to Trincomali, with a view to conciliate the headmen, and to induce them to declare themselves in favor of Muttusami, had such a lesson taught him and his men, that he not only returned without delay, but found that he had been greatly deceived as to what he ~~had conceived to be~~ considered 'the cordial relations which had existed between the old Malabar France and the Kandian people.'

Though sickness had not yet spread to any alarming
47B extent, yet the English garrison now ~~began~~ decidedly began to feel the effects of the campaign, and the change of the weather, though it could not be strictly called the 'Monsoon.' The communication between Trincomali and Kandy was now entirely interrupted by the Kandians. They also murdered several parties of cookies who went up

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with provisions. The tapal which left Colombo on the 16th of March was intercepted near Dambadeniya; and the sepoys who carried the mail bags were murdered. No cooly thereafter ventured a journey to Kandy; and but for the pluck of Captain Pollock, who arrived on the 30th of March with a large force conveying provisions from Fort Frederick, (2) the troops must have greatly suffered from long privations.

In this conjuncture Pilimatalawe's duplicity and cunning over-mastered the sound discretion, and the calm judgment of the English officers. He foresaw that when the rainy season had arrived towards the end of March, and with it the diseases which a change of weather ever produced, there would be but little improbability of the English desiring to beat a hasty retreat as fast as they had entered Kandy. He therefore made overtures for a treaty, in order, as much as possible to relax the vigilance of the English, and to make still more sure of their destruction. 'As if he thought that nature had set no limits to English credulity, and their confidence was never to be destroyed by his perfidy,' (3) – and indeed he had much reason for such a belief, – he dispatched letters to the Maha-Modliar, expressing his surprize at the folly of North in incurring vast trouble and expense to maintain

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a puppet on the throne. In a more confidential note he indicated clearly, that without his own elevation to power the English would never derive benefit from their connection with Kandy. When North perceived that there was much truth in this, and also heard that Col. Barbut had signally failed in his endeavours to induce the Kandians to come in and declare themselves in favor of Muttusami; such alas! is the weakness and depravity of human nature, especially when swayed by sordid motives of gain and greed, that his mind became blind to the most palpable circumstances, and became insensible to the voice of reason. Blinded by the 'screen, which, as Buddha alleges, is raised by avarice,' North not only failed to perceive the full force of the Adigar's refusal to meet Macdowal,— not only disregarded the warning of Leuke Disava, who wrote to inform him that the Adigar was 'a perfidious villain, who deceived the whole world and his King' — not only still cherished 'implicit confidence in honor and honesty of his perfidious confederate' (Marshall, 193) — not only failed to adopt adequate measures to reinforce the weak and reduced garrison of Kandy, and to supply its famished troops with food; — but he yielded to Pilimatalawe's

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application for some pacific arrangements by which he could be raised to the Regency of the Kandian provinces. About this date Megasterne visited Macdowal with a firelock wrapped up in white muslin as an emblem of peace. He was received with marked attention, and with a salute due to an Ambassador. A conference followed; ~~or~~ and on the 28th of March it was proposed that the English Government, the Kandian Chiefs, and Muttusami should enter into the following treaty (1):

1. That Muttusami should deliver over the administration of the Kandian Government to the Illustrious Prince Pilimatalaove, to be held by him during his natural life, and that Muttusami should retire into the British settlements, (2) on an annuity of 30,000 rixdollars; and ~~2.~~ that Pilimatalaove 48A O.N.

~~3. that Pilimatalaove should annually pay in lieu of 20,000 ammunams of arekanuts their value in British copper currency, computed at rixdollars six per ammunam of 24,000 nuts, and that the English Government should therewith pay both Muttusami and Sri Wikrama.~~

~~2. that Pilimatalaove should fulfil the engagements~~ should fulfil the engagements entered into by Muttusami with the English Government. 3. That Pilimatalaove should annually pay in lieu of 20,000 ammunams of arekanuts,

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their value (in British Copper currency, computed at rixdollars six per amunam of 24,000 nuts; and the English Government should therewith pay both Muttusami and Sri Wikrama. (4) 4. That in exchange for the Fort of Giragama, Pilimatalawe should cede Gonniavila or (Elavila) now called Fort Macdowal. 5. That all Malabar princes should be allowed free liberty to settle wherever they pleased; and that a general amnesty and pardon should be observed towards both Muttusami's adherents and opponents. 6. That the above articles be carried into effect from the time the fugitive King should have been delivered into the hands of the British Government; and that untill such time there should be a perfect cessation of hostilities.

After the Treaty (5) had been signed by North and Pilimatalawe, such was the impatience of the British garrison to leave Kandy — an impatience which the Kandians clearly perceived, — Macdowal left for Colombo on the 1st of April, taking with him the 51st Regiment, the Ceylon Native Infantry, 1,000 strong — and a detachment of Bengal artillery. At the same time a part of H. M.'s 19th and the Malay regiments marched out for Trincomali, — leaving at Kandy a garrison consisting of 700 Malays, 300 Europeans and a few men of the Bengal and Madras artillery,

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besides "a considerable number of sick".

The wisdom of this precipitate departure of the English troops has been much questioned by European writers. But they clearly forget that there was no necessity whatever for a different course of action. Even the settlement of a small garrison in Kandy could not be defended upon the terms of the 3rd. Art. of the original Treaty; for neither Muttusami, nor Pilimatalawe 'required any auxiliary force'. Moreover we have the authority of those who intimately knew the Kandian affairs of this period, that a prolonged stay at Kandy would have only expedited the destruction of the entire English forces, for more by natural causes than by the hand of the enemy. (6) There is, however, no necessity for commenting severely upon an act, which, at most, could only amount to an error of judgment but which we are willing to regard as a very venial error, in comparison to the grave error of treating with two ministers, who were undoubtedly the enemies of their king; and with a Pretender, who was not recognised by either the ministers, the king, or the Sinhalese nation; — and the still greater folly of entering into negociations, which affected the king without his knowledge or concurrence, a king whom they left behind the scenes, and who, as already shown, 48B

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had sufficient influence to scatter to the winds all the Treaties, and to punish the treason of both his Ministers and the Pretender.

But what will the reader say to the elevation of Muttusami, — the treaty which North entered with him, — the reasons which led to its modification, if not its abrogation, in less than twenty days, — the elevation of Pilimatalawe as 'the most illustrious Prince,' — and the character of the terms of the second treaty with that personage?

According to all notions of justice, and according to all the principles which usually guide the affairs of sensible men, it is clear that Muttusami should not have been raised to the Sinhalese throne. He himself had tamely submitted to Sri Wikrama's elevation. His claims which he preferred to the British Government, had been properly rejected. (7) North had since recognised Sri Wickrama as the King of Kandy. He had clearly acknowledged him as such by sending an ambassador to his court; and by solemnly stating the fact in the Treaty proposed to him. Supposing however, that this was one of those errors which North 'regretted afterwards,' (8) the way in which he repaired the error is indeed not less amusing than significant. The treatment of Muttusami by the

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British authorities, says Col. Forbes, — and we cannot set the matter in more forcible language than his, — 'is indefensible on the plea of necessity; and nothing less could afford a justification. Mootosami is described as being mild and amiable; his right to the Kandian throne was proclaimed by the British; they ~~saluted him as king~~ brought him to the capital; they saluted him as king; they offered to support him with a military force; yet but a very few days after this, without any fault or his, or misfortune on their, part — they deliberately conclude, and afterwards ratify, a treaty, by which he was to become a pensioner on one they knew to be a villain, ready to commit the worst of crimes, yet whom they were about to raise to supreme authority over the Kandyans.' (9) This sudden change of Policy can only be accounted for by an impatience, honorably to leave the Kandian country, and with a Treaty in their pocket, which, though not legally binding on the Kandians, or such as could be practically enforced, — would yet give the English a fair pretext for action at a more favorable opportunity. As regards the treatment of Pilimatalawe, we can only say that from the beginning North had a great leaning to the man; and but for his meddlesome impertinence and impudence to set his feet in the Kandian country North at least would never have had a fair opportunity to

extend the British settlements in Ceylon.

In looking over the terms of the several Treaties, we confess, we fail ~~either~~ to perceive either their legality, – the justice of the obligations imposed, or the equitableness of the provisions as they affected the several contracting parties.

1. These treaties we apprehend, were illegal and not binding on Sri Wikrama, or the Kandian people who were still his adherents. As treaties of peace they were repugnant in their provisions, to the nature and essence of such Contracts. Where the object is peace, a treaty is necessarily designed to leave the two belligerent parties safe, unmolested and in statu quo. This was not secured. On the contrary, by these treaties Sri Wikrama, against whom the English waged ~~a~~ war, was dethroned; and an 'impostor' placed on the throne as soon as the English had taken an evacuated City. Such a non-equitable agreement, as Vattel says, 'is not entitled to the appellation of a treaty' (p. 446). The English had no right to recognise Muttusami as the rightful successor to Rajadi. 'When', says the same writer from whom we have just quoted, 'a usurper' – (even supposing that such was Sri Wikrama's character) – becomes possessed of all the powers of Government, and the people have submitted to him; and by a voluntary

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homage they have [including Muttusami] acknowledged him as their Sovereign; other nations [for instance, the English] not having any right to intermeddle with the domestic concerns of that nation [the Kandians], are bound to abide by the decision, and to look no farther than the circumstance of actual possession." (p437) Sri Vikrama was still the King of Kandy. Neither he nor his people had submitted to the English Government. Hostilities had not ceased. The arms of England had not been declared triumphant. Under these circumstances the power of binding the state in any negociation for peace was clearly vested in the King, or the people; or, as Vattel says, between those who are empowered to perform the stipulations contained in it." (p.433) Will any one believe that Pilimatalawe had any authority from the people to bind them as this treaty bound them, or from the King to deprive him of the throne, and to transport him from his kingdom. We shall not insult the reader with any further comments. "It is difficult to imagine" says Forbes "what delusion could have led any one to expect that a suspicious, jealous and haughty despot, who styled himself in his counter proposals, 'King of Lanka, as great amongst men as Iswara among the Gods', — would delegate all

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power to his minister, and transfer his own person from possible danger to certain restraint." (Vol. I, p.23)

2. As regards the terms of the treaties; they were founded upon an assumption that 'Mutusami was the ~~ex~~ undoubted heir' of Rajadi. They contained stipulations which were impolitic, ungenerous, impracticable, and difficult, ~~if~~ if not incapable, of fulfilment. We fail to see how it was possible for the Kandians 'to furnish as much Cinnamon as might be required by the English, especially after giving up the whole of the Cinnamon region up to Balanne in perpetuity. It was clearly to the advantage of the Kandians of this period 'to prohibit the exportation of grain;' and yet they were required by Art. ix not to do so. The transfer of the Seven Korles, – at this time the granary of the Kandian kingdom, was seriously calculated to cripple the royal means, and the revenues of the country. Having made such a concession, how the Kandians could reasonably be expected to pay, in addition to the heavy expenses of a British force in Kandy, the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand rix dollars per annum, is a financial and political problem which we confess we cannot solve. For all these manifold concessions on

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the part of the Kandians, they were simply to be bound by ties of amity and friendship with a power, which would not on its ~~own~~ part, permit them a coasting trade, or consent to exempt them from the heavy taxation to which salt and Arekanuts had been made liable. Indeed they would 49B
concede nothing except the right of trading in the maritime provinces, which much more in their own interests than in that of the Kandians, they agreed to as a great act of condescension.

Nothing short of his unbounded confidence in Pilimatalawe could have induced North to propose such unjust terms as these doubtless under the belief that the Kandians were insensible both to the calls of patriotism and to their self-interest. 'One can scarcely believe' says Forbes, – and we prefer again to quote the language of that honest Englishman which reflects our own sentiments; – 'one can scarcely believe that these proposals were intended to insure the personal safety of the king, although this is implied by the historian of that period, Cordiner, who was himself on the spot. They appear much more fitted to accomplish all the views of the first Adigar; and as the quarter from which danger to the King might be expected, was not to be communicated to him, the interferce of the British Governor was sure to be deemed impertinent, and

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must have been regarded with suspicion. From these arrangements, it might at first appear that the Adigar was to acquire substantial power, while the British Governor was to play protection to a royal semblance; but the real scope of these proposals can scarcely be regarded as so short-sighted in point of policy, although it may be difficult to defend them on the ground of morality. British troops were to be insinuated into the Kandian country; and considering the character of the intended native Viceroy, Pilimatalawe, they must either have fallen victims to his crooked Policy, or have secured the country to the British Crown.(10)

The first of these conjectures was soon realized. From the moment Macdowal left Kandy with the bulk of the troops, the small garrison, the safety of which, as remarked by Major Beaver, was 'intrusted to the honour and good faith of the Adigar, was doomed to destruction.'(11) It is important to bear in mind that destruction was brought about by the Adigar himself. By his neglect and the want of proper nourishment the little garrison soon suffered by sickness. Endemic fever which now prevailed to a fearful extent in different parts of the island,(12) carried away a number of the English officers;(13) and many out of the small force of both European and Native

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troops in Kandy. The garrison Surgeon was confined to hospital, and the Assistant Surgeon became a victim to this fell disease; and the reader may not altogether disbelieve the representation of tradition, that with him vanished all "hope" of preserving the remaining officers, or the small corps, still left in Kandy. That this number was gradually reduced may be easily believed; but to what extent one can only guess from the facts before him.

Section 18 The British Invasion of Kandy Fails.

For the present we must leave the famished garrison, and return to the Minister who endeavoured his best to reduce it still further, and to gain time for carrying out his resolution to which we have already alluded. In furtherance of that determination he still continued to collect forces,— fostered the 'hostile dispositions which still prevailed amongst the rest of the nobles,' and issued orders to harrass the English in their frontiers.

Accordingly two bodies of Kandians simultaneously entered the maritime provinces; of whom about 600 built a redoubt, and settled at Muguruganpola. On hearing this Captain Beaver marched on the 20th March, with 50 A

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a small force from Negombo, when the Kandians fled without offering any resistance. The Fort, which they had abandoned, was a remarkably strong one both by nature and art. On the south of it there was a complete square redoubt, which might have been defended against almost any force of mere musketry. It was a parapet, constructed of fascines and earth, with embrasures or rather loop-holes. (1)

A force similar to that at the last-mentioned place was repulsed early in April at Walgama, in the borders of the Sina Korle; but not so easily as at Muguruganpola. (2) Between these dates Devuke Disava of the Four Korles had established himself at Atgalla, at the head of several thousand men, and had been endeavouring to seduce the low country sinhalese from their allegiance to the British Government, when Mr. Wood the Agent of ~~Government~~ Revenue marched against him with a small force, and completely routed the Kandians. (3)

Pidimatalawe's position at this time was embarrassing in the extreme. He had a double object to gain, — to destroy the King, and to get rid of the English. Little short of duplicity and intrigue consorted with such a situation. He therefore professed to be the friend of the King, and at the same time the ally of the English. In proof of his attachment to the

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former he advanced on the 2nd of April within three miles of the English garrison, with a large Kandian force; but to prove his sincerity towards the latter, he not only informed Davie and Muttusami that he was taking active measures to carry out the terms of the Treaty one of which was the capture of the King, — but also wrote to North, requesting an interview at his country seat at Dambadeniya.

The reader need not long be left in suspense as to another object of this meeting. Though it was believed by North, and every one else, that all matters relating to Kandy had been finally settled by the last treaty; they indeed little reflected, in their great haste to get out of Kandy, that the performance of the Compact on the part of Pilimatalawe, was dependent on the Conditions precedent, by which he was to be intrusted with the administration of the Kandian Government; and that Muttusami was to leave Kandy. Neither of these conditions had been fulfilled. Neither, again, was he recognized as the Regent of Kandy; nor did Muttusami, far from leaving the palace, even recognize the supplementary treaty by his signature — circumstances which not only created great uneasiness in Pilimatalawe's mind,

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but were fraught with much suspicion. He therefore, treated the negociation of the 28th of March as a nudum pactum: and, being unmolested for a while, and intending to punish the Governor for his insulting conduct, at having contrary to all expectation, raised his enemy to the throne from which he had desired to exclude the Malabars for ever, he meditated upon murdering the English governor. It was to carry out this design that he solicited the favor of an interview, though he wrote to say, that it was "for the purpose of arranging the definitive treaty of peace." To remove all doubts regarding his own perfidious intentions, he, at the same time, suggested that a tour by His Excellency in the Seven Korles might have a good effect in quieting the apprehensions of the people, and increasing their confidence in the protection which had been promised them by the British Government. (4).

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Anxious to secure Kandy, honestly if he could, but if not, by any means — 'whether by the treason of the Adigar, or by force of arms'; but, as it was notified at the time, 'excited by the desire of restoring peace and tranquility,' North left Colombo on the 28th of April with Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary, the Surveyor General, and his personal staff; and

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arrived at Dambadeniya on the 1st of May. For two long days Pilimatalawe meditated upon various plans for murdering the Governor; but, when, at the expiration of that time, he saw to his great astonishment a British force enter Dambadeniya, ~~on the 1st of May. For two long days Pilimatalawe meditated upon various plans for murdering the Governor; but, when, at the expiration of that time, he saw to his great astonishment a British force enter Dambadeniya on the 1st of May~~ headed by Colonel Barbut, his heart failed him. He abandoned his foul intention and respectfully waited on His Excellency on the 3rd of May. Still, the sudden reaction of his feelings had not yet sufficient time to prepare him for the emergency, and to cool him down from his hot purpose; for, it is reported, that during his interview with North he greatly 'trembled' — a trepidation that was then attributed to timidity, but which in fact only denoted a guilty conscience and the evidence of a misgiving that his wickedness might have been suspected.

Putting on, however, the best face he could under the circumstances, he had a long interview with North; and, without suggesting the slightest modification of the hard and inequitable terms to which he had already agreed — and for the simple

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reason that he never intended to carry them out, and that he only wished to have himself raised to power by the instrumentality of the English Government, — he signed anew the Treaty of the 28th March,

'And by the trick of treaties, the still waste
of sly corruption, and barbaric gold,
Effected what his steel could ne'er perform.'

It is also stated that he evinced by his conduct the greatest attachment to the English Government, and agreed that Colonel Barbut should obtain Muttusami's signature to the Treaty. Many civilities were on this day exchanged between the English and the Sinhalese authorities; and after the headmen and the people of the Seven Korles had demonstrated their fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain, North left Dambadeniya, and arrived in Colombo on the 8th of May. In the mean time Colonel Barbut, who took ill of endemial fever, left the Kandyan Provinces, without carrying out his commission, and died shortly afterwards in Colombo, — an event which left matters in statu quo, and on which the command of the Kandian garrison devolved on Major Davie.

In this unsatisfactory state of affairs the Adigar again wrote to North, and in compliance

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with his request General Macdowal was sent to Kandy to repair matters; but before his arrival the wily chief had again changed his tactics.

He found ample reason for this change in the altered circumstances of the time. He had unfortunately fallen out with his coadjutor, the 2nd Adigar. His enemies were thus on the increase. Amongst them was the uncompromising Levuke. Pilimatalawe ~~had~~ also had clear evidence of a faction being formed. That faction was doubtless favorable to the King. Sri Wickrama was now likely to hear what the minister had so studiously kept back from his knowledge. He had a misgiving that he would be betrayed before Macdowal arrived. From the precipitate manner in which he had left Kandy Pilimatalawe was also doubtful of his being at all sent. Moreover, in the deplorable state in which he found the British garrison he had no hope of success in any attempt to capture the King. Indeed the long expected crisis had arrived. 51 A

The monsoon had broken out with unprecedented violence. All the Country between Colombo and Kandy had been inundated. No provisions consequently had arrived from Colombo. The coolies, who had ventured to enter the Kandian provinces, were murdered. Others

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who had heard of their fate, positively refused to undertake a journey. Not only the English garrison, but the people generally suffered from fever, small pox and famine. 'Many of them,' says Cordiner, 'died on the high roads, and in the wretched houses of Kandy, where hungry dogs were often seen devouring the remains.' (5) The 'sixteen' English officers were doubtless reduced; and tradition asserts that there were no more than seven or eight; and the number of English troops did not exceed one hundred. (6) Such a situation left Pilimatalawe but one course of action,- to give his adhesion to the King, and by means of both friends and foes to expel the English. With this determination he waited on the King, invented several tales, magnified his own 'service' on the 2nd of April and requested his Majesty's authority to drive away the enemy. Sri Wikrama granted his request 'with tears in his eyes;' and we need scarcely say that he now felt a greater attachment to his benefactor than he ever did before. When Pilimatalawe thus found that Sri Wikrama had not the most distant suspicion of his proceedings, he was emboldened to act; and wrote to General Macdowal, who had been awaiting his arrival in Kandy, that he had not his master's permission to meet him. The expectation of closing the warfare by a treaty thus vanished once more; and

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Macdowal left Kandy on the 11th of June.

Already the Kandians had commenced hostilities in right good earnest. Already they had begun to approach the Capital. Already ~~that~~ they had intrenched themselves in strong positions. They seduced the Malay soldiers; and gained over many gun-lascars. Every effort was made by his brother in the King's service to win over Captain Noordeen; but he stood firm. Though the English authorities heard of all these matters, and the helpless condition of their garrison in the Kandian Capital, who were dying out at the rate of six men a day, and were fed worse than horses; (7) and though they knew the poor unfortunate Muttusffami, who was vegetating within the precincts of the Maligava, and was trembling for his personal safety on his uncared for throne; had expressed an earnest desire to get out of Kandy, yet they were unable to send any help. Even when such was the undoubted condition of affairs, Pilimatalawe had the effrontery to write to Major Davie requesting another expedition to Hanguranketa to capture the King. Though North would have greedily swallowed his bait, Major Davie, a man physically inert, and mentally weak, would not. He plainly declared that he did not believe the sincerity of His

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Highness' professions, and declined, at least, to incur any further risks on his own responsibility.

In this critical period of the English campaign of 1803(8) a detachment, consisting of sixty soldiers and a proper number of officers, was directed to proceed to Kandy under the command of Ensign Smellie; but from inability to procure the number of coolies that were required to bring down the Europeans, besides native troops, who were in hospital at this time, no further steps were taken to evacuate Kandy. Major Davie was consequently left to shift for himself; and, as best he could, to maintain his feeble, sickly and helpless men, living upon "paddy gruel." (9)

52A

Section 19 The Massacre at Watambulawa

In this helpless state of the English garrison, the Kandians took by surprise the strong posts of Galagedera and Giriagama on the 23rd of June; and by means of troops in the service of the English, completely cut off the communications between Colombo and Kandy. As the British troops decreased, the Kandyan forces were augmented from all parts of the country; and with them too increased

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their courage. They, therefore, speedily resolved to attack the capital; and altogether 10,000 men it is said advanced on the small British Post, which commanded the back of the palace.

At this stage we are happy to record a generous act of Pilimatalawe. It was the only one of its kind. It throws a solitary ray of light on an otherwise dark picture of his iniquitous character, which we have hitherto portrayed, and have still to delineate. It also relieves our mind of that sadness which follows a continuous contemplation of wickedness, and human depravity. He wrote to Major Davie informing him of his approaching danger, but alleging the resentment of the king as his excuse for not being able to render any assistance. Though kindness from one who is an adept in villainy is generally looked upon with distress as the Hindus regard 'flowers out of season with alarm'; yet there was one advantage which this friendly act served. It gave to Davie,—and it is indeed strange to record it—the first intimation of the real character of the disturbances that were going on around. It also served as the first monition to Davie regarding his delusion, that the threatened hostilities were intended for the purpose of carrying into effect the Treaty which

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Pilimatalawe had signed'. Preposterous idea! A greater hallucination could not take possession of weak humanity! The idea that hostile operations upon the capital could effectuate a treaty, by which all hostilities had been definitely concluded, could only be the creature of a morbid imagination akin to a mind as weak and feeble as Davie's clearly appeared to be shortly afterwards. However, in consequence of the information thus received, a disposition was made for the defence of the town; and a few field pieces were placed in different directions for its protection.

Early on the following morning, the 24th, even before daybreak, the Kandians attacked the post on the hill already mentioned. The British force was small, and the advantage of the enemy was great, though, it must indeed be confessed that, the Kandians themselves were not over sanguine of success; for it was ascertained, and we state it on the authority of Molligoda Adigar that at this time the Royal store of gun powder did not exceed 750 lbs, and that the Kandian arms were inferior in point of efficiency to 'those of any temporarily excited European rabble.'(1) The Kandians, however, easily captured the six Malays and four gun lascars

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who had been placed there, together with a field piece. Before 5 o'clock the Kandian Malays, headed by their General Sangulo, advanced upon the Palace at its eastern barrier, where likewise one gun was posted. Here they were opposed by Lieut. Blakeney, and a few English soldiers of the 19th regiment; and it is no wonder that the scanty British force was soon overpowered, and that Blakeney fell a victim to the Malay kris of Sangulo. Lieut Plenderleath, on seeing the fate of his comrade, ran to his assistance, and with the assistance of a solitary English soldier, wounded the Kandian Malay Chief, and shot down dead another who followed him at the door of the Palace. (1a) Plenderleath himself did not escape the fury of the Kandians. At this juncture Captain Humphreys took the field; and by means of a three-pounder, which he fired with grape shot, killed 24 Kandians. Though this loss induced the enemy to withdraw from the town, they were by no means discouraged. They 52B
ascended the hills, which surrounded the Valley, and which formed the natural ramparts of the city. Remembering the old adage, that 'one bowman on a rampart could fight a hundred,' (2) they manned all the rising ground with Veddas, who galled the British garrison with their arrows. It was on this occasion that Migastenne,

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Arave, Madugalle, Galagoda, Palipana, Moladande, and Levuke fought valiantly on the battle field. It was at this time that Dehigama Mohottala rushed into the valley, and, as recorded in a state document, by 'his gallantry greatly distinguished himself,' and 'waged war with the English.' (3) It was also on this occasion that the already wounded Lieutenant Plenderleath fell on the field, together with several Malays and Gun-lascars. Though the English were by no means wanting in that pluck, in which they are proverbially 'great', the enfeebled garrison could not however withstand the

Same type

'Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face,'

and the incessant fire which was kept up for ten hours until 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Though also the officers did not relax in their efforts; yet, when it appeared to them, that nothing but a miracle could save them, the English officers of the Malay regiment declared to their Commander, that 'the place would not be much longer tenable,' and requested him to capitulate. At this time, when Davie himself saw that 'a torrent of Kandians was pressing upon the Palace,' and there were only about twenty English soldiers fit for service, he yielded to the entreaties of his brother officers, and displayed a white flag. Whereupon the firing

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immediately ceased; and it was agreed between Pilimatalawe and Davie that the former should immediately quit Kandy with whatever number of men he could move, and take with him 'the golden calf' whom the English had set up for Kandian worship; leaving only the sick and the wounded, whom the Adigar promised to take care until such time as they could be moved. Upon this agreement, which was made both verbally and in writing, Davie left Kandy at 5 p.m., on his way to Trincomali; and with such of the troops as could undertake a journey he reached the ferry at Vatambuluwa, on the Mahaveli, about three miles from Kandy in the dusk of the evening. Here on a green hillock under the umbrageous shade of a Bo, an Indian Fig tree, the party halted for the night, especially as they had no means of crossing the swollen river at night time.

We shall leave this party for a while, and direct our attention to the king, whom we have lost sight of for some time amidst the din of arms, 'the shroud of smoke and flame' and

— 'the cannon's opening roar,'

Sri Wikrama Rajasinha was indeed not in Kandy. Nor had he on the 24th (as stated by Forbes, I p. 28) taken his post 'on an eminence, secure from danger' to 'watch

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the conduct of his chiefs.' He had then been beyond Hanguranketa, and was now on his way to the city at Uduvela, a few miles from Kandy (5). It was at this latter place that he heard for the first time what had happened. It was on the night of the 24th that he was told of Muttusami's having occupied his throne, and of his having been sent out with the English troops. We need scarcely say that of the matters relating to the bold diplomatic manœuvres of his
53 A Minister he heard nothing. The announcement, however, of a successful attack, and the complicity of Muttusami with the English filled him with mingled feelings of exceeding delight and rage, which may be better conceived than described. A man, who had been bowed down to the dust by extraordinary difficulties — away from his palace and his people — and given up to despair in the jungles of his kingdom, could not hear the success of his 'benefactor', without great emotion; and equally in proportion to the extent of his elation, we imagine, must have been that 'senseless and deformed convulsive anger' which now

Same type → — 'stormid at large; or pale
And silent, settled into full revenge.'

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As he paced to and fro in his lodgings Sri Wickrama heard, that the agent of all his misfortunes, and, as he fully believed, the instigator of all his past troubles, had been allowed to go away scatheless. 'What,' cried out Sri Wikrama, in that stentorian voice for which he was distinguished, 'is he gone!' On being told that Muttusami was still at the Ferry, Sri Wikrama vociferated, — 'Bring that scoundrel (devil) here instantly!' His attendants soon conveyed the 'orders'; and, whether in their confusion or enthusiasm — we cannot say which, — even exceeded them; when on the morning of Saturday, the 25th of June, they represented that 'the kings indignation was very great for permitting the English to leave Kandy.' It is here most important to bear in mind, that, notwithstanding such a statement, they not only declared that they would allow the troops to go away, but promised to help them to cross the river, if they would only deliver up Muttusami,' and that they actually left them there for some time.

Major Davie refused to give up Muttusami on the strength of, as he called it, 'the articles of capitulation' between him and the Adigar. 'Never mind your fiddlesticks' (5a) interjected the chiefs who

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demanded Muthusami in the King's name, and under his orders, — 'we shall have him by good means, and, if not, all of you by foul.'

Admitting that this demand was made upon the king's orders, which clearly it was not, we may here consider the right of the king to set aside his minister's agreement. Pilimatalawe, in the exercise of a general implied power incidental to his office as the Minister who led the Kandian forces had, both by European and Asiatic laws of nations, what every General possessed, the right to suspend hostilities; or to enter into a truce. But, when, as in the case of a stipulation for perpetual cession of a place, (b) he agreed that the enemy should entirely, and for ever, go scatheless, we apprehend that he went beyond the scope of his implied authority; and his agreement was as the lawyers call it, a sponsion, which Sri Wikrama could legally disregard. (ba) The effect of the convention, moreover, between Davie and Pilimatalawe was to establish peace; and the power to conclude such a treaty is not necessarily implied, under European laws, in the ordinary official authority of a General (bb): much less is it implied under the more stringent and jealous laws of Asiatic countries. It will thus be seen that Sri Wikrama was legally

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justified in not recognising the act of the minister: and, if this be allowed, it cannot be denied that he had a right to demand, as the Chiefs now did, that Muttusami be given up.

The refusal to surrender being reported to Pilimatalawe, Millawe dissawa and three other chiefs appeared, before 53B
Major Davie, and made certain representations, which — upon whose authority we know not — are variously detailed by Cordiner, and others, (8) when Muttusami and his followers were given up unconditionally. The English forces still remained at the ferry, and they were there unmolested on the whole of the 25th, — a circumstance which, in addition to the fact that the king's messengers had already permitted the English to leave Kandy, and had made that the condition of securing Muttusami's person — proves beyond all manner of doubt, that the King had not ordered the British garrison to be brought back. Indeed it is true, as stated, that on the morning of the 26th, a Headman delivered a message to Davie, saying that it was the king's desire that the whole garrison should return to Kandy on pain of immediate death. But, how far this messenger had the king's authority we shall see hereafter. It may be here mentioned that this peremptory order was followed, as

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it is also said, by a letter from Pilimatalawe, appointing a meeting to arrange matters connected with the journey of the troops; and that, when Major Davie had shown some inclination to comply, a half-caste deserter of the English camp arrived, requiring them all to lay by their arms, and proceed to Gannoruwa. Away then all went together from that Tree, which is now designated as 'Major Davie's Tree', towards Kandy accompanied by the Kandian Malays, Caffirs, and a mob of armed natives. They had only advanced half-way when the Kandian forces were drawn up on each side of the road, and the British troops were allowed to move to the centre of the lane. They were next ordered to halt; and the men of the Malay regiment were desired to march on (Cord. p. 213). Accordingly they all proceeded, excepting those who refused to enter the king's service. As regards the Malay officers, and the 'Europeans, they were separated from the native troops,' and 'likewise the English Officers from the privates. The latter were then marched to a great distance, and out of Corporal Barnsley's sight.'(9) It was about this time that Barnsley says he heard the report of pistols.

Such is a condensed account of this affair as we gather it from Cordiner and Barnsley. Though

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substantially correct it is not quite precise. The king's alleged message was indeed delivered, and the forces did leave the place as above stated. But, all the officers, both English and Malay, preceded their men; and proceeded to 'a place near Kandy where the chiefs had established themselves, and which was removed from the view of the British position.' (10) The remainder of the party who were ordered to halt, as Cordiner states, were then divided into two parties; and 'the Malays who were desired to march forwards to the opposite bank, a mile higher up, where the officers had crossed the river,' (Forbes) consisted of the party that consented to serve the king.

Hence, it is clear that all the officers who were at Watambaluwa ferry, had been removed to Kandy, when both the English soldiers including Barnsley, and the refractory Malays, were led to execution, and cruelly slaughtered by Caffirs and Yahalayas, in the rude, barbarous style (11) in which anciently nations punished prisoners taken in battle; but perhaps with less horror than Napoleon butchered the 1,200 Turks, after taking Jaffa. There is, however, one circumstance connected with the slaughter at Watambaluwa which redeems it from the horror which attaches to other acts of enormity, and atrocity

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in the annals of ancient tyrants, — that this work of destruction, unlike them, was accomplished without resort to torture, and with so much celerity and expedition, that Barnsley, one of the assailed,(12) was able, from the ravine below, into which he and his companions had been rolled down, to make his escape in a few hours.

At the same the troops at Watambaluva were massacred, the whole of the sick, in number 'a hundred and fifty,' as stated by Brownrigg twelve years afterwards,(13) were likewise slaughtered in Kandy.(14)

55A

Section 20. Responsibility for the Massacre.

Severe comments have been made by Europeans on this act of blood. Some have characterised it as 'an unparalleled act',(1) and others have called it 'an atrocious act of cruelty.'(2) The heinousness of the act, however, depends upon circumstances. Viewed as a breach of confidence, and an infringement of an agreement between Pilimatalawe and Davie, there is scarcely any

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doubt that the conduct of the former was perfidious, and therefore, 'inexcusable.' (3) It may also be qualified as having been 'atrocious.' But that it was an act unparalleled in the annals of this or any other country, is a charge which we cannot silently pass over without remark. We shall not tire the reader by a reference to ancient history or to events in England, in Europe and America. Our own country and our own times; and times not far remote from those in which we are now writing, furnish to our contemplation instances of greater enormity, than the massacre at Wattambulwa. Few of our readers are ignorant of the predetermination of the government of 1804 'to effect the greatest devastation to the enemy's country.' (4) None will approve of the carnage and wholesale destruction which followed such a resolution; and none we are persuaded will justify the slaughter, the fire and the pillage of war of 1817–8. None indeed will deny the atrocity of the British officer, who seized numbers of Kandians at Aliput, whom, under the denomination of rebels, he indiscriminately put to the bayonet,— no attention being paid to guilt or innocence, or to the degrees of guilt, or misfortune. (5) Few indeed will not condemn the act of the British troops, who, shortly afterwards, were employed to destroy all the houses, stores and the gardens in the rich province of

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Saffragam;(6) when the English soldiers pillaged from its temples more 'silver and copper than they could conveniently carry'— an act, from the participation of which even the wicked and obdurate minds of the Malays recoiled with disgust;(7) and when the greatest care was taken to sweep the country bare of every thing, for the purpose for depriving the inhabitants of the means of subsistence. (8)

Apart from these deeds of horror, which may be multiplied at pleasure, 'the contemplative mind must,' as remarked by Brougham, regard with 'greater abhorrence the conqueror who slakes his thirst of domination with the blood of his fellow-creatures.'(9) In this light do we regard the destruction of the Coomassee during the recent Ashantee war, which has just terminated, when the conqueror felt no compunction or grief 'to have laid in ashes the houses of thousands of poor miserable wretches.'(10) In the same light do we also view the different acts of wholesale spoliation that have taken place in Ceylon and need we, in this connection, refer the reader to the unjustifiable conduct of North, and his confederation with a perfidious traitor to divide the country between him and the English Government; and to the elevation of a Pretender to the very throne, on which that ~~very~~ pretender had tacitly

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consented to place Sri Wikrama?

In the 'deed of blood' of Wattambuluwa – the guilt of which, whatever may be its ~~relative~~ comparative merits, it is not the wish, or the design of the writer to lessen, – Sri Wikrama's enemies still seek to implicate him. It is indeed not to be wondered at, that a nation enraged at the insult offered to their arms, have in divers ways identified 'the king' as its 'perpetrator'; and have thence inferred an 'implacable animosity', 'hostile to every approach of friendly intercourse,' which it is alleged, was 'often attempted on the part of His Britannic Majesty's Government.(11) It is, however, due as much in the interests of justice, to the memory of the dead, as in that of historical truth, to the living, to examine what foundation there was for this charge, and who actually deserved censure for this foul deed.

It appears to us that of that deed Sri Wikrama was as innocent as he had been of the delay to repair the injury to the ten traders of Putlam. There is no doubt that, according to the administration of a despotic monarchy, nothing is more reasonable than to presume that both acts were of the king. But this presumption may, and can, be rebutted. If, as we propose to do, it can be shown that Sri Wikrama had no hand in this bloody massacre, his is reduced to the venial offence of

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a man in the peculiar confidence reposed in a minister and benefactor – in itself an act which proves the generosity of his mind, – placing in his hands too great a power. Except then, in this indirect mood of considering the question, we affirm that Sri Wikrama was innocent in foro consientiæ.

On the authority of what we have already stated, viz., a message from the king to the effect, that it was his desire that the British garrison should return into Kandy; and upon other representations, it is generally believed that the king ordered the massacre. We have already shown one or two circumstances which negative such a belief. Others may be here mentioned. The king was not present; and though Mrs. Heber says that he "beheld the massacre from a spot which is marked by a large flat stone, elevated on lesser ones;" (12) it is certain that on this day the king was, as already stated, at Uduvela. He had no implacable hate against the English. Neither his conduct towards Davie, nor his treatment of other Europeans afterwards, which we shall mention, prove this. If, as it is believed, this was the sole act of the king, it is reasonable to believe that he would not have as he had, spared Major Davie and the other officers. It was not the conduct of an angry despot, bent upon vengeance, to pick and choose; and, in so doing, to destroy the poor, famished soldiers who acted

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under others' coercion, to spare the leaders of the war, and the accredited agents of his foes whom he allowed to live in peace and comfort.(13) The suspicion that the king was the author of this deed, is also contradicted by a simultaneous act by which Sri Wikrama showed some discrimination in the punishments which he undoubtedly awarded to Muttusami, the ring-leader, as he supposed, of this war, — and his dependents as well as a Kandian deserter who had joined his standard. Lastly, we have the king's own solemn assurance that he was not responsible for this act. Under emotions, which, as described by Grenville, leave no room for doubting the man's sincerity, Sri Wikrama in alluding to the Davie ~~mission~~ Massacre, told his English gaoler: 'Do you, or do you not, visit the evil administration of public affairs upon your king's ministers? In that business I was not concerned. Let Pilimatalawe bear the blame. I was too young a prince to influence the conduct of my first Adigar. I heard of the event only when it was over. I saved Major Davie's life. Ask the chiefs what care I took of him. Becoming my prisoner, he lived. But his party were in the hands of the Adigar, and ~~they~~ perished. Major Davie received many marks of favour from me. I gave him land, and as much as he wished to eat and drink. He was allowed wives.

56 A

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The laws, which I did not make, could grant no more." (14)

We have ~~have~~ lastly the King's own assurance to North, entirely disclaiming all participation in the bloody act;— and declaring that it had been committed, without his orders, by the Adigar, from whom he had since withdrawn his confidence. (14a)

It is upon weaker evidence than the above that Marshall says, that in this matter "it is possible that Pilimatalawe was a much more influential agent than the king; and that Major Bever, who was in Ceylon at the time, and was confidentially employed by North, asserted that, "The Adikar was the planner and perpetrator of the atrocious butchery, a fact acknowledged by the King himself."

Opposed, however, to such clear evidence of the King's innocence, are the facts stated contra, that the Chiefs remonstrated against the order of the King; that the King was furious at this opposition to his wishes; that he hinted at the former treasons of the minister; and that his overtures to the British Government (15) had been partially known to the King. Now, if one thing is clearer and more certain than another, it is, as all the facts which we have both previously stated, and shall subsequently record, indubitably prove — that the King was still utterly ignorant of the treason of his minister, or his complicity with the English.

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Supposing, indeed, that the order for the massacre at Watambulwa originated with the King, it is incredible that the chiefs remonstrated against his determination. The chiefs, who had an audience of the King at this time, were, in addition to the two Ministers, Ehelapole, Millave, Levuke and Palipana. All these chiefs had one common interest. Though there had been some altercation between the two Ministers, the breach had been repaired previous to this date. Though Levuke was, undoubtedly, Pilimatalawe's enemy, he had not sufficient courage to speak out; and he as well as Migastenne, had been engaged elsewhere – one at Dambadeniya, and the other in the Four Korles. Ehelapole was the Premier's nephew, and it was not likely that he would betray his uncle. Milave had much to expect from the Minister's influence to get back certain property, which had been escheated to the Crown. (16) As subsequent events will show both Levuke and Palipana Disavas were not the favorites of the King. We may thus fairly doubt the statement regarding a remonstrance. Yet, that such a statement was afterwards made by Pilimatalawe to shift the odium of the transaction from himself to the King, is indeed very probable. 56 B

This is also rendered very clear from Davy's own account, to whom and Sawers we are indebted for the statements under review. In a sentence preceding the allegation,

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that the king had 'hinted at former treasons of the Adigar, and accused him of 'again siding with the English' – circumstances which, it is stated, induced the Adigar, notwithstanding his previous remonstrance, reluctantly to obey orders, – it is expressly stated that the king had in respect of the misconduct of Pilimatalawe declared, that 'he could not believe that the Adigar held any correspondence with Muttusamy.' (7)

Though such was substantially the confidence which the King had reposed in his Minister, and such the evidence of the King's innocence in the massacres of Watambulluwa, the reader, before whom we have placed undoubted testimony of the Minister's intention to spare his English foes, – not only when, on the 23rd of June, he sent an ola, warning Davie; but when he and his party were clearly in his power on the 24th, – will perhaps require some evidence for the change in his conduct before fixing Pilimatalawe with the guilt of the Davie massacre. But yet unfortunately such was the fact – that he alone ordered their assassination. We shall explain. The reaction which took place at this time in Pilimatalawe's feelings is indeed very evident from certain facts which we have stated. Though it is true that he had resolved at one time, at least, to befriend the king, when he refused

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to point out his retreat, and asked his permission to wage war; and though it is also true that he had advanced a few miles of the British garrison with a hostile force, – That he had unmistakably secured the King's safety and had reported his decisive victory to the King; and though these facts doubtless spoke much in his favor, and were demonstrations of his loyalty; yet it was equally clear that the minister did not lose sight of Muttusami's revelation. That, together with the certainty in his mind that ugly facts would come out in respect of his own complicity with the English, it was absolutely necessary to resort to some desperate action by which he could produce the most cogent evidence to rebut the adverse testimony. Sri Wikrama was sure to inquire into the particulars regarding the British force – under what circumstances they had gone away, and how they had been treated. The only ground upon which such questions might have been evaded, and all suspicions removed, was by stating that the enemy 'had run away.' Even this excuse – this only ground had been completely cut from under his feet. For, contrary to his expectations, and contrary to his wishes, and also in spite of his endeavours to help them out of Kandy (18) the enemy had still lingered at the ferry. Such a fact, now that it was known to Sri Wikrama, was irreconcilable

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with his own professions of attachment to the king, and with any denial he might make of having favored the enemy, especially Muttusami, who was one of Davie's party. Placed in this predicament, and moreover seeing that the English forces remained at the ferry even after Muttusami had been led before the king, Pilimatalawe had no alternative, but to take a severe action against them, and as severe as the inference which might be drawn therefrom was great in his own favor. Accordingly, he on the 26th of June murdered all except the Malays who expressed a willingness to enter the King's service, and except also the officers whom he doubtless believed the king would spare in accordance with the policy of some of the Indian nations.

Section 21. How Many were Slaughtered?

Though the massacre of the English troops was solely the act of the minister, un-directed by the king; yet he alone is responsible for other acts which followed his emergence from concealment. Of these the execution of Muttusami demands our

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attention first.

This old man was Sri Wikrama's own countryman, and relation. He was present at his inauguration, and acknowledged him to be king. He was subsequently guilty of treason, and was punished, though he managed to escape from confinement. His elevation to Sri Wikrama's throne, and his occupation of it after the English had left the country, must have necessarily induced the belief, that he alone instigated the hostilities on the part of a peaceful neighbour with whom he had purposed to live on terms of amity and peace. With such a conviction in his mind, and being utterly ignorant of all the thousand and one ramifications of his minister's plot, it was indeed natural that a man in Sri Wikrama's situation, should feel severely the conduct of this Pretender, and entertain towards him those 'dire' feelings of hate, which, even in matters of less moment, are usually induced in the human breast,

— 'when friends are rankled into foes.'

Sri Wikrama was, doubtless, in this unenviable state of mind, when Muttusami and his adherents, including a Sinhalese deserter, were led before him by Pilimatalawe,

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and Millawe Dissava. Seeing the former the king desired his favorite Ehelapole, — for he always employed a junior headman as the medium of communication between himself and his subjects, — to ask Muttusami, 'whether it was proper for him, who was of the same royal house as himself, and united to him by ties of relationship, to join the English?' To this question his prostrate foe made no reply; but, like Surajah Dowlah, who, under similar circumstances, was led before Meer Jaffier, craved for mercy and forgiveness with tears in his eyes(!) The king himself returned no answer; but, after a little pause, as anticipated by Pilimatalawe, inquired if any of his chiefs had participated in his high-treason. As was the fact, Muttusami replied that 'he had received a few letters from the first Adikarama.'

Even before he ascertained the nature, or the purport of that correspondence, the king, it is said, waxed wroth — not at his minister, of whose fidelity he had not the slightest suspecion at this time, but, — at what he considered to be an invention of the enemy to implicate his benefactor in his treason; and exclaimed, 'what! do you dare to make such a foul accusation against the Adikarama, who raised me to the throne, and to whom I am indebted for the

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liberty I have this day regained! I utterly disbelieve your charge.' This statement, which we make upon the authority of tradition, is substantially borne out by Davy, who says that the king remarked that 'he could not believe that a few letters had been received from Pilimatalawe.' The excitement too, which it is stated, this statement had produced in the king's mind, as he evinced it by pacing his apartment to and fro, and the immediate order which he gave in respect of Muttusami, induce in us the belief that the king utterly discredited the alleged complicity of his prime Minister. That order was, that Muttusami and his adherents as well as the Sinhalese deserter be executed, and his servants banished.

Accordingly, Muttusami was given over to a party of Veddas, who soon dispatched him with their hunting arrows. The others were then led to the place of execution, where the Pretender's attendants were released after the mutilation of their noses and ears; and his suite with the Kandian deserter were impaled. 578

The fate of the officers, and the number of the English forces that were slain, remain still to be noticed. We shall first notice their number. The troops in the garrison, or, to be more precise, at the

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hospital, are put down to Brownrigg, in round numbers, we suppose, at 'one hundred and fifty.' Major Beaver, who belonged to the 19th regiment, and who was much employed at this period in different capacities, states that the number killed in ~~the~~ hospital was about 149.(3) With this approach to exactness in figures, we have still the express declaration, that the number was only approximate. Cordiner states that it was 'one hundred and twenty.' Tradition asserts that there were about a hundred, a week before the engagement of the 24th of June. All these may be regarded more conjectural than real figures. From the facts which we have recorded, and on the data furnished by different accounts, we may not be far wrong if we put down the number at a great deal less. It is, indeed, impossible to arrive at a more definite conclusion.

There is the same difficulty with regard to the forces at Watambulwa. Cordiner says that they 'consisted of 14 European officers, 20 British soldiers, 250 Malays, and 140 gun lascars, with Prince Muttusami and his attendants.(4) This statement cannot be depended upon. Different accounts vary as to the numbers; and the unfortunate circumstances which we have already stated, with reference to this ill-fated

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camp, confirm the tradition that the actual number before the massacre at Wattambuluwa ferry did not exceed 100 Englishmen, and four or five officers. The numbers themselves given by English historians seem to be more approximate than exact. As regards the European soldiers and officers, the latter, after all the casualties and the misfortunes of this period, appear to be out of all proportion to the men. Doubtless Cordiner obtained his figure 'fourteen' from the Government Gazette of the 13th July 1803; but it must be remembered that the number 'sixteen' therein specified represented the entire number of British officers in the 'auxiliary force' at Kandy, and "according to the last return" which was at a time certainly previous to the 24th of June, and probably long before that date. We have already stated a number of circumstances to show what vast difference one week or one day could make in the ranks of the British force. All accounts indicate that at this time the British Camp was in the greatest possible distress, and misery. By the 20th of June, as we have seen, many of the Malays had deserted. The Europeans 'had been dying out at the rate of six men a day'. Paddy (rice in the husk) was at this date almost the only

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article which remained for the subsistence of the troops; and in their helplessness, induced by a bad type of fever, from which nearly every one had suffered, they were unable to perform the labour of clearing it from the husk. The heavy rains which incessantly poured in, necessitated the confinement of the troops to their temporary barracks, small and ill-ventilated. In this condition of affairs one can scarcely doubt of the great loss of the troops by death. What with these calamities, the reduction in the forces caused by the removal of the sick to Colombo, (Cordiner, p. 198) and to Trincomale (p.203), the withdrawal of troops frequently to Fort Macdowal, Galagedera, Giragama, and Dambadeniya, (p.199) and the numbers that had deserted from time to time, and had been killed on the 24th of June; the numbers of Malays and gun-lascars who had deserted from the ferry upon 'the seduction of the Malay Mohandiram in the Kandian service, and Maniseram, a spy;' (5) and others who had openly consented to serve the King; we suppose there could not have been the large number which 'the last return' to Government represented.

As to the number of officers, it is a very significant fact that in the details given by Cordiner of the engagement

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of the 24th of June, no other names have transpired except those of Davie, Humphreys, Rumley, Blenderleath and Blakeney. Of these five, two were killed in the field, and Cordiner thus makes up the number 'fourteen' by reducing the two killed from the sixteen mentioned in 'the last return', of whom Holloway was a Civilian. Regarding it as an undoubted fact - that two at least of the officers were killed on the 24th, it is incredible that not a single private had suffered of the twenty soldiers that remained according to the return previous to the 24th.(6) As already remarked, the number of officers is out of all proportion to the men. We have thus shown that we cannot place implicit reliance on the numbers given by Cordiner. Nor can we do so upon the statements of other parties.

We have an account from some Malays who escaped shortly after the 24th, from Kandy:(7) also from Barnsley, an escaped Corporal of the 19th regiment; 58B
and a Sinhalese Laskoreen, who was in Kandy on the 24th of June. We do not believe that the Lascoreen's information could be depended upon. He was not on the spot. All that he stated on his oath - (8) perhaps to please North, - and on whose statement he founded his dispatch of the 8th of July to Lord Hobart, - must have been what he had heard casually. Indeed it

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could not be expected that this poor, timid Low-country Sinhalese Laskoreen knew more about the affairs of Davie's forces at Katambuluwa than Barnsley himself, who formed one of the parties that were at the ferry. Now Barnsley nowhere states the number of officers. He, however, makes two important statements: 1st, that the officers were separated from the men; and 2nd, that, after such separation and the execution, on hearing reports of pistol shots he supposed that the officers according to their predetermination shot themselves.(a) If they had shot themselves, how came Davie, Humphrey, and Rumley to be spared? It was not likely that if others had shot themselves these three would have shrunk from a similar action. It was also not likely that the Kandians, who carried their nice discriminating notions of Caste, even in the treatment of their foes, would have saved only these three and not the remaining alleged eleven. Indeed it is expressly stated that two other officers, and it did not signify whether they were English, Scotch or Malay – were spared on the day of the massacre. The very fact of the separation of the commissioned officers from the soldiers – which was an undoubted fact – betokens the intention of the Kandiyans to treat them differently. It also proves, – not that any feared eleven officers more than twenty

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soldiers, but that Pilimatalawe desired to show a distinction — A distinction which might probably be used in his favor.

Section 22 An Apology for Davie.

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From the expressions in Cordiner that 'the only Englishmen selected for preservation were Davie and Captain Rumley' (p. 214) one might be led to infer that all the other officers, including Humphreys, were murdered. Not so. There is no reliable evidence that any of the officers were killed. Indeed except on conjecture, no one has ventured any positive statement of the fact. All the circumstances are opposed to such a supposition. Barnsley says that 'the officers were separated from the rest' — 'were removed out of his sight' — and 'were detained for half an hour.' If his conjecture, as regards the reports of pistols, which he afterwards heard, be correct, we may be certain that the officers died by their own act. The existence, however, of at least three officers (1), soon after, proves that Barnsley was at fault in his conjecture. Their preservation also raises a great probability, as we fully believe, that all the officers were spared. For, if there was a disposition, as conjectured by Mrs. Heber, to spare Davie

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alone, 'from a kind of honourable feeling, as being the individual with whom the treaty had been made,' — there was not the same motive, or necessity to spare Captain Rumley, or the two Malay officers, or indeed Captain Humphreys: and yet they were all undoubtedly spared. True, it is said that Humphreys, with an "Assistant Surgeon," escaped from the massacre by rolling down into a ravine;(1a) and that being discovered by a Malay Corporal, they were taken before the king, who ordered them to be confined separately. This statement, which is founded upon the authority of an article in the Asiatic Annual Register of 1805, p. 14 is not confirmed by other accounts. The name of the Assistant Surgeon has no where transpired, except in the 'last return' to which we have referred, and no one has said anything about such a person being seen in Kandy after the 26 th of June. The statement as regards the escape of Humphreys and the Assistant Surgeon is inconsistent with the fact, that all the officers had been excluded — detained for half an hour — and taken out of Barnsley's sight before the massacre commenced. It is contradicted by the fact stated by Davy, p. 314, that the party sent forward consisted of Davie "with two Captains [by which expression we understand English Captains] and a native Captain of

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Malays." It is also not in accordance with the alleged plot of the Adigar, who, it is said, invited not one officer but 'the officers' to an interview with the king.(2) It is too, not very probable that two officers, who had not been, like Barnsley, assaulted and left for dead — and who, probably, wore a notable and unmistakeable uniform, could have eluded the vigilance of the enemy. We therefore disbelieve that Humphreys, and the Assistant Surgeon, by whom we apprehend Hope(3) was meant, ~~where we recorded the tradition that he died of fever in the hospital. The only other medical man in their list we have already given was~~ had run away, or that they were captured, and then spared. We are rather inclined, upon the facts before us, to the belief that Humphreys, like his four brother officers, including the Malay Captains, were spared; and survived the massacre at Vatambuluwa, and died afterwards. It is indeed in accordance with such a belief that Davy, the historian, speaks of 'Davie and his companions' as those who were saved, p. 315; and that Mrs. Heber recorded in her Diary that 'two Europeans officers, besides Major Davie, were spared; all of whom ended their days in captivity.'(4) If, however, the allegation regarding the Assistant Surgeon were true, and he 'escaped to Colombo in the September following,' as stated by Forbes,(5) the number of officers saved were 598

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altogether five besides Davie.

Adverting to the fate of the English and the Malay officers who were made prisoners at Kandy, we may state that the latter were executed on their persistent refusal, during two months, to serve the king; and that of the former the two Captains died soon after they were made prisoners, and Major Davie died long afterwards, well cared for and leaving a son by a Kandian wife.

It is impossible from the execution of the two Malay officers to deduce an argument in favor of the belief that the king did not evince a desire to spare all the officers. The circumstances relating to their execution do not prove it. It appears that when Captain Noordeen and his brother were taken before the king, he treated them kindly and courteously, and was not displeased with them at either their haughty demeanour, or their independent conduct. He even dispensed with the etiquette of his Court, when he was told that it was 'too humiliating' for 'the grandsons of a Malay prince to prostrate themselves to a king,' — a usage which, as the reader is aware, the Dutch and some of the English Ambassadors, during this, and a previous reign adhered to; and one which was certainly not inconsistent with the status of a prince, or the

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ancient customs of a Malay Court. The king also had good reason to offer them service; and, when they rejected the offer, Sri Wikrama paused for a time to consider the line of conduct to be pursued, and gave them time for reflection. When, however, after the expiration of two months, they still refused to command their own fellow countrymen in the king's service – a service in which they had already found a brother, – and reflected how demoralising their presence in Kandy would be upon his Malay forces – how difficult it would be to keep such refractory men under proper surveillance (6) – how unjust to those whom he had detained to set them at liberty – or how impolitic to follow any other course, – they were executed.

The reason which influenced the Minister to spare the officers may be here noticed. According to tradition he desired to befriend Major Davie, and by his means to carry out that great object of his life, for the attainment of which he had involved his country in war. (7) It is very probable, then, that he purposed to hold him as a witness who might on a future emergency testify to the consideration he had shown to the Commander of the British forces, and the readiness with which he had suffered the British troops to leave Kandy. (7a) Such a hypothesis is fully supported by Davie's silence in respect of Pilimalawe's 60A

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proceedings; for it is certain, he never once communicated anything against him. Having spared Davie, the minister could not well kill the others. To have done so would have been only to cut the very ground upon which he intended to carry out, as he subsequently did (8) fresh negociations with the English. Besides, in all countries, — and in no country more than in caste-loving Ceylon — there is a disposition to respect the higher grades, even of an enemy, as they would be the res sacrae of the enemy's Faith. If as stated by Wheaton, (9) 'Officers' when taken as prisoners of war, 'are frequently released upon their parole'; a proceeding which is not observed as regards others, — we need not be surprised that Pilimatalawe as required by Vishnu Saiman only 'imprisoned the chief dependents of the enemy' (9a) and thereby drew a distinction between the English soldiers and their officers. The reader is probably aware that the Sinhalese showed great consideration to the rank of the individual even in the mode of his execution after condemnation. A nobleman was decapitated, or shot; a noble woman was drowned; and the lower orders were hanged or impaled according to the heinousness of their offences. During this period there were separate Prisons for the nobility. Imprisonment for a nobleman simply meant the deprivation of liberty, comforts, and honors.

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Before we take leave of this part of the subject it may be convenient briefly to notice the cases of Barnsley of the 19th regiment, and of Thoen, a German soldier in the English service, who escaped — one from Wattambulwa, and the other from the massacre at the Kandy hospital. (10)

Barnsley, after he had received a cut, or rather, as it is also stated, a stunning blow with the butt-end of a gun, fell; and rolled down a precipitous bank into a field, where for sometime he was left for dead: when, however, the people had dispersed, and he himself had been able to move, he crossed the Mahaweli, and effected his escape to Trincomali by the kind assistance of a compassionate Kandian ferryman (11) — who not only gave him a helping hand, but gave the famished stranger a share of his curry and rice.

On his way to Trincomali he informed Captain Madge at Fort Macdowal, which had then been in a state of blockade for three days, of the fate of the Kandian garrison. On hearing this sad news Captain Madge quietly waiting until the moon had gone down, led his little band out of the fort. Yet, he could not elude the vigilance of the enemy, who pursued him for four days, during which he was greatly harassed by the Kandians; and after

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which he fell in with a detachment of Malays and reached Trincomali without molestation. It is here convenient to notice that about the same time Lieutenant Grant succeeded in defending his little fort at Dambadeniya, and in bringing off the garrison in safety to Colombo, in spite of the attacks of the enemy, who appeared in large numbers, headed by Migastenne. It would seem that Migastenne left Kandy immediately after Davie capitulated on the 24th of June.

The history of Thoen is still more interesting than Barnsley's from a similar circumstance of consideration and mercy shown, – not only by a Kandian, as in the case of Barnsley; but by an enraged sovereign. Thoen had escaped from the melee at the hospital, and was soon afterwards discovered. He was immediately hung to a tree. Owing to the careless manner in which the executioner had done his work, the rope broke, and Thoen came down. The executioner hung him up a second time, and went away. In Thoen's struggles the rope snapped, and he became ~~free~~ once more free. When he had thus gained his liberty, Thoen took refuge in a hut at no great distance; where, it is said, he was secretly fed by an old Kandian woman 'who left a plate of rice and disappeared.' Before,

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however, he had been in this retreat for many days he was discovered, and "taken before the King, who, (says Marshall, p. 156) seeing the singularity of his fate, observed, that 'it was not right for man to injure one who was so evidently the favourite of heaven.'" It was also the well-known custom of the East, especially in Ceylon (11a) to spare a condemned malefactor, who had been saved under similar circumstances, or had taken refuge within the sacred precincts of a Temple; or, had been brought up for execution on a Buddhist Sabbath day. (12) Sri Wikrama not only spared Thoen, but behaved towards him with great consideration and kindness, by entrusting him to the care of a chief with strict instructions to treat his ward with attention. Well fed, and clothed, he enjoyed the comforts of a dwelling in Kandy, from whence he was at liberty to visit several houses of the nobility, who live to state the fact. Thoen, like Daure, had a wife; but, unlike the English major, the choice of the young artillery man fell on a Moorish lass, — an alliance which, as he has since confessed, 'contributed greatly to his comfort,' for 15 years before he made his escape, and joined the English in the year 1818. (13)

We have hitherto considered the conduct of the King,

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and of his Minister; and must now say a few words on that of the English commander, who has been greatly reviled for his conduct.

Naturally proud of the bravery of their race – having rarely experienced a defeat for some time – and success having generally attended their martial exploits, specially in India, where their Indian possessions had gradually risen at this date from an insignificant trading settlement to a mighty empire, extending over vast tracts of country, teeming with an abundant population, and producing an annual revenue of sixteen million pounds;(14) the English nation were greatly nettled at the result of their 'disastrous campaign of 1803.' According to their acquired sentiments, contrary to all the natural laws and instincts which govern mankind in all other parts of the world, – they believe that under whatever circumstances, 'to die in the field with his arms in his hand, is what a Soldier should always contemplate.'(15) 'Never to recede from a combat,' or, 'to die fighting with the foe,' is undoubtedly characterized by Eastern sages as 'the conduct of valour and wisdom.'(16) But, Davie was not in the field; nor was he engaged in battle. Vishnu Sarman, the same Indian author of Political Maxims, from whom we have just quoted, says: "There is no law that compels one to fight with a

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strong foe."(17) We however know that no circumstance whatever will be held by the English as a sufficient excuse for Davie's pusillanimity. If he and his disabled men had rushed at the formidable army which 'was 10,000 strong; and, in the act of pelting them a shower of pebbles, which were plentiful at the river side, they had met with a fate similar to that which awaited the heroes at Balaclava, who rushed into the army of certain death by obeying another law of the English soldier, — we opine the English nation would never have raised a murmur against poor Davie, but would have applauded him for 'his desperate valour which knew no bounds'. But, for ourselves, without that 'Promethean fire' which,

— 'in Britons burned intense' ← Same t

we must not forget to examine the circumstances which extenuate Davie's conduct on this occasion. His situation was indeed a very sad one. An eye-witness could scarcely have depicted it in more faithful terms than Vishnu Sarman many centuries ago described the disadvantages of an army, of which an enemy should take advantage. 'Fatigued by long marches; hemmed in by rivers, mountains and forests; terrified by the apprehension of dreadful fires; enfeebled by hunger and thirst; deficient in vigilance; straitened for provisions; wasted

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with pestilence and famine; unsteady; not very numerous; embarrassed by rains and wind; bespattered with mud, dust and water; greatly bewildered, and running away" (18) to the enemy's side, – Davie had no alternative but to surrender. If, in doing so, the generous feelings of a man, naturally weak and kind, (19) got the better of a sense of pride, we can only say that this was conduct, which could not be viewed with the severity with which his countrymen have done. Even in the absence of such generous intentions, if Davie found, as he had been assured by his companions in arms that it was impossible to hold out any longer, he was indeed quite right to capitulate. But, it is said when he had done so he was wanting in self-respect to listen to the voices of persuasion and intimidation to re-enter Kandy; for, that was all the fault he committed.

It is quite clear that Davie never anticipated the result which followed. It is easy to judge of actions after they have happened. It is not so easy to foresee what may happen, and to anticipate the result of an action, as, when the gallant Brigadier Airey, at Balaclava, gave that fatal order, directing Lord Lucan to advance his cavalry nearer to the enemy. Major Davie had abundant reason to believe the statements of the Adigar, or the Chiefs who represented him on this

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occasion. He had not noticed any breach of confidence on the part of the king, or his Adigar. Implicit reliance had been placed on that same Adigar by the English authorities. 'To his honour had been specially confided the safety of the British garrison.' (20) He had warned Davie of his danger on the 23rd. On the raising of a white flag, the Kandians had not taken mean advantage of the impotency of their enemy; and hostilities ceased altogether; ~~to the vanquished~~ and permission was granted to the vanquished to leave. Moreover, for two long days no hostile feelings had been evinced. Above all, Davie was not ignorant of the Adigar's desire to raise himself to a supreme state by the aid of the English. Under such circumstances, if Davie had listened to the falsehood of an artful minister, that the king 'wished to embrace Muttusami,' and of the minister's desire to enter into certain negociations; all that we can say is, that Davie committed an error of judgment more venial than the one of being persuaded, that the appearance of a Kandian army that advanced on the British garrison, was for carrying out the terms of a treaty. 61B

There is, doubtless, a great deal said adverse to such an opinion of Davie's conduct. It is said that Muttusami remonstrated against his being given up.

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It is alleged that he fully warned Davie of the consequences of a compliance with the demand; and in impassioned language exclaimed — "Will you, the brave English, who have conquered all India, give up your arms, and put yourselves in the power of the cowardly, treacherous Kandians, who, the moment they can do it with impunity, will put you all to death? Rather march back to Kandy, where a few discharges from your muskets will disperse the Kandian forces, and give you possession of the town. You have provisions for a day or two, during which period the river may subside, by which means you may pursue your retreat to Trincomali."(21) This is language which is too good to be faithful, and too occidental to be attributed to Muttusami, and too English not to perceive the source from whence it originated. In confirmation of our own opinion, that Muttusami never spoke in the manner he is here represented to have addressed Davie, we have the authority of Barnsley upon his oath. His affidavit which is entitled to greater confidence than the account drawn up by Bombardier Alexander, at the request of the illiterate Corporal, — must convince the reader that this pathetic appeal to British valour, and this impassioned speech, which is put into Muttusami's mouth by historians are creations of fancy;

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for Barnsley states, that Davie 'gave up Muttusami by his own consent.'(22)

Under such circumstances it is, we apprehend, unjust to charge Davie, with 'treachery.' Doubtless he was a timid and weak man. Doubtless he showed a degree of imbecility in not perceiving clear evidence of hostilities against the British camp. Doubtless he betrayed want of courage. But, we can scarcely believe that he was a 'traitor.'(23) It is indeed true that enjoying great liberty, as he did latterly, he could have easily come down to Colombo, and did not do so even when invited by Sir Thomas Maitland (24); but that circumstance does not prove his love to his foes, or an alienation of his attachment to his own people. Such conduct may be far more easily traced to a feeling of shame. Possibly he preferred 'the life of a semi-barbarous Kandian,' to the burning shame he should experience on seeing an English face. He thought, perhaps, that the 'infamy' in store for him on English soil could be less easily borne, than the mere contemplation of his own condition at Kandy. It was consequently, and not by reason of any 'specious promises of Kandians' that he remained in Kandy, and died there. (24a)

O.N [Missing 62 and 63]

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64A

Section 23 The Kandyans invade the Maritime Provinces.

For some weeks after the calamities which we

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have just detailed there was peace not only in the Kandian territories, but in the maritime settlements. Yet, it is certain that the English authorities lost the peace of their minds at the disastrous result of their campaign of 1803, as much as the Kandian minister was deprived of his by the reflection, that the King would, sooner or later, come to learn of his treachery. Unquestionably, North's anxiety was great to punish the Kandians; and, though he had a very large sum which had been set apart as 'secret service money,'(1) he was, nevertheless, unable to wreak his vengeance on the Kandians, for want of an adequate British force. When, even upon an application to the East India Company, North could not procure the necessary succour, 'all ideas of undertaking any offensive operations against the enemy were for a time banished from his councils.'(2)

The case with the Kandian minister was, however, different. He was not at ease with himself. If his anxiety to involve his country in war, and thereby to expose the King to danger had been previously great, it was now greater. He had indeed no pretext to offer to the King for any hostile operations against a power which had been subdued. The Kandians had been too much harassed, silently to listen to any proposal to embark on fresh hostilities. North, with whom

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he had attempted to renew his old negociations, now gave a deaf ear to his false and iniquitous proposals.(3) He therefore boldly resolved to commit some aggression by which he could force both the King and Governor North, to action. He entered into correspondence with certain low country Sinhalese in the Southern and Western provinces; and with the assistance of some of his confederates, meditated upon a simultaneous attack on different parts of the British territories.

Towards the end of July 1803 North had indubitable evidence of Pilimatalawe's intention; and the Kandian frontiers were at the same time threatened by warlike assemblies. On the 20th and 21st of August a considerable Kandian force entered the Hewagam Korle, and took possession of Hanwella, and the house of the Modliar. On the receipt of this intelligence at Head-quarters the whole town of Colombo was put into great consternation. An alarm was spread through the length and breadth of the town, that the Kandians were intent upon besieging Colombo. Many of the Sinhalese nobles removed their families into the interior; and numbers of European families, who lived in the suburbs, took refuge in the fort. The Governor, however, occupied his country house; but

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took the precaution to add a Sergeant and twelve Europeans to his guard, which had previously consisted only of Sepoys. On being informed of the real state of affairs, Lieutenant Mercer of the 51st regiment proceeded with a small force, and satisfactorily acquitted himself of the object of his mission. For, it is said that he not only dispersed the Kandians, — not only stormed a battery which the Kandians had made in a strong position at Pasyala, from which they succeeded in drawing Mercer into an ambuscade; but succeeded, for a time at least, in driving away the enemy. (4)

Simultaneously with the attack on Hanwella in the Western Province were the disturbances in other parts of the country. The inception of the Kandians into the Maritime Settlements extended from Hambantota, round the whole of the West and North Coast to the small fort at Mulativoe, North of Trincomali. (5) Capt. Beaver who proceeded towards the South, met the enemy at Dikwella; and having routed them proceeded to Tangalla, where he found its compact little fort had been already destroyed and evacuated by the Kandians. Whilst such were the disturbances in the extreme South, those at no great distance from the Sea port of Galle were not

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different. The gangrobbers of ~~Hogalla~~ Koggala, taking advantage of these disturbances, and wishing to profit by them, rose at the head of a notorious robber, and not only interrupted the communications between Galle and Matara by land; but also attempted by means of their fishing boats to interrupt in by sea (6).

The Kandians at Pelana were repulsed by Mr. Campbell, the Revenue Agent of Chilaw; and he returned to his station after burning the newly erected barracks, and five store rooms, containing fifteen hundred parahs of rice and paddie. Major Evans was equally successful in an expedition a few miles beyond Puttlam, when he took several Kandians prisoners. Captain Hankey, who assumed the command of Hanwella at this time pursued the enemy to Avishavella, drove them to the Kandian territories, and returned to his station after burning an extensive Kandian village and the house of the Disava of the Four Korles. About the 25th of August several parties of Kandians marched into Chilaw and Puttlam; and were nearly taking those two places, when Mohamad Ali Ebraim, a native officer of H.M's Native Infantry at the former, and Evans, at the latter, succeeded in driving away the enemy. Yet, when the Kandians observed the weakness of the

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garrison first mentioned, they returned to it on the 27th of August; and 'the feeble fortress was beseeged by an imminense multitude of Kandians.' They erected batteries in all directions round it, and many of the shots fell amongst the garrison which at the time consisted of only sixty sepoys and two young Civil Servants, Messrs Deane and Campbell, who acted as volunteers. The latter boldly took the field; and, though without ammunition, resisted for a long time a body of Kandians,(7) amongst whom there were many Malays and gun-lascars, who had previously deserted from the service of the English. The combat lasted for more than two hours. Yet, it is not a little remarkable that the Kandians, who had carried their approaches very regularly, and had brought their batteries so close that they conversed with the English garrison, and could see every thing, never attempted to storm the place. The reason did not transpire until afterwards. It was that the Kandian Malays were not true to their master — that they sought an opportunity to re-enter the service of the English — and that they, like the Somersetshire peasants of 1685, fired over the heads of the enemy. The result was that the English Malays, who for want of shot, freely used copper coins, of which Mr. Campbell had

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Rds. 6,000(8) in the Cutcheri, and repulsed the enemy with very considerable slaughter, until Captain Blackall reached the spot with a party of men and ammunition from Negombo, and succeeded in driving them away altogether.

When North had now unmistakeable evidence that the Kandians were determined to expel the English – a consummation which Pilimatalaave devoutly wished, and which he persuaded Sri Wikrama as being very easy of accomplishment, – Mr. North proclaimed Martial Law on the 30th. of August 1803. 65A

Not only as a measure which informed the British soldier, how he was to be guided in carrying hostilities against the enemy – not only a manifesto declaratory of war, but as a proceeding against an independent nation who possessed no chartered rights as against the English, or had no constitutional privileges, the declaration of martial law was both politic and legal. Indeed the right of any nation or government to prescribe its own rules for the conduct of a foreign war, cannot be questioned, any more than the means used, or the murderous weapons introduced for that purpose. It was to this undoubted right that the Iron Duke, who 'curbed the cause of Bonaparte', – and 'rolled the thunders of Assaye,' referred, when at a subsequent date he said in Parliament, that 'he had in defence of his country, carried on Martial Law by his own will.'

Though, undoubtedly, such a new jurisdiction was legal,

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so far as it affected a foreign nation; and though under the provisions of the Charter of 1801 such a proclamation has been justified by some we have great doubts as to its legality so far as it related to the maritime provinces; we yet fail to see, how, under the law of nations, some of the devastations, and wholesale destruction of property which followed could be defended. For, under the authority of this new jurisdiction, as we shall presently see, not only the Kandians, but their peaceful brethren in the sea-girt towns suffered much by the proceedings of the British Government. In Galle and Matura especially, people taking advantage of the troubles of the times preferred ungrounded complaints against those with whom they had been at variance. The descendants of some of the most respectable families in the Southern Province, still retain a traditional sense of the barbarities which had been perpetrated at this period. Under the cloak of loyalty to the English Government, false and malicious allegations against peacable and loyal subjects of the maritime provinces ended in the utter destruction of the alleged offenders. Under the ill-understood and yet pliant provisions of Martial Law, more Southerners than Kandians were executed — more innocent blood was shed than guilty; and amidst the conflagrations of scores of vessels in the Koggala Lake, and the destruction of all the houses in the village, the executions of the condemned, the favorite sentence of

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the Courts Martial at this time for the infliction of "one thousand lashes", was carried into execution with much severity against many. 65.B
(9).

Trifling and insignificant as had been the skirmishes in the Kandian country, and in some of the maritime territories, which we have hitherto recorded, they now assumed a character which the authorities could not contemplate without some alarm. It was generally rumoured that Sri Wikrama was about to enter the maritime provinces with a formidable army; and, as remarked by Cordiner, "the period of the campaign most nearly interesting to the British inhabitants of Ceylon now opened." (II, p.232). Though it is a fact that the desultory warfare carried on since the 24th of June, had not originated, as stated by European writers, with the king, yet it is equally true that the continuance of hostilities, at this time, received the sanction of Sri Wikrama. This is a circumstance which requires explanation, an explanation — which, though hitherto made on conjecture (Cordiner, p.232), we are enabled to state on the authority of those who were the most intimate with the Kandian affairs of this period, — that Pilimatalawe, with a view to his own perfidious designs, not only persuaded him, against his own inclinations, to attack the maritime provinces; but encouraged him to take an active part in the war, by personally commanding his troops. The specious representations which the wily minister

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made inspired Sri Wikrama with hopes of success. He did not lack courage. He indeed possesed great pluck. Past events were not calculated to deter him from such a course. He also, doubtless, reflected that his presence would infuse extraordinary courage into his men. Above all he did not wish to disregard the advice of his minister. Though as much unprepared as Louis Napoleon was in his insane expedition to Germany in 1871; yet, with all the fervid enthusiasm which animated that Potentate — with all the spirit, good humour and cheerfulness which he displayed, did Sri Wikrama rush into war. (10)

Section 18 (24) Kandyan Invasion Checked.

We have already referred to the proceedings of the Kandians at Hanwella. Though Lieutenant Mercer had been engaged for some time in constant skirmishes with the Kandians in the neighbourhood of Hanwella, yet that little fortress had not yet been retaken by the English; and Mercer himself had been obliged to take post in the house of Bathazar D'Levera Modliar of the Hewagam Korle, which was well defended by a wall all

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round. Here he, as well as the gallant Modliar, was three times successively attacked by several bodies of the enemy; and the consequence was that a considerable number of the English forces were killed, and wounded; and Mercer, and the veteran Modliar greatly suffered from their exertions to keep off the enemy. In consequence of information to this effect, and the prospect of more desperate engagements, North ordered Garrison Surgeon, John Orr to proceed to the spot. He likewise ordered a detachment to march from Colombo, under the command of Captain Pollock, who was attended at this time by two Sinhalese gentlemen, Don Solomon Dias Bandaranayaka, and Don Adrian Wijesinha Jayawardana, both of whom distinguished themselves by their 'active and zealous services' 'in the field' during the engagement which took place immediately after their arrival at Hanwella.

It was at this time, the 6th of September 1803, that the King marched against the English post, with about 3,000 Kandians, 200 Malays and gun lascars, and several field pieces. The attack commenced at 8 a.m. The Kandians advanced with more than usual boldness; and, seeing that the English did not muster very strong,(1) with great hopes of success. They fired grape shot from their Artillery which Cordiner says

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did but little injury. 'Had balls been used,' he adds 'the consequence would have been more dangerous.' When the enemy had approached within two hundred yards of the Modliar's house, Captain Pollock sent a detachment of troops under Lieutenant Mercer, through an unseen path in the woods, to enfilade the left flank of the undisciplined soldiers of the Kandian army. 'Having allowed time for a co-operation to take effect,' Cordiner states, Pollock 'sallied forth with the remainder of his garrison, who were soon in the midst of the enemy.' The slaughter from both sides began simultaneously. Resistance continued for little over two hours. The Kandian fire however became gradually weak and wild. The Malays and gun-lascars in the Kandian service were in advance; but, instead of coming upon the English in a firm body they were broken into twos and threes. Their leader had unfortunately been wounded; and they saw that there was none to supply his place. It was, too, very opportune to carry out the desire which they had cherished – to desert the Kandian service. They soon embraced the opportunity, and helped the enemy by firing over their heads. The English Malays soon perceived the situation, and at once rushed forward; and, desisting a fire, tore

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through the disordered ranks of the Kandian Malays, and their six pounders; and reached the forces commanded by the king. He was not prepared for the assault which now followed. When a shot of the field-piece reached near to the station of the king; he made a precipitate retreat, — his army was completely routed — and his Malay forces, "no longer overawed by the enemy, threw themselves into the arms of the English detachment, 66 B
with a demonstration of joy, which left no doubt of their sincerity;"(2) and, we ought to add, of their treachery, which led to the defeat of their new Masters.

Under such circumstances no one can be surprised to hear that only two English troops were wounded, and that two hundred and seventy Kandians had fallen victims. Nor is it a matter for exultation that the English had succeeded in easily capturing a royal Kandian standard, two English six-pounders, about one hundred stand of English muskets, several boxes of ammunition round and grape, the kris and sash of a Malay officer of high rank, and many accoutrements. But the most important acquisition to the English was, undoubtedly, the recovery of their Madras and

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Bengal lascars, who had gone over at Kandy.(3).

This defeat of Sri Wikrama was the beginning of all his subsequent troubles. It was also the commencement of all his misfortunes. It temporarily affected his mind. It led him to distrust his own chiefs, and to a new course of action. It completely changed the man.

namely: → 'Hei mihi! qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo!'

Now for the first time he had an inkling of his minister's perfidy. Now began that "reign of terror," for which his memory is so much distinguished. Now commenced that period from whence dates "the sudden elevations and depressions of mind"(4) which were his peculiar characteristic in after-life. In his flight from Hanwella, it is said, he ordered the execution of Levuke, and another Chief Palipana Disava, who were slumbering under a tree;(5) and it is supposed that these and other executions which soon followed, and of which we have no accurate information, were the result of a paroxysm of temporary insanity, caused by excessive grief and anger at his ill-success.(6)

The king was now on his way to Ruanwella, in the Four Korles; and his servants and suite being much jaded by their hurried journey, and being moreover hungry, were well nigh exhausted, when he met a Kandian youth of respectability, who

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supplied his Sovereign, and his famished followers with all that they could desire. The attentions thus shown by Molligoda, created a deep impression on Sri Wikrama's mind; and when the time came for selecting a 'good and true' Courtier, Sri Wikrama remembered his favorite, and duly requited his services on this occasion.

Though the King had been thus drawn away, Pilimatalawe did not easily yield to the enemy; but kept up a warfare for a short period in different parts of the country. The Gazette of 14th. September 1803 refers to the engagements of the 9th, 10th, and 12th of that month; but the accounts contain little of interest beyond the success which attended the English arms, the great slaughter of the Kandians, the burning of twelve hundred houses, the capture of artillery, the return of sixty two Malays and one hundred and fifty gun-lascars from the Kandian into the English service; — and the loss of three English soldiers, and two gun-lascars. 67A

The communication between Colombo and Mannar having been reopened at this time, it was ascertained that the Kandians had not been quiet even in the Eastern Province, in which they invaded Batticalo, and succeeded in raising a general insurrection. A Pandara Wannian, a Chief under the British Government, had taken part in this rebellion; but was obliged to retire on the appearance of Major Vincent with

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a small British force. (7)

Though such was the success of the British Government of this period; yet, as stated in their Proclamation of the 10th of October 1803, 'the Kandians were still in the possession of some parts of the English territories, and still continued to assemble around the frontiers with a view to invade them' (8) — circumstances which rendered it still necessary to continue martial law in some parts of the country. But, since in others, such as Mattara, Galle, Colombo (?), Chilaw, Putlam, Mannar and Jaffna the people were returning to their duty, and there was quiet and good order, — Martial law was withdrawn from those districts; and the ordinary tribunals were empowered to resume their duties.

Scarcely had the proclamation here mentioned been issued from the Chief Secretary's Office, when intelligence was received at headquarters that Pilimatalawe had headed a considerable force at Batugedera in Saffragam; and that a large party of Kandians had attacked Hambantota — in both places without success, and simply to provoke the English authorities to greater devastations, which were reported under the date the 14th of October, to consist of eight hundred houses burnt down, many of them full of paddy and Arekanuts of which the property of Pilimatalawe alone amounted to eight hundred and fifty amunams, worth

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Rds. 17,000. (9) The destructions of a subsequent date, in the territories adjacent to Putlam, are stated to have been the 'burning of a considerable extent of country' – the appropriation of a large quantity of grain and Arekanuts, which the people had collected for years for the Kandian Government, and the spoliation of salt which had been amassed, and was sufficient for the consumption of three years. (10)

These reports led to the abrogation of martial law in the District of Colombo, [sic in Proc.] town and fort of Jaffna and Galle and in Mannar. (11) At the same time North rewarded such of the native headmen as had distinguished themselves during the troubles of this year. Among them we may mention Balthazar D'Levera, Modliar of the Hewagam Korle, Don Solomon Dias Bandaranayake, Don Adrian Wijesinha Jayawardena, – three native chiefs who had distinguished themselves 'by attendance on the Army in the field.' All received gold medals; and the last two were created Modliars, one to the rank of Atapattu, and the other as 'Modliar of the Guides of the British Army.' (12) The Government also gave rewards to several native Chiefs in the Matura district; and among them we notice 'two gold medals and chains to Tennakoon Modliar of the Giriwa Pattu,' and 'to Don Thomas Rodrigo Wijewardana Modliar of the Morovakkorle,' 'for courage and fidelity.' (13)

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Section 25 - Hostilities in 1804.

A year had now passed away, and we were in 1804; and yet hostilities had not altogether ceased. The desultory warfare which commenced towards the beginning of 1803, still continued with various degrees of relaxation, rigour, and success. In the month of March 1804 Pilimatalawe again made preparations for a general invasion of the British Settlements. This, however, was prevented by prompt resistance by the English authorities. Shortly afterwards overtures were made by the King, through the Second Adigar for a settlement.(1) North was, it is said, equally desirous of peace; but, we believe, he was more desirous of territory, and therefore the negociations of a crafty Buddhist priest whom he employed for that purpose, completely failed; and the Kandians again resolved to fight.

On the 27th of March, a large body of Kandians, consisting of one hundred and eleven Malays, ten gun Lascars, eighteen Caffres, and more than 3,000 armed Kandians, entered the Eastern Province and advanced on Nayapatamoene. Lieutenant Arthur Johnston succeeded in repulsing the enemy, and of adding thirty-six Malays, and six Bengal lascars to the number gained over at Hanwella. The desertion of the Kandyan Malays, who had hitherto been very faithful to him, created a great impression on the King's mind;

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and he had not been long in ascertaining the cause, and entertaining a well grounded suspicion that he whom he had hitherto regarded as his 'benefactor' was his enemy. Such a feeling could not long exist without leading to serious consequences. Pilimatalawe, too, harbouring suspicions against his fellow Chiefs, pursued a course of conduct which naturally incensed them against him. Their conduct, on the other hand, was altogether such as to set the people and the King against the Ministers. These proceedings led to much confusion; and, as stated at the time, to 'great misery and terror.' (1a) Yet Pilimatalawe carried on hostile operations in different parts of the country, especially in Saparagamuwa, where he resided at the head of a considerable force; and, as well known at the time, 'in a state of very doubtful amity with the King,' (2) until September 1804, when North again resolved to invade Kandy.

For this purpose he directed that a strong detachment should proceed from Batticaloa to Kandy en route Uva; and that different other detachments from Colombo, Hambantota, Trincomalie, Negombo, Chilaw, and Putlam should meet it on the 20th of September, the day fixed for the commencement of general operations,

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and proceed to Kandy 'for the destruction of the enemy's capital'. (3) Captain Johnston, who was to lead these combined forces to the heights of Kandy, on the 28th or 29th of September was directed, at the same time, to 'concert such measures as would best tend to effect the greatest devastation and injury to the enemy's country.(4) The object of this expedition was unmistakeably 'for the purpose of indulging, to the utmost, the spirit of vengeance'. However questionable the proceeding might have been, it was indeed very 'seldom', as remarked by Marshall, 'that the authorities committed themselves, by specially commanding the preparation of acts of savage barbarity.' (5)

In accordance, however, with such orders, and in the
683 expectation of four detachments of troops being sent to co-operate with his own, Captain Johnston equipped a force, and undertook a journey to Kandy on the 20th of September 1804. Amidst great obstacles, 'hard fighting, and hardships; and overcoming many difficulties which the mountainous and woody districts of Uva presented to utter strangers, Captain Johnston reached Kandy on the 6th of October following. Either before this date or upon his arrival he did not obtain the promised assistance, or receive any instructions whatever from head-quarters.

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When, after three days' stay, Johnstone had not received any advices; and he had seen that the Kandians were collecting immense numbers for an attack,' (6) he commenced a march back to Trincomalie, with great apprehensions for the safety of his little band. Bombardier Alexander states, that, when his party passed by Watambulawa, the sight of "the bones of their countrymen that lay whitening in the sun, and the unburied skulls and thigh-bones mixed together," excited horror, and urged them on, 'rather to die fighting, than be butchered,' as their comrades had been in 1803. Yet, Alexander's subsequent statements do not fully support such vaunting language; and amidst much bravado, grandiloquent expressions, and magnified statements as to the resistance which they experienced, — betray an anxiety on the part of the detachment to cut a retreat as secretly and quietly as possible; for, he says even 'the word of command to the troops was given with difficulty; and, silence being so necessary, it was passed along in a whisper from front to rear, and from man to man.'

It is, however, in the face of such facts, that

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Forbes speaks of "the triumphant march of Captain Johnston's party, from one extremity to the other of the Kandyan Country, in the course of which he took its capital." (7) — which we believe was not correct. Though Alexander in his account says that "Johnston's party reached the capital in safety," which is a fact; we still know on good authority, that he never took the city. Alexander says he found 'the city deserted.' Doubtless many people had left it, as people usually do on the approach of war; but there is sufficient in his own "Account" to justify the belief, that the Kandians did not wholly 'evacuate the city' at this time. For, he states that 'the enemy were collecting in great numbers upon the adjacent hills.' His statement that in October 1804, 'some of the 19th. Regt., who had been in the capital before, discovered some arrack in the Palace, placed there by the troops of the former expedition,' in June 1803, is quite of a character with several other statements, which we decline to accept as real facts. That Johnston's party crossed the river, and entered the city is undoubted; but all ~~the~~ available information warrants the belief that they had never approached any part of the inhabited part of the city, before they cut a retreat after three days'

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stay near Gannoruwa. Johnston, was indeed too cautious a soldier to anticipate an event, which was, according to Orders to take place, as already stated, 'by the conjoint forces' 'on the 28th. or 29th. of September."

There is scarcely any doubt that the Kandians had resolved upon, and even prepared for an attack; and that some opposition was shown to Johnston on his way; but that they pursued his detachment in the fierce manner, in which Alexander describes they did, is not supported by 69A
those who were acquainted with the facts; or by tradition which states, that though the Kandians hampered and impeded the course of the detachment, by obstructing roads, etc., they shewed no open resistance after the enemy had crossed the Mahaveli, except once, which we shall presently mention.

The difficulties, however, which the detachment experienced in getting back to Trincomlee were indeed great. The troops suffered as much from the inclement weather and sickness, as from want of provisions. Their carts and bullocks for the conveyance of their stores, were not equal to the work for which they had been applied. Part of their provisions was therefore abandoned. What remained they soon found was

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unfit for food, and was consequently destroyed. In its destruction a quantity of loose powder exploded. The fire being communicated to some fuses several shells in their neighbourhood exploded among the troops. Great loss of life and property was thus the consequence. When the Kandians were made aware of these facts, on the 13th of October, they sent a party of Malay soldiers, who had before been in the English army, and who now served under the banner of Sri Wikrama. They not only attacked the British force "in front and rear," and, rushing through the enemy's ranks, drove the Coolies into the woods; but, boldly exhorted their countrymen in the Detachment, with which they fought, to "be wise and join the Sinhalese." (8)

Not discouraged, however, by either the greatness of the Kandian force, which assembled in the rear of Johnston's Detachment — or the fatigue and distress of his troops; ~~unm~~ mindful alike of the scantiness and bad quality of their food, which consisted of "undressed rice, musty and mildewed" — Johnston still proceeded on his journey, directing Lieut. Virgo to go forward, and order back the advanced guard. But to his great mortification Johnston soon found Virgo alone near Trincomalie with the advanced guard, without two of his brother officers, Vincent and Smith, and without two wounded English soldiers

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who had accompanied him. The account given of him and the delay was, that the guard had lost their way in the woods, and had been famished; and had been moreover delayed by the desertion of coolies, and their ignorance of the country. There is no reason either to doubt this statement, or that of Lt. Virgo, who alleged that "the soldiers had refused to obey orders." That the soldiers, who are men — be they the brave English, the obdurate Malays or the courageous Kandians — have refused to obey orders, when they were famished, and were "so greatly exhausted as to be scarcely able to walk; and moreover had no means of carrying their sick comrades"(a) — and at a time, too, when they were not actually fighting, but proceeding in their peacable march through an impenetrable wood, surrounded by wild elephants, and other animals, to which the missing five had become a prey, — is indeed neither surprising, nor inexcusable. Nor should we consider such conduct as unnatural; though the government thought otherwise at the time. For, after the return of Johnston's detachment, on the 24th of October, both he and Virgo were tried by a Court of Inquiry, — the former in consequence of bungling "Order of Government," and the latter "for failing to bring back the advanced guard." One was justly acquitted; while the other was unjustly condemned. 693

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We have now recorded the second retreat of the English Forces from Kandy; and it, says Marshall, "was nearly as fatal to the Europeans of the detachment as the massacre of 1803 had been; for almost all died in the hospital." p.127. The recollection of this event, however, left a bitterness in the English mind (9) as the sequel will show; and a feeling of exultation in the Sinhalese as Sri Wikrama subsequently exclaimed in the hearing of Marshall, – "Twice during my reign have you ~~obtained possession of~~ entered the town of Kandy – and twice have you been very glad to get out of it!"

From whatever causes this anxiety arose, – and we have pretty clearly indicated the true reason, – such was undoubtedly the fact, – the English forces did retreat twice; "and, as Captain Johnston admits, his retreat was precipitate." (10)

The incidents which we have just recorded were followed by a cessation of war; yet it had not completely restored peace into the Kandian country. On one side the English were too proud a people to lie quietly under the imputation that they had twice failed in their attempts to capture Kandy. They were now only too glad to possess the whole island at any cost and as soon as possible. Smarting under the reminiscences of Watambulewa, they resolved upon the utter destruction of the national existence of the Kandian

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government; but they lacked two essential conditions of success,— the necessary forces, and the local knowledge. Consequently North asked for reinforcements from India, but this application was not heeded for some time; and Johnston, who had been officially directed to 'note in writing all the observations relative to the country' with a view to 'future operations' and 'to transmit a Journal,' did not supply the desired information.(11) On the other hand, the Kandian Minister, who was still at his old game, re-opened a correspondence with the British Government, and when it proved unsuccessful, attempted in February 1805 to invade the maritime provinces. We have heard it said that the news which he had heard of North's illness and of the Government House in Colombo in the occupation of the Commander of the forces having been struck by lightning greatly encouraged him in this undertaking.(11a) but just at this time the military establishment of the island having been reinforced by H. M.'s 66th Regt., by seven hundred Caffres, who were forming into a useful and hardy corps, and by numerous levies of Sepoys raised in Madras, his efforts proved abortive; and, on his return to the Capital he found all the approaches to it closed,— a circumstance which the public were three weeks afterwards informed, was owing to the

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king having been laid up with small pox.

In reviewing the proceedings of the English campaign of 1803, Forbes thinks that their troops were grievously harassed, and uselessly sacrificed; and that the authorities neither conciliated their own subjects nor gained respect from their enemies.' 'Our negociations' he adds, referring to the conduct of the English, 'were despicable — our policy unsuccessful.' Doubtless it was unsuccessful up to the period to which we have brought down our narrative. Unmistakeably "ill-success" led to their retreat. Unquestionably ill-success deterred them from renewing hostilities and compelled them, as Forbes
70A himself states, to sink into a feverish repose in a defensive attitude, and an undignified and impolitic position, for several years afterwards.(12) Unquestionably theirs was that "miserable condition," — as Lord Chatham had characterized the inactivity of General Gage — "where disgrace was prudence, and where it was necessary to be contemptible." (12a)

As regards the policy which Forbes characterizes as 'despicable' — if the English had only used against the Kandians such a degree of violence, and such only, as was necessary to secure the just ends of war, we may, perhaps, justify their conduct at this period. But

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when we see, that it was not necessary to ravage, or lay waste the country in order to take the kingdom; and that the adoption of such measures was intended solely with a view to 'effect the greatest devastation and injury to the enemies' country, that very country which they sought to acquire,' (13) we indeed fail to find any reason to soften down the harshness of the expression by which Forbes has characterized the policy of his own countrymen. The annals of ancient bloodshed and war scarcely present a scene so atrocious and heartrending as that which was at this period enacted 'for the purpose of indulging, to the uttermost, the spirit of vengeance and devastation at the expence of the inhabitants.' (14) We have heard from living witnesses, and our forefathers have related to us the atrocities which were perpetrated under the sanction of government orders. They were indeed great and many. We have alluded to them so far only as we could cite authority for our statements. Others there were, which, if we recounted, Englishmen would scarcely be disposed to believe them, or consider us impartial. Language too fails us in the description of them. As humanity forced Bombardier Alexander 'to draw a veil over the fate of a woman' (15) we refrain from a relation of numerous 'acts of ~~savage~~ barbarity' from the mere contemplation of which

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our mind recoils with horror. We are therefore, only content to refer to the effect of them, and to state what Thompson has correctly described, though speaking of another country, and other times; that, in several parts of the Kandian kingdom,

Small type

'Far as the sickening eye could sweep around
'Twas now one desert, desolate and grey!'

Such devastations, however, it has been attempted to justify on the ground of 'vindictive retaliation.' So far as we are aware there was no cause for vindictive retaliation. The Kandians had not been guilty of a violation of an established usage of war. We have distinctly expressed our views on the only one that may possibly be referred to, — the "Davie Massacre." There was but very imperfect evidence of that transaction — no proof that the King, or the Kandian people were responsible for the outrage — and everything to indicate that the accomplici of North had alone committed it. Even if it were otherwise, there was no violation of the law of Western nations. We have shown how Sri Wikrama could, even according to its humane and mild policy, have set aside the treaty of his Minister. To treat therefore the English as prisoners of war, and to kill them as such, was an undoubted right of Asiatic nations, and even of some European countries. Though the former

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have not gone so far as Bynkershock (16) to lay down as broadly as we have done, that 'everything against the enemy was lawful'; yet they may justly reply, for these acts, upon that rule, which is the just and proper one to apply, viz. the laws and usages of the country by which the enemy were taken as prisoners of war. The Kandians, like all Orientals, who were not subject to the obligations which bound Western nations to each other, and therefore rendered them amenable to the ordinary jus gentium, — may therefore well deny the existence of a valid cause for vindictive retaliation. Indeed in the language of the answer of the Americans to the English Government we express "the greatest surprise that this system of devastation, which had been practised by the British forces, so manifestly contrary to the usages of civilised warfare, was placed on the ground of retaliation." (17)

III BRITISH RULE

Section 26 The Administration of North.

In the preceding section we have brought down Kandian affairs to the end of the hostilities of 1805. We shall now proceed to a review of North's administration during the same period in the maritime

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settlements of Ceylon.

Though we have had frequent occasion to refer to the character of this nobleman in connection with his political intrigues, duplicity and deception, which were inconsistent with the honour and dignity of a British Statesman; (1) we have, indeed, not done his memory full justice according to his deserts. As every man, however virtuous or good, has some latent or patent defect; so every man, however wicked, possesses some exceptional virtues. Those redeeming qualities, in the case of the nobleman under notice were very extensive and of the most exalted kind. In other words, he was a good, virtuous and generous man, with one stain or blot in that character, which proceeded from a too rigid adherence to the line of Indian policy which was adopted at this period, — and from a too earnest desire to serve the Imperial government, which was now bent upon, by all means extending its Indian Empire. Except then, in respect of that grave error, all that is known of North must have raised him in the estimation of the colonists. His highest claim to our respect was his unsullied purity in all relations of private life. He scorned to do aught that savoured of pride. He acknowledged the claims of the people, whom he was sent to govern. He studied to promote their best interests. In doing so he disdained abrupt and precipitate measures. Except in the redress of those

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grievances which were brought about by recent misrule, ~~he resolved~~ upon gradual reforms. These he introduced after much deliberation, and upon mature investigation; and by kindness and persuasion.

(2) Such rare merits, and tried virtues, soon endeared him to the maritime Sinhalese; and, as we cast our eyes on that calm and dignified countenance, as it is preserved on the painter's canvas, in most of our ancient houses, and detect those lineaments which mark his character for benevolence, placidity of temper and intelligence, we obtain corroborative evidence of all that has been written of him in historical works, and was stated in public addresses(3) by different classes of the inhabitants of Ceylon.

Having thus alluded briefly to the general character of North, we shall now enter more minutely on a review of his acts which had a tendency to promote the social, moral, political, and material advancement of Ceylon.

As if he had appreciated the aphorism of the oriental sage, that 'our lives the means of promoting the four objects of human existence – pleasure, wealth, well-being and religion.'(4) North's efforts were especially directed to them; and taking them in the order best suited to a proper treatment of them we may refer to his social reforms.

Society, at the period of which we are writing, was 71B

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not very extensive. Though each class generally moved in its own sphere, there was, nevertheless, such an amalgamation of races, at times, without which no good feeling can ever exist throughout the different ranks of a community. North had, perhaps, remembered the one circumstance to which England owed its escape from the calamities which ever conspire to create enmity between several tribes inhabiting one common soil. He full well knew how 'those of the English and of Norman race,' became 'the nation of the Free' when both were

same letters — 'In one fraternal nation blended'. —

With such knowledge his enlightened policy, with respect to the maritime Sinhalese, soon induced him to adopt measures to conciliate the people. One of them was, to reconcile to the English government, not only 'by obliging the European officers to treat them with respect in their several districts,' (5) but by his own example, teaching them 'how happy it was for brethren to live in harmony and peace.' This beneficient policy tended to elevate the natives by inducing feelings of self-respect, and thereby leading them generally to a course of honest exertion to maintain their respectable position; and to produce immense political advantage to the government. How far a different course of

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procedure has since demoralized the Sinhalese — alienated them, though not openly, from an affectionate regard to the English residents — and led to consequences detrimental alike to the interests of the dominant and subservient races, may be best determined by the most observant of the oldest residents.

This departure from the course adopted during North's government, unhappily, continues; and from time to time the scenes enacted in old England shortly after the Norman conquest, and in Ceylon after the Portuguese accession, become more and more frequent. The result may be traced to four causes — the difference in the condition of those who now arrive in Ceylon from that of its first settlers; ~~and the bewilderment of men who on joining a small band of~~ the 'example' of old residents; the 'precepts' of narrow-minded and illiberal Englishmen; and the bewilderment of men, who, on joining a small band of their countrymen in a foreign land, naturally receive from them and the natives a recognition and an attention(5a) which they would not from the most grovelling clod-hopper on the pavement of London.

So long, however, as the hauteur of a dominant race, however over-bearing, is not productive of positive evil; or, so long as they keep in view the good old maxim — sic utere tuo ut alienam non ledas; the natives may leave them to their

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own reflections both in a religious and a social point of view — religiously, as to its innate impropriety; and socially, as to the enormous difficulties which they must, and, as we have heard, they do experience on their return "home." But, when we find that there is a growing anti-native feeling, which, in its exhibition in different ways, among European residents, aims at, not only the social degradation of the Cylonese, but the deprivation of their political rights, we think it right, in the interests of generations unborn, to attract to the subject, the attention of the good people of England, who are untainted by the poisonous atmosphere of colonial life; and to a few noble exceptions in the island, who, such as the distinguished statesman(6) now at the helm of government, we are certain, combine high religious
72A principles, and "sound judicious thought," with "an ample generous heart." We think it, however, unnecessary to offer any lengthy remarks to direct their judgment on the subject. But we do think it right to remind them of the error of such conduct on the part of the dominant race towards an entire nation; seeing, as Macaulay has somewhere justly observed, that 'the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals'. We refrain also from mentioning the numerous facts on which these observations have been based. As remarked by Socrates,

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'Tis best to leave those subjects undisturbed' ← same lettering

The mentioning of them cannot lead to any beneficial results. Suffice it, however, to state, in the language of Bennet, the writer of a History of Ceylon, and late of the Ceylon Civil Service, that 'it may scarcely be supposed credible, but it is an absolute fact, that Englishmen in the nineteenth century have wished for the continuance of native oppression'.(7) Even though that oppression amounts, as he himself illustrated, chiefly to restrictions on social liberty, we need hardly denounce the conduct as wrong in principle, and mischievous in its effects. So long as such a state of things continues, vain indeed will be the efforts of the philanthropist and the Missionary to elevate the natives in the scale of civilization — in vain will the people of England, we predict, spend their millions for the diffusion of Christianity in the East, — in vain will they send bands of missionaries to Asia, — in vain will they attempt to improve the condition of their subject races. O.N.

To return, however, to North. He and those with whom he was associated in the government of Ceylon, freely intermingled with the higher classes of the Ceylonese — not as an act of condescension, and in a patronizing spirit; but in recognition of principles of justice and fair play.(8)

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He, as a scion of the English nobility, felt no degradation in associating with the nobles of a conquered land. If he perceived that it was impossible to fuse into one common mass such discordant elements as the Asiatic and European races, he yet saw a middle course of action which was not only practicable, but just, and politic. If the Sinhalese were not so intelligent as the English settlers of this period, nor so high in the scale of civilization, he yet failed not to recognize in them an ancient nation, who had 'existed as a numerous and comparatively civilized nation at a period antecedent to the discovery of Great Britain and its semi-barbarous inhabitants.' (9) If he knew that the Sinhalese were a subject race, he also knew the feelings of early Britons when groaning under the ill-treatment of the Normans. If again, the complexion of the Sinhalese was not quite to the taste of the fair Saxon race, he noticed, under more than human authority, that the former, like Albion's sons, had proceeded from one common stock. If, moreover, he felt that the people committed to his charge were "in statu pupillari", he also felt that it was necessary to elevate them by example rather than by precept; and to remove from them those debasing influences of pride and exclusiveness which defy all natural laws, and mock the very Deity. Indeed North's worthy aims

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'Soar'd far above the little selfish sphere' ← same letter of modern emigrants, whose anti-native proclivities cannot, we apprehend, fail to provoke anti-English feelings. 72B

A policy so mild and conciliatory as the one which we have described, failed not to be highly successful.(10) The natives fully appreciated their governor's liberal conduct; and in return, paid that respectful deference to him personally, and to his orders officially, which North so justly merited. We believe they never failed in their duty to such a good man. We are certain they never abused his great kindness. All recorded facts prove, not only their respectful but dignified demeanour towards their 'benefactor,' but their high appreciation of his justice and fairness.(11) The first Gazette published in Ceylon records that a grand feast for celebration of the British accession under the imperial Government, was given to North by the Sinhalese nobility.(12) The first Sinhalese wedding in a Sinhalese nobleman's house, shortly after North's arrival in Ceylon, was attended by him without a formal invitation. The generation now passing away witnessed the great honor he paid to the remains of Governor Van Angelbeek, when in solemn procession they were paraded through the streets of Colombo on the night of the third of September 1799.(13) In marked contrast with Commissioner Andrew's conduct was North's treatment of

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the Kandian ambassador of 1802, when he received him with full military honours.(14) The colonists had easy access to the Governor, – a privilege without which an Oriental people is not easily reconciled to a new regime. Two days in the week he especially devoted to see them.(15) Every new year's day his house was open to those who attended in large bodies to pay their respect to the representative of the King. His hospitality extended to all classes of the community.(16) If the Dutch ladies took offence at a character given of them in a work published by an English officer,(17) and refused to visit North, he had indeed not been long before he secured their good-will towards himself, and the English nation. If, in the strifes of castes, which ran very high at this period, washermen refused to bleach the linen of the Barbers, and the Barbers in their turn suffered the Dhobies to remain unshaven; North repaired the breach between the offended parties without one word of coercion, or one single expression that was calculated to irritate them. 'The turbulent Chalias he won over' in a similar manner, and also by increased salaries, exemption from taxes, and the appointment of an exclusive chief over them, whom he designated Cinnamon Captain. He himself became the Chief of
73A the Vellalas, and set the Chief Secretary at the head of the Fishers (18)

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In remodelling the Establishments North increased the number of Maha Modliars to four. Whilst he allowed Don David Hangakkon to remain at Matara as the First over all the Maritime Provinces from Chilaw to Magampattu, and nominally the Chief Interpreter of the Governor, he appointed Louis D'Saram, Second Maha Modliar, and Modliar of the Dispense Villages (18a); Johannes Godfried Philipsz, Third Maha Modliar, and Chief Interpreter of the Supreme Court; and Christoffel D'Saram, Fourth Maha Modliar, and Interpreter of the Commissioner of Revenue. He created several Gate Modliars, of whom Abraham D'Saram he selected as his own special interpreter. He retained the distinction of "Gate" and "Atapattu"; and appointed Don Carolus D'Levera as First Atapattu Modliar, and associated him with several headmen in the department of the Collector, the officer who stood at the time in the place of the present Government Agents. The Western Province he divided into five Korles, the Salpitty, Hewagam, Siyene, Alutkur, and Hapitigam. He also retained the Kúruve or the Elephant department; and other secular establishments connected with the Castes, or Revenue. Over all the principal Classes and Castes, he placed their own Headmen, taking special care that none were ~~two~~ appointed but those who commanded the respect and enjoyed the confidence of their own people.

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As no department in the revenue line was held in greater esteem than "the Cinnamon," North also created a Maha Modliar over the Chalias, and conferred that office on Adrian D'Abreu Rajapaksa.

He also prescribed to each rank its own peculiar costume – a provision which tended to enhance the value of each superior office from a Kangani, who was confined to a linen coat with horn buttons, a sword in a horn scabbard with three copper bands, to the Maha Modliar whose dress consisted of a Velvet Coat, trimmed with gold lace loops and buttons, a sword with a hilt and scabbard of pure, massive gold, and a belt of gold lace. (18 b)

The modes in which he catered for the amusement and recreation of all classes were various. In 1799 he largely introduced the use of punkas into the ill-ventilated houses of Ceylon, the use of which had been first taught by Genl. Macdowal; and, when soon afterwards he felt the want of proper places for the recreation of his countrymen, he established the "Whist Bungalow", where, true to its traditions, unceasing hospitality is now dispensed by one, who is not less distinguished for his great social virtues, than for his extensive forensic attainments; and the "Quoit Bungalow," (19) – since called "Bagatelle," from whose foundations has subsequently

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arisen "Alfred House" in honor of a scion of royalty, who condescended by his presence to honor one of our wealthiest and most enterprising countrymen. (20) These two weekly clubs contributed eminently to the social enjoyments of Colombo. For himself North sought recreation, and enjoyments in divers ways. The greatest difficulty 73B which he experienced at the time was to get a commodious house for his extensive entertainments. When Sluisken's in the fort, and Hulf's in Hulfsdorp, where the Supreme Court now stands, did not furnish sufficient accommodation, he secured a mansion at St. Sebastian; where the Colombo Academy now marks its site — "with a Pandal sufficient to entertain five hundred persons" and which 'formed the theatre of all gay and festive entertainments.' (21) In this, as in his country bungalow at Piliyagoda, (22) he assembled from time to time a number of guests, who were not less pleased with the creature comforts which they enjoyed, than with the sights which they saw, consisting of Sinhalese dramatic performances, and other national plays. (23)

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Section 27. Colombo Society under North.

From a relation of the social virtues, for which North was greatly distinguished, we shall turn our attention to the social condition of Colombo, during his government.

As already remarked, the society of Colombo was not very large at this time, but afforded an agreeable variety. The entire number of Dutch descendants of this period was estimated at about 900, of whom there must have been at least 100 families in Colombo. They were chiefly composed of officers, with their families, and widows and daughters of deceased Civil and Military servants of the Dutch East India Company. The greater part of them, though not very rich, were proprietors of comfortable houses, for which they easily found tenents among the English residents of this period, whilst they themselves retired into smaller buildings with a view to save a portion of the rent which they readily obtained for their own superior dwellings. The number of Portuguese descendants of Colombo, and other British settlements, was estimated at about 5000. They were noted for their extreme poverty, excessive pride, and the greatest recklessness of conduct both in public and private. They had been admitted by the Dutch to the privileges of

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citizens under the denomination of "Burghers,"(1) a name which is now applied indiscriminately to all Indo-Europeans, as well as pure Dutch descendants. Like the nation which claims descent from the Portuguese, their language is a medley of different elements. Its knowledge is still a matter of necessity; and its study is attended with only one advantage — that to the thoughtful student of Classics, it furnishes a vocabulary and a ready help on his initiation into the study of the Latin.

No English historian has attempted to give an account of the Sinhalese population of the maritime provinces, at the commencement of the present century. Upon the accounts given in the Rajavaliya, and other native annals no accurate calculations can be made. After the English accession of 1796, a census was not taken before 1814. When, therefore Cordiner, writing in 1807, divided the population of the entire island into three classes — Kandian, maritime and Malabar; and estimated the population of each at 50,000 souls, we could scarcely regard his statement as exact. The figures obtained by the census already mentioned, shows 156,447 adult males, 142,453 adult females, 95,091 boys and 81,892 girls, making a total of 475,883 Sinhalese in maritime Ceylon. Though we may therefore accept Cordiner's estimate

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to be the nearest approximation to the truth regarding
O.N. the Sinhalese population of maritime Ceylon, about 1805 –
between which date and 1814 there were no intestine wars;–
we certainly differ from him as to his estimate of the Kandian
and Tamil populations. They were each, according to all
accounts and calculations, a great deal less than the British
Sinhalese; but how far less can only be stated on conjecture,
which we refrain from obtruding upon the reader, especially
as we are only here concerned as to the Society of this
period, – of which the English residents in Colombo amounted
74B to about one hundred gentlemen, and only twenty ladies(2).
'But the other European families', says Cordiner, 'could muster
three hundred respectable persons, and nearly an equal
number of both sexes.'(3) The number of the Sinhalese gentry
who moved in the highest society were about fifty-five. Their
ladies at this time never mixed with foreigners, except in
their own houses. This feeling of exclusiveness is still
manifested and we think it will continue so long as
all parties do not, from an intimate acquaintance with
one common tongue, feel a perfect assurance, that they
can exchange words and ideas with each other, and make
themselves quite "at home." A public entertainment to the
respectable portions of the English, Dutch, Sinhalese and Tamil

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inhabitants could at this period muster two hundred and fifty persons.

Some of the manners which distinguished the English society of the time deserve mention. On the arrival of a stranger he was, in the course of a few days, introduced to all the ladies and gentlemen in the settlement. If he happened to be a bachelor, and held no high office, he was expected to call on those whose acquaintanceship he desired to cultivate. If otherwise, the residents considered it their duty to commence civilities. Ladies on their first arrival, were likewise treated. These rules were general, but not universal. Cordiner, to whom we are indebted for much valuable information on the subject, says: "A man of sense is not scrupulously ceremonious. A superior is often the first to call at the house of a person who ranks below him: and a young lady never hesitates to be the first in paying attention to the matrons of the colony." vol I, p. 75. Complimentary visits, Cordiner adds, were usually paid in the mornings, and the hour for public dinner was then, as it is still, seven in the evening. Ladies and gentlemen of the first respectability at Colombo delighted in the recreation of walking in the morning and ~~the~~ evening – a practice which was held in abhorrence in India.

The usual mode of living, as described by the same historian,

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was 'to rise at day-break, ride for an hour or two, dress, or perhaps bathe on returning, breakfast at half-past seven o'clock, begin work at nine, and conclude at four. Lounging and dressing filled up the time till half-past five, which was the usual time for another ride. After return home dinner was served at the hour already indicated, and families retired to rest between nine or ten.'

The first English settlers who had arrived from India, set a very bad example to those who arrived under the Imperial Government, in more ways than one. They taught them to employ Malabar servants, to pay them and for the necessaries of life as highly as they did in India. The first experiment made by Mr. Justice Lushington of employing a respectable Sinhalese servant, as his butler, enabled him to live at less expense than any of his neighbours in a similar station of life. With the knowledge that those who had preceded them lived at a certain rate, or according to a certain style, the fresh arrivals regulated their expenses accordingly. They paid for their houses, high rent, which varied from £300 to £100 per annum, though this shewed a difference between Colombo and Madras where house-rent averaged between '£500 and £200 per annum; yet living, taken in the general, was not less

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expensive amongst the English settlers, in Colombo, than at Madras. Suppose a bachelor intended to make himself comfortable, he had to keep a horse and bandy, and a palankeen. In palankeen bearers, who cost £100 a year at Madras, necessitated an additional expense in Ceylon; and the maintenance of a horse at Colombo amounted to £100, being double the sum necessary for that purpose in India, and at present in Ceylon.(4) Cordiner states that a bachelor in those days could not keep house in Colombo, comfortably, for less than £800 per annum, that being the same amount which he required in Madras.

There is so great an interest attached to the domestic affairs of a date, three-fourths of a century ago, that we do not hesitate to record all the particulars regarding them, which we can gleam from old tattered documents that must ere long be out of the reach of the reader.

In the department of Housekeeping, it would seem, Englishmen fared not better. Claret was sold at £4 per dozen; and was the wine which was most esteemed at the time, amongst the higher classes. The Sinhalese, who used it very sparingly, having been taught to do so by the Dutch, gave it the name of "Roy wine." The same beverage which came direct from Bordeaux fetched thirty six shillings

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per dozen, and was esteemed a purer but weaker wine than the former. English Beer was doubtless a favorite beverage then, as it is now; but Madeira cost as much as Bordeaux, and was then in greater request than at present. The use of Brandy, which was of a dark kind, was as much limited, as the sweet water which was brought down from the subterraneous passage at the 'Wonderful' Milagiriya (5). We append the "Bazaar Price Current" of the 9th of June 1802, ~~(5a)~~ from the Gazette of that date, with a column of our own showing the figures in English currency.

75 B

	Rds. f. p	or	s. d.
Bengal rice, a parrah (6)	1. 10. 0		2. 9
Kara rice "	2. 1. 2		3. 2¼
Kuventer rice "	2. 1. 0		3. 1½
Perwella rice "	2. 0. 2.		3. 0¾
Kar patchery " (7)	2. 3. 0		3. 4½
Kuventer "	2. 3. 0		3. 4½
Unbeaten Bengal rice	1. 3. 0		1. 10½
" Kara	1. 8. 0		2. 6
" Kuventer	1. 8. 0		2. 6
Paddy Para	0. 9. 3		1. 2⅝
Kuventer	1. 0. 0		1. 6
Full grown fowl	0. 6. 0		0. 9

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	Rs. f. p. or	s. d
Middling fowl	0. 3. 2	0. 5¼
Chicken	0. 1. 2	0. 2½
Eggs per dozen	0. 1. 2	0. 2½
Two Cocoanuts large	0. 0. 3	0. 1⅛
Two small Cocoanuts	0. 0. 1	0. 0⅜
Oranges per dozen	0. 3. 0	0. 4½
a Pumpelmusse	0. 0. 1	0. 0⅜
2 pine apples	0. 0. 3	0. 1½
Plantains per dozen	0. 1. 2	0. 2¼
Limes " "	0. 0. 3	0. 1⅛
Turmerick per lb.	0. 1. 2.	0. 2¼
Chillies " "	0. 2. 1	0. 3⅜
Onions " "	0. 1. 1	0. 1⅞
Cocoanut oil per measure	0. 2. 0	0. 3
Coffee " "	0. 4. 2	0. 6¾
Pepper " "	0. 4. 2.	0. 6¾
BUTCHER'S MEAT. (6)		
Pork per lb.	0. 2. 0	0. 3
Beef "	0. 2. 0	0. 3
Sausage "	0. 1. 2	0. 2¼
Ghee per measure	1. 1. 2	1. 8¼

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The staple food of the country has during the interval of one third of a century risen from 2s. 9d. to 6s. 8d, and from 3s. 2¼d to 4s; whilst animal food, Cocoanuts, vegetables, Cocoanut Oil and meat are just now double of what they were in 1802. Coffee which was then sold for the same price as pepper, has risen 300 per cent.; whilst pepper only shows a rise of 200 per cent.

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Section 28 Social Life in Dutch Times.

Turning our attention to the Dutch we are forcibly struck with the difference in their domestic expenditure. All accounts agree that, except a few families, the Dutch inhabitants were reduced to ~~great~~ circumstances of great indigence. But, by rigid and meritorious economy, and some of the lesser labours of industry they maintained an appearance in the eyes of the world, sometimes affluent and gay, and always decent and respectable.(1) Under such circumstances, and accustomed to a training different from the English, they were satisfied with little; and their wants were few. They cared not for

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show and pageantry. They loved not to dress in an expensive style. They used neither expensive equipages, nor showy steeds. Few used a Vehicle; and that was a Trieke1, which was propelled by a Coolie from behind, and the movements of the front single wheel were regulated by a handle worked by the rider himself from inside.(2) They took no pleasure in dinner parties, or Balls and Masquerades. If friends met together, which they frequently did, either before or after dinner, the treatment which they received was simple and inexpensive. A tobacco pipe, and a souppie (a small liquor glass) of Genever (gin), were all that was needed in an hour's conversation under the Halef-dach, as the host and his visitors reclined in their ample old-fashioned, but comfortable chairs, with their feet resting high on the pillars, or the railings.

They used good and substantial food, consisting of meat, pork, fish and vegetables. They were very fond, it is said, of "white-meat," which was certainly injurious to the health of men who took little exercise, and were otherwise of less active habits. We have given the reader a brief account of their savory dishes;(3) and those, judged by the price-list of ingredients already given, could not entail much expense on them in their culinary department.

A large item of expenditure from which the Dutch

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and Sinhalese were exempt, consisted of servants' wages, to avoid which they kept a number of Negro slaves and Malays, whose descendants were called Kriyasan, and made first-rate domestic servants—active, docile, attached, and generally faithful. In course of time the patriarchs of a slave-family were intrusted with the sole management of the household; and we have ourself frequently observed the love and affection which they bore to the juvenile members of their master's family; and the faithfulness with which they executed his orders. With the love of music, for which the Negro race is distinguished, these slaves learnt to play on the flute and the flageolet; and we have heard it said that there were several Dutch families who could occasionally get up a little band of Musicians from among their slave boys.

If the wants of the Dutch were at this time few, those of the Sinhalese were fewer still. The higher classes scarcely consumed any part of the 140,000 bags(4) of rice which were annually imported into Ceylon. Their own fields supplied all that was necessary for their families; and their enormous
76B staff of attendants both male and female.(5) They were not habituated to drink. Perhaps a bottle of "London Particular Madeira," as it was then called, suffices a family for a whole week, and sometime an entire month. A single glass of gin before dinner was a luxury which

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they had learnt from the Dutch. Tea was largely used, and was at all times served to visitors. The ladies, during their complimentary visits, were treated to a glass of "Roy wine"; but few partook of it with anything like zest. The younger branch of a family were not accustomed to any luxuries. A young man, until he attained his 25th year, never tasted any wines; nor smoked a pipe or cigar. He was also denied many social privileges, such as visiting, mixing in the company of elders, etc., etc. There was an exception to this, as to all other social matters. It took place at festive gatherings, when no expense was, as it is now, spared; and when, as remarked by Cordiner, "the united luxuries of Europe and Asia were displayed in superfluous abundance; and no wines but those of the choicest quality were permitted to appear." vol I, p. 111. The dress of the Sinhalese was scanty. A white or coloured cloth, with a Henthrock, which was buttoned from the neck to the waist, formed the comfortable and decent dress of a gentleman, in private.

This dress was peculiar to the Sinhalese districts on the coast and was partly a creature of European civilization. So far as the costume was confined to these habiliments there was positively no objection. As Asiatics the Sinhalese wanted but little clothing. The climate did not permit the use of heavy clothes. The people could not endure much in the tropics, as those in the Northern regions could not live

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without an abundance. But, when the depraved tastes of a Dutch governor had dictated to the Sinhalese an alteration in their head dress, they in deference to authority, assumed one which was neither graceful nor becoming their sex or nationality. We refer to the large tortoise shell comb with which they secured their ample hair on the back, and the little circular comb on the crown of the head, with which the hair was drawn back a l'Imperatrice from the forehead.(6) Unquestionably this, as remarked by Sir Emerson Tennent, has "an air of effminacy very striking to the eye of a stranger," and we only trust that, as we already see around us signs of reform in this respect, the Sinhalese will hasten to abandon a fashion, which is not only disagreeable, unnatural and non-national; but does not sit easy on the wearer, and leads to, as it did on several occasions at Galle, to serious and ludicrous mistakes.

On public occasions the higher classes assumed, in addition to the noxious combs, a rich, but very inconvenient dress, — nearly the same that is at present worn by Chiefs and Headmen, with the exception of shoes and stockings, which the Sinhalese had not previously used, but to which they were gradually accustoming themselves. That which they adopted at this time was the Javanese sapus. They also wore, in addition to their present dress, a small shallow-crowned hat covered with silk or velvet, on the crown of their heads, and apart from the tortoise shell comb with which they secured their

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hair behind their heads. The colour of their Coats, and their material, the size and splendour of their swords, and the number of their attendants were regulated by Government Orders. The Maha Modliar, "who was the Chief of all the Cingalese," as remarked by Cordiner, (7) wore a scarlet velvet Coat, and a gold sword in addition to his other marks of distinction. But, at the particular period under review the scarlet had by a Government order had been changed into 'Prussian-blue silk-velvet – a dress in which we saw Illangakoon Maha Modliar (8) until 1838. Though he was "arrayed," as remarked by Cordiner, "in more costly robes than a peer of the imperial Parliament," (p 110) dress cost him, as well as his other countrymen very little; whilst the largest expenditure in the highest circles was confined to costly jewellery, consisting of valuable sets of brilliants, Rubies, Emeralds, blue-Sapphires, Cinnamon stones etc., – all set in gold, for the female members of the family, besides various other trinkets introduced by the Dutch, and to which we have made a passing allusion.

It may be here convenient to refer to the funeral ceremonies of the Sinhalese, especially amongst the higher classes, which in these days presented a curious and imposing spectacle. A number of tom-tom beaters and a guard of honour preceded the coffin, which was borne by respectable "Appu-hamies," dressed in black clothes, Coats and Caps. The relations were then called out of

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a "Roll," according to the nearest kinship which each bore to the deceased. They followed the coffin, one after the other, in solemn silence. They were all dressed in sable clothes, — the titled class alone wearing swords covered with black tortoise-shell scabbards, attached to a black satin belt. Their shell-hats were also lined with black silk; and from each of them hung down a piece of black crape, about four feet in length. Over their coats they also wore large "mantels," nearly approaching a lawyer's gown without sleeves. After the relations the general company followed in dead silence, the beaters playing at short intervals the "dead march" in a shrill tone upon their muffled tom-toms. When the funeral procession had approached its destination the burial service was read by a Catechist, or rather a Proponent, as the functionary was then called. This done, and the coffin lowered to its last resting place, a crier stood up in an elevated position, and proclaimed in Dutch that nothing remained to be done and requested that the company might be so good as to return to the funeral house. Thereupon the heirs of the deceased led the procession in the same order in which it had proceeded to the grave, followed by the general company. All then repaired to the house of the deceased; where they were treated to tea, coffee, cakes, wines, cigars, etc.

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the Kaster or 'the ceremony Master' who had previously acted as the crier, and who was a Dutch Employé, now being busily engaged in superintending the distribution of the refreshments.

After a little time all the strangers retired, leaving behind the relations alone of the deceased, who were soon afterwards fed on rice and curries – not prepared at the funeral house, but specially sent by each relation who attended the funeral.

In matters relating to food, the expenditure of a Sinhalese gentleman was in those days very small. Though his broad table groaned under the weight of innumerable dishes, and a variety of curries of which Europeans have hardly any conception,(9) and though he, like some of the Englishmen of this period, "estimated the respectability of a dinner by the quantity and largeness of the dishes that were crowded on the board;" yet for the reasons ~~stated~~ already stated, and from the numerous friendly relations which existed between them and their tenantry, friends, and relations, who constantly brought in fish, game, vegetables, etc., etc., their supplies were rendered cheap and easy.(10) 77.B

Here we may allude to an old Sinhalese custom, which is still prevalent to a certain extent. From time immemorial

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it was the custom of the country for people, when a Governor or other official, or private gentleman travelled through the country, to furnish him or them with the productions of the country to the extent which it was in their power to do. (11) Even at present no gentleman passes through a District without being waited upon by the principal inhabitants, who seldom fail to inquire and supply, the little wants of the traveller.

These attentions enabled the people to see their chiefs, and to lay their grievances before them. Often they were paid from a love of ceremony, and a sense of duty. By such conduct the country gentry were enabled to pay their respects to their friends, and to return the civilities which they had received on visiting the capital. When Mr. North set out on his first tour round Ceylon, large bodies of people repaired from all quarters to his camp loaded with the rich productions of the country, which they presented in willing offerings without the smallest expectation of recompense. The Governor, who was utterly ignorant of the custom, not only was surprised at their conduct, but greatly surprised them by compelling them to receive full recompense in money for the things which they had brought in. The practise is certainly open to abuse; but all travellers know how difficult it is wholly

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to set it aside, and how much they sometimes stand in need of such attentions. In the case of officials, however, it is but right and politic that it should be discouraged, and altogether prevented. But, we should be the last to wish that a custom in private life so much calculated to cement cordiality between friends and neighbours, and between different classes, and individuals, and to promote that hospitality which, under a vicious social system, can only be dispensed by its means, should be disturbed out of the pale of official life.

We have said that this custom of showing attention to travellers is open to abuse. We have not only the authority of the Mahavansa but that of the Ceylon Statute Book which says that it led to "oppression". Every servant who attended a European on his travels exacted from the petty headmen and others a variety of objects for which the donors received no compensation, although the servant charged his master their full value. When North received 'various complaints from persons inhabiting the villages,' he directed that no person should travel without a pass-port; that post-holders should procure all necessary provisions for travellers, charging five and twenty per cent in addition to their actual value; and that masters and servants exacting from the people should be punished severely, — the master with a fine, and the servant, — if Sinhalese or Malabar — with fifty lashes

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and – if foreigner, with banishment. (11a)

In this connection we are able to present to the reader the translation of an old official document, both curious and interesting, which regulated the table expenses of Ehelapole Maha Nilame, on his expedition to Kandy in the year 1814, to help the English to capture that country. It gives a pretty good estimate of a Sinhalese gentleman's table expenses of the
78 A period as well as for a long time afterwards, in addition to the European luxuries to which the maritime Sinhalese gradually accustomed themselves, and to which we have already briefly alluded, and may have occasion hereafter to refer.

"The daily expenses for the Adigar, Mahanilame and twenty attendants in his mansion.

For the Maha Nilame daily.

	Rds.	f.	p.	s.	d
Fine table rice, 7 seers (12) at 5½ stivers each	0	9	2½	1	2 7/16
One-fourth measure ghee	0	2	1	0	3 3/8
Six large cocoanuts	0	1	3½	0	2 13/16
Dry fish, or fish, or eggs, 16	0	4	0	0	6
Seven kinds of vegetables, such as pumpkins, ash-melon, plantains, melons, bringals, long beans, moongoe seed, sweet potatoe, cucumbers or other varieties	0	4	1	0	6 3/8

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	Rds.	f.	p.	s.	d
Maldivian fish 6	0	1	2	0	2¼
Salt, saffron, chilli, pepper, Goraka (acid), mustard, lemon, onion, kremin, Ulucca, coriander and (whenever called for) dried tamarind.	0	2	2	0	3 15/16
Chatty full of curd cow-milk	0	1	0	0	1½
Betel, tobacco, chunam, arekanut	0	2	0	0	3
A bottle of oil and firewood	0	6	0	0	9
	2	9	0½	4	1 11/16

N.B. – Use on alternate days fowls at the rate of two or six fanams each.

For each of the 20 servants

One seer of rice	0	1	0½	0	1 3/16
One cocoanut	0	0	1	0	0 3/8
Dry fish	0	0	1	0	0 3/8
Green plantains or any other vegetable	0	0	2	0	0 3/4
Salt and curry stuff	0	0	1	0	0 3/8
Betel, areka and tobacco	0	0	1	0	0 3/8
	0	2	2½	0	3 15/16

78B

J. D'OYLY

Civil Auditor General

13th December 1814

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The houses of the Maritime Sinhalese were greatly superior to those of the Kandians, which so much resembled the cottages of the ryots of Bengal. (13) Those of the higher classes were built in a superior style, and much resembled in their internal arrangements the dwellings of the Dutch, with a Sala or hall, on each side of which was a Kaamar or bedroom, leading into a spacious enclosed Verandah, and from thence into a half-dach, a Pachchi Kaamar, and Kusine; and also with a half-verandah on the front of the house. Such buildings were by no means confined to the towns. In the seclusion of the interior, amidst groves of Palms, Jack and Breadfruit, and Orchards of fruit trees, there were many houses of the Country-headmen, with broad outer-verandahs, spacious rooms, and extensive offices.' (14) If they were inferior to

same letters → – 'the seats of gay delight',

that are now springing up in large domains of the Sinhalese in the interior of the island, and

'Where hospitality with smiles receive
same letters → The way-worn guest, and untold wants relieve;
Bright with the beams of joy, each eye is seen,
Smiles speak content, and all is bliss serene;

they were by no means less celebrated for those hospitalities and

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convivialities to which the 'old Sinhalese gentleman', like the 'English gentleman,— all of the olden time' was greatly distinguished.

Section 29 Benefits of North's Administrations. 79 A

Before concluding this notice of the social condition of the Sinhalese, in the beginning of the present century, we may allude to one or two matters pertaining to their character, which distinguish them from many Asiatic races.

Though the Sinhalese were divided into many castes and classes, and though each caste retained social peculiarities which distinguished them from each other; yet, as regards their social character the diversity was not much greater than that which exists in all countries, which contain higher and lower grades of men, with an intermediate class which neither possesses the polish, the refinement, and delicate tastes of the one, nor the rude and uncultivated manners of the other.

There are, however, general traits of character which are common to all classes of people; and they are those

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~~those~~ features which stand out in bold relief, and mark out the genius of a nation. In those traits of domestic or social life no oriental nation, we believe excels the Sinhalese. Our books abound with touching pictures of them. Every-day life presents innumerable instances of them. We have already noticed several. Others may be here mentioned. The harmony which pervades throughout a Sinhalese family, and the cordial relations which exist between its several members, can only be peculiar to a people so very ceremonious as the Sinhalese. In vain do we seek among other Asiatic nations, for such instances of filial regard, or parental affection as those which we see around us. The Sinhalese are not deficient in fraternal attachment — the reverence which the younger members of a family should have to their elders — the devotion and obedience of wives to their husbands — and the tenderness and affection of a love which such conduct must inspire.(1) Even Europeans, whose discernment and penetration, added to their love of truth, make ample amends for the paucity of opportunities for observation, have not failed to detect some of these peculiarities. "The Singalese women", says Boyd, "exhibit a striking contrast to those of all other oriental nations, in

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some of the most prominent and distinctive features of their character. Instead of that lazy apathy, insipid modesty, and sour austerity, which have characterized the sex throughout the Asiatic world, in every period of its history; in this island, they possess much of that active sensibility, winning bashfulness, and amiable ease, for which the women of modern Europe are peculiarly famed." (2) Though very scrupulous with regard to castes, the greatest among our females, like Homer's princesses, who went to the fountain to wash their linen, do not consider it derogatory to their dignity to superintend the operations of the cuisine; and to be otherwise employed in the ordinary business of domestic house-wifery. These are, however, virtues for which the men do not, like the Western nations, hold the women in great reverence. And, though this is a failing which they share in common with all Asiatic nations; yet, as remarked by the same writer from whom we have last ~~recently~~ quoted, 'their sociable and placable dispositions soften the rigour of their domestic policy.' (3)

Lest, in noticing some of the favourable characteristics of the Sinhalese, our own nationality be held to blind us to their faults; and lest the reader may suppose that 79B

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we have sacrificed truth by passionate or fanciful colouring, we prefer here, as in all similar instances, in the course of these pages, whenever available, to reflect our sentiments by quoting those of good and unprejudiced authorities.

"In their persons and houses," says Boyd, "the Singalese are exceedingly clean; and in dressing their victuals, scrupulously nice. Their principal food is rice, with which they mix curries, made of fish, fowl or the flesh of mutton or and goat; being, like all other Hindus instructed by their religion, rather to endure famine and suffer death, rather than eat the flesh of the cow.(4) The only spirituous liquor known among them is arrack; but their religion enjoins them to abstain from all strong liquors whatever, and their desires seldom tempt them to transgress this ordinance.(5)

"The women are excellent housewives; thrifty without meanness, and hospitable without profusion. To be noted for economy and hospitality(6) is their highest ambition; and it is accounted the duty of mothers to instil these virtues into their children. Hence the Singalese unite the glowing liberality of a simple people, with that prudence and foresight which are the effects of cultivation and refinement."(7)

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Such briefly is the social character which an acute observer, and an honest historian has recorded of the Sinhalese; and let us indeed hope that the delirium which succeeds worldly wealth – the 'dangers' to which we are exposed by 'a little learning', – the bewilderment to which an observance of foreign manners leads – the evils which are often the concomitants of Western civilization – and, above all, the obstacles which are imposed by a foreign Polity adverse to their old social system, will never induce our countrymen to depart from their social virtues, and especially that genuine hospitality for which they have earned a distinguished place among, at least, all Asiatic nations.

In thus referring to the bright side of the picture, we do not by any manner of means wish to conceal that the Sinhalese, like all nations, have their failings and short comings, viewed, not only through the light of their own institutions, morals and religion; but tested by the opinions of nations, between whom and themselves there is no community of sentiment. Indeed there are dark spots on the picture which we have drawn of the social condition of

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the Sinhalese. We have alluded to such of them as relate generally to the nation. There is, indeed, another to which we cannot refrain from referring here. It is the division of castes into bodies of eternal social incommunication, which, though sanctioned by ancient laws and kings, and hallowed by immemorial usage, is unquestionably detrimental to the best interests of the Sinhalese. And, though such inveterate habits cannot be easily set aside in a day — cannot be forced out by adverse influences or hostile operations — and can only be given up gradually, — by concessions on the part of some, by kind appreciation on the part of others, and by the voluntary action of all parties, — we yet hope
80A that ~~the~~ considerations of self-interest will induce our countrymen to accelerate the attainment of a consummation, for which, already, there are, we are sincerely happy to perceive, undoubted, though feeble, efforts on the part of many. (8)

We shall next advert to the material improvement of Ceylon under North's Government. That was not indeed neglected by him. It had his best attention. He devoted to it his best energies. His policy with regard to the innovations of the East India Company's Commissioner was

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unmistakeable. It was to set them all aside, even though he should find reason afterwards, to reintroduce them. 'It sufficed,' says Mons. Burnand, 'that it was an establishment, or a usage of the old government, to cause the abolition of the existing system, though the same might be afterwards, restored in a less advantageous, and more burdensome manner.'(9) His first care was, therefore to drive away the dishonest Aumels, Dubashes and other servants of the E.I. Company who had ruined the country. He did so by dismissals, suspensions, and forced resignations.(10) He also reinstated all the Modliars, and other native headmen, whom his Predecessor under the Company's government had dismissed. He abolished all obnoxious taxes. He restored the Dutch laws and regulations, until he had sufficient experience of the country to amend and alter them. He paid early attention to the improvement of Tanks and water courses, by the gradual neglect of which the agricultural interests of the country had greatly suffered, and a dreadful murrain had broken out amongst the cattle. He recognized as under the Dutch government, the company of Tank-builders. He did not overlook the necessity for improving the breed of cattle, which had gradually degenerated. His exertions to reclaim the Muturajavela, a large tract of paddy lands on the suburbs of Colombo, were great.(11) Weighty considerations induced him to restrict the cultivation of Cinnamon to

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the principal gardens at Moratu and Colombo, and one or two
80 B near Galle and Matura. In doing so he expected not only to improve the cultivation of a few gardens with greater profit, than a great many by suffering them to grow into a jungle; but also calculated upon obtaining all that was necessary to supply to the East India Company. By this restriction he also desired the attainment of three important ends, 1st: a more complete monopoly, and a greater facility in checking every encroachment upon it; 2ndly, the restoration to the inhabitants of private lands, on which the growth of Cinnamon had previously rendered cultivation penal; and 3rdly, the removal of the restraints put upon the breeding of cattle by the improper seizure of them on government orders for alleged trespasses on which Cinnamon grew, however little.(12)

It is, however, right to state that North did not fail to regard this valuable branch of revenue with that attention which its importance demanded. He made great improvements in the cultivation of the plant, and the management of the grounds. By such efforts he succeeded in producing, from cultivated gardens alone, the 4,000 bales or 368,000 lbs. of Cinnamon, which it had

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been stipulated that the Ceylon government should annually deliver to the E. I. Company, for the sum of £60,000. The quantities which were collected from other sources also yielded a small income by sale to Indian merchants, besides being applied to the distillation of Cinnamon oil — an article which at this date fetched about 10 guineas a quart. (13)

The wharves, warehouses and public buildings, which had been nearly ruined from the neglect of Indian officers, received North's special attention; and for their repair he spent large sums of money. (14) He had abolished the system of paying native headmen by lease-hold Accomodasans, or grants of free lands. In lieu of that system he substituted regular monthly payments, — a measure which, whilst it caused an apparent increase of expenditure, had in reality the effect of a saving by a more than proportionate increase in the value of ~~the~~ land. The change also gratified the lower orders of the Sinhalese, who held land by a service tenure, in that it liberated them from the vexations conduct of petty headmen who controlled them. (15)

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81 A

Section 30 Thoughts on the Sinhalese Language.

Not the least among North's public acts were his precautionary measures to protect the natives from being molested by English troops in their march from one district into another, — conduct which, in the opinion of Bertolacci, the Auditor General of Ceylon, had the deplorable consequence of depopulating the ancient principality of Wanni. The exertions of North to improve the condition of its ill-fated inhabitants resulted in its restoration to some degree of fertility; and we have the authority of the historian whom we have just quoted, that it soon gave evidence of considerable improvement. (1) With the same object of protecting the Sinhalese against the lawless acts of the Malays, whose 'violence and dishonesty caused a terror to the Sinhalese,' North ordered a registration of them, and that they should take their residence at such places as were allotted to them. He further directed that Malays should not travel about without a pass-port; and prohibited them from being armed with dangerous weapons, on pain of being banished from the island. (1)

Conceiving that giving a man a clear and undisputed title to his lands was the best mode of attaching him to his country, and of exciting a spirit of industry, North abolished the regulations of the Dutch, who, with a view to

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prevent emigration, did not suffer the partition of Estates in the case of death. He not only permitted and encouraged the division of lands, but appointed officers in each district for the registration of them. (2) He diminished the number of Lascoreens, who had to perform certain duties in the towns for the lands which they held as a compensation. This change gave that class of people greater leisure than they had previously injoyed for the cultivation of their lands. He liberated the Castes subjected to the servitude of different kinds of personal labour, and withdrew the lands given, from the most ancient times, to the chiefs and to the Naides, or persons who were subject to perform services. (3) For the encouragement generally of agriculture, he, for the first time, introduced the system of granting lands to any applicant, on condition that, after five years' occupancy, he should pay to the Government one-tenth of the produce of dry grain on high ground, and one-fourth on low. (3a)

One of the acts of the Madras Government in Ceylon, in their sweeping reforms, was to abolish the pensions which had been granted by the Dutch to Landroosts, or persons who held high offices under the Dutch. When North perceived that without aid from government they must perish, for want of food, 'he granted

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them pensions in the name of His Majesty.'(4) Zealous in the cause of humanity North also introduced laws (introduce other acts). Small pox, Slavery, Vaccination, Charitable Institutions. (4a)

~~One of the acts of the Madras Government in Ceylon, in their sweeping reforms, was to abolish the pensions which had been~~

Under these and many other similar acts of this nobleman, which readily received the sanction and support of the East India Company, Ceylon soon wore a very different aspect. Instead of an exhausted treasury the revenue rose considerably; the people were happy and contented. 'The whole country resounded with expressions of loyalty, and every countenance denoted happiness and contentment;' – circumstances which soon encouraged the Governor to initiate measures for the promotion of education and religion, and the improvement of the administration of justice.

These measures, doubtless, necessitated great expenditure; and, though the revenue was certainly on the increase, it was nevertheless insufficient to meet the cost of the Establishments, which amounted to £330,000, being £103,400 in excess of the revenue.(5) In this estimate of the Colonial income, the produce from every source is included, allowing
818 £40,000 as the amount of receipts at this period from pearl fisheries; and £60,000 the receipts from the E.I. Company for

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Cinnamon. The rest of the revenue was derived from taxes on lands, markets, fisheries, Moors, Chetties, arrack shops, gambling places, cock pits and Jewels; and from import and export duties, which in 1802 amounted to £19,160. (6)

"Mr. North," says Sir Emerson Tennent, "who with administrative talents of the highest order combined an enthusiasm in the cause of Education, by which at a later period of his life he imperishably associated his name with the regeneration of Greece, as the founder and first Chancellor of the Ionian University." During a tour round the island North perceived the urgent necessity which existed for the employment of clergymen, and schoolmasters. For want of them he perceived that heathenism was in the increase, and that Christians could not obtain the rites of marriage. In many instances no Clergyman was found within a hundred miles of a populous district. Accordingly, North increased the number of ministers and School Masters — removed the restrictions on burials — and also the tax on marriages, which had amounted almost to a prohibition. He, moreover, re-established the Schools which had been abandoned by the Madras officials. He raised the 'parochial schools,' as Lord Valentia calls them, to 170 exclusive of an Academy at Colombo. Into the latter he introduced youths from the highest native society. The progress which they made in this "Seminary"

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was so rapid that in less than three years, we find, many of them were found eligible in respect of a competent knowledge of the English language to enter the public service. When this fact had been reported to North, five students, four of whom were Sinhalese, and the other a Chetty, received from His Excellency on the 15th of June 1802, the appointments mentioned in the following official notification.

"Yesterday His Excellency was pleased to invest with swords of honor, as a mark of distinction, Cornelis de Saram Wijesekera Gunatilakaratna, Mohotti Mohandiram of the Governor's Gate, and Chief Interpreter of the Provincial Court; Johannes Paulus Perera Wijesekera Gunawardana, Mohandiram of the Wapattu, and Interpreter of the Agent of Revenue and Commerce; Don Jacobus Dias Wijewardana Bandaranayaka, Mohandiram, and second Interpretor of the Provincial Court; Don Abraham Dias Wijesekara Bandaranayaka, Mohandiram and Interpreter to the Supreme Court, — being the three (four?) Cingalese boys in the school at Wolfendhal; and Gabriel Casi Chetty, one of the Malabar Translators to Government, being the first Malabar ~~by~~ boy at the same school, — all of whom had been reported to His Excellency as having made sufficient progress in English to act as Interpreters. The best effects may be expected to arise from the pains that are being bestowed, in bringing up the rising generation of the Native Nobility, in a familiar acquaintance with the

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English Language." (7)

The encouragements, however, which were held out to the Sinhalese for studying English had also the tendency for inducing the natives to "make the English language the subject of their serious study, to the exclusion of their own." (8) Turnour, speaking of the Sinhalese of this period, says they became "candidates for employment. Their education, as regards the acquisition of their native language, was seldom persevered in beyond the attainment of a grammatical knowledge (9) of Singhalese; — the ancient history of their country, and the mysteries of the religions of their ancestors, rarely engaged their serious attention. Their principal study was the English language, pursued in order that they might qualify themselves for these official appointments, which were the objects of their ambition." 82A

That they thus neglected the study of the Sinhalese, and "neglected it long, unjustly and imprudently" (10) is undoubted; and that such neglect had for nearly half a century led to a considerable decay of the language, is still more certain. (11) Sensible of the vast injury [of] which such neglect had been the result, the natives commenced an effort, about twenty five years ago, to revive their literature, to redeem it from the corruption of foreign idioms, to pay greater attention to grammatical forms, and to introduce a correct, system and an uniform system of O.N.

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spelling, which had been set aside by ignorant copyists. About the same time appeared several contributions to Sinhalese literature; (12) and the establishment of printing presses enabled the Sinhalese to carry on the contemplated improvements. In the midst of their labours, however, the natives have had to contend with the obstacles which are interposed by the domination of foreigners, who, claiming the undoubted right of writing in whatever idiom they please, desire to perpetuate that uncertain form of language which is easy of acquisition, (13) which they find in the mouth of uneducated men, and which in the interest of the Sinhalese nation, it has for ~~been~~ sometime been the anxious desire of all right thinking people to banish from among us.

82 B The antagonism which an alien domination presents to the literature of the country is such as to demand a brief explanation. When the indifference to the cultivation of Sinhalese continued, and gained strength in the course of time, during more than half-a-century, the language gave way to a form worse than that which the English language presented two centuries ago. (14) In this state of its decadence the English residents, in their laudable anxiety to instruct the native, picked up the current language of the land; and in that uncertain and fluctuating idiom put forth elementary, scientific, and religious works. The pernicious influence of such

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publications has been very great. The Sinhalese youths, who were taught in English schools, and who expected to obtain a livelihood by helping Mission work, imbibed nearly all the notions of the foreigners; and almost entirely consented to take from them the law in literature, (15) as in morals. These Sinhalese youths, in after-life, when associated with Europeans in the compilation of books, for instructing the Sinhalese helped them to perpetuate a style which was most in accordance with the tastes and inclinations of Europeans. They took no model for their compositions. They accepted, as the best, that style which they heard their servants speak, — that being, moreover, the style which they found easy to acquire, during a few years' sojourn in this island. In adopting this they set aside some letters of our alphabet. They disregarded the orthography of our best authors. They acted, as if they thought it best to write a word derived from the Sanskrit with a Pali, or Sinhalese spelling, et vice versa. They introduced all sorts of foreign idioms; and though they largely borrowed from the Sanskrit, they nevertheless disdained to adopt those beautiful models which that language presented; and, whenever they had been adopted by the Sinhalese, they received the designation of "ludicrous pedantry." In composition they padded out a sentence with useless words, and omitted to

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introduce those which were necessary to render a Sinhalese sentence intelligible to the Sinhalese people. They thought in English, and wrote English ideas in Sinhalese words. They changed the rythm of our poetry to suit it to what is called their Church Music. In grammar they denied the authority of 'the only standard grammar' amongst us; changed the gender of nouns; lopped off verbal terminations, adopted one uniform inflexion to all persons; ignored a passive voice; substituted one case for another; and introduced various other modifications which are too numerous to mention. Forgetful of the fact, that in their own language the use of 'those strong plain words, Anglo-Saxon or Norman-French, of which the roots lie in the inmost depths of the language,' renders its style elegant, they discarded in Sinhalese composition our pure Sinhalese forms, calling them Elu or 'a different dialect.' Under the plea that they wished to reach the understanding of the ignorant; and regardless of the truism, that "the ignorant understand the learned better than the latter do the former," (16) they adopted the language such as that in which Sir Hugh Evans is made to say "I like not when a 'oman has a great peard: I spy a great peard ~~I like not when a 'oman~~ under her muffler."

83 A

When after the lapse of some time the Sinhalese observed the new canons of criticism, and the new models of style which had thus come into fashion, a reaction took place in their feelings;

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and the consequence was an anxious endeavour on their part to improve the language, and to reclaim it from the decadence into which it had fallen, partly from their own neglect, and partly from the influence of Anglo-Sinhalese literature, and English precept, and example. This antagonism, unfortunately, still continues, and may continue for some time; but, we are certain this exotic will droop and die away on Sinhalese soil, as did French or English.

In the interest of our Sinhalese language, all that we desire, is to keep the language of our literature, and of our religious works, distinct from the language of our thoughts, which may be compared to the skeleton notes of Stenography, and from the rude and imperfect language of the Bazaar, which is not different from the specimen of English which we have above quoted. We think it will be conceded that in literary works different styles suit different subjects. (17) The style of epistolary correspondence amongst the middle classes, is and must be less refined than that adopted by the learned. The latter again is different from the language of a newspaper. This diversity of styles presents a mannerism which enters more or less into nearly all the departments of man's estate. It is the same mannerism which the Sinhalese observe in dress. They discard the bath-kerchief, and put on a decent white cloth when they go into society; and this they again change and assume

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richer apparel when they enter the sanctuaries of their religion. Nor is such mannerism different, amongst the English, either in dress or in literature. Dr. Johnson wrote in one style, and spoke in another. 'When he wrote for publication,' says Macaulay, 'he dis his sentences out of English into Johnsonese.' The great lescicographer is indeed not singular, although he evinced a greater appetency than other writers to mark out a difference. The parliamentary language of Burke, or the great Chatham is certainly different from the style of their epistolary correspondence.

83B The language of domestic conversation amongst Englishmen is equally different from their correspondence, and literary works. No discreet person would, in private life, venture to speak in the language suited to literary works without being derided, that "he spoke like a book!" So, again, our language in private life presents different shades of difference. The language which we heard from our mothers and nurses is different from the language of our thoughts; the language of garrulous old women in the streets from that of tradesmen in their dealings with each other; and the language of a rustic from that of a polished gentleman.

Yet, Europeans, doubtless in their laudable exertions

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to instruct natives, learn only the conversational Sinhalese; and, not having the time or opportunities to master the language, fix upon a style which is easily acquired, and which is distasteful to the Sinhalese in certain departments of literature. When, however, this is pointed out, though in the kindest manner, they are soon roused to anger; and, feeling indignant at the reflection, on, what they consider, their superior position and intelligence, attempt to carry their political domination to literature, and to give us law in regard to language, as the French once did in Europe. Their own good sense, however, must show them how inconsiderate such conduct is, (18) and how futile the attempt must be to thrust upon an Asiatic nation the notions of an Englishman as regards an oriental literature. (19) We sincerely indulge a hope that they will not persevere in such attempts, and thereby retard the improvement of a language, which, having been undertaken in right good earnest, we are confident, will be accomplished, though late, if there were but ten Sinhalese literary men, true to their interests, and with that national enthusiasm which in England, under like circumstances, prompted Englishmen to discard a distasteful exotic forced upon them.

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84A

Section ~~25~~ 31 Opinions on Education in Ceylon.

In proportion to the lukewarmness manifested by the Sinhalese in the study of their national language, was the ambition of the higher classes to acquire a respectable acquaintance with the language of the dominant race. Such ambition was speedily crowned with success; and, under the zealous exertions of Mr. Andrew Armour (1) many of his pupils soon learnt to 'converse fluently in English; and write, in a good style, very accurate translations from the Cingalese.' (2) If such proficiency failed not, as we have already seen, to be beneficial to the students themselves, the British interests in the island also experienced essential benefits from the labours of this Academy, which, 'for a long time, not only supplied the place of a translator's office, but likewise furnished confidential interpreters to the various departments of government.' (3)

For more reasons than one we wish to attract attention to a letter, which, though written ten years after the period on which we dwell, and fifteen years after the establishment of this Seminary, gives a fair specimen of the acquirements of the Sinhalese in English. It was addressed by the writer, whose sad end we shall have to record in a subsequent section, from Kandy, to the Rev. W. M. Harvard, one of the early Missionaries

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who arrived in Ceylon; and is dated

23rd October, 1815.

Rev. Sir, — I would have written to you earlier, had I not been prevented both with business of moment, and the hope of very soon returning to Colombo. Since my arrival here, I continue, thank God, in good health. With regard to this city, it commands a beautiful prospect, and is surrounded by a range of mountains. The country is very cold, particularly in the morning. It produces abundance of marble stones, (4) and good water, which issues out of springs and fountains; but what comes from the mountainous part is held to be of inferior excellency. The palace is crowded with houses; a turret (5) of gold is fixed at the top of the ~~turret~~ palace, which is surrounded by a lake. In the midst of this stands the King's house of pleasure, and has a gratifying appearance; all the pillars, and door frames, etc. are worked in relievo, the handles embossed with gold and silver. The adjoining edifice to the palace is the principal Temple, called ~~the~~ Dalada Maligawe. Its architecture is magnificent, and boasts of two golden turrets, at both extremities of the roof. There are hundreds of Wharees (subordinate temples), and innumerable priests belonging to them. The streets are broad, but the construction of the side houses is low; and the windows so small, that they could barely admit 84 B.

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the head through.

'The people of the Kandyan provinces, particularly those of the lower classes, are wretchedly ignorant, and the latter very shy, and generally lead careless lives. Many inoffensive and good kind of people may be found among them; and should Christianity extend its benign influence to those remote parts, we might justly be elated with ~~the~~ hope of their becoming in some years both wise and happy; while the country itself would flourish in proportion as they advance in knowledge.

'I hope you are in health, and beg you will accept my unfeigned respect and compliments, and that Mr. Clough will also be kind enough to accept of the same. I remain, Rev. Sir, your devoted humble servant'(6)

D. D. A. DASSENAIKE (7)

Another specimen is also given by Harvard. It was written by one of the pupils of this Academy, the only native chief who was distinguished at this time, not less for his varied acquirements, than his enthusiastic love of his country, for the amelioration of which he exerted his best energies. The letter runs as follows:

Kandy, 20th March, 1818.

'My dear Sir,

'I have received your very kind letter of the 25th ultimo.

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I am sorry I did not acknowledge it sooner; and am more so to hear that you had so much affliction lately in your family.

'The present circumstances at this place, I fear, will detain us long in Handy; and the anxiety I have to return to my family, though great, does not make me at all uneasy, when I reflect that I am serving a person to whom I am much indebted.

'I had great pleasure in reading that your School at Pantura is so much to your satisfaction; and anything that lies in my power, so feeble as it is, I am ready to do at all times for the good of our countrymen, and the success of your beneficient endeavours. For, I know you are not like a gardener who strives to bring all the trees of the garden to one height and bulk; to do which one cannot without cutting and reducing large trees to level with small ones, and consequently injure those which are larger and valuable. (8)

'I am very much obliged to you for the account you gave me of young Illangakkoon. I have no doubt that you and Mr. Clough will do every thing for him, to deserve the grateful thanks of myself and my father, who, I am confident, will not forget the least attention shewn to his family: and returning my best thanks for your kind wishes, I remain, Dear Sir, your sincere friend, and servant.

A. D. SARAM. (9)

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A. D. SARAM.

The Rev. Mr. Harvard.

85A These specimens, though not perfect, prove beyond all manner of doubt, the proficiency to which the students of the first English school in Ceylon had attained within a comparatively brief period. This proficiency, as compared with that which is acquired now-a-days, during a like period, appears to be very great. A boy, who has studied English for ten or twelve years during the past half century, can rarely produce a piece of composition as good as that which the above specimens exhibit. Speaking for ourself, we know that we could not forty years ago, when we had already been several years in school, produce anything like them.(10) The great majority of our native headmen &c are still unable to do so. The interpreters and translators of the present day, as a class — but not without exception — are infinitely inferior to those who had received their education in Seminary under notice.

We have heard it said that the Sinhalese proverb Metiyen séduvat mokada balalá miyá-allánan,(11) was translated by an Interpreter of old to mean, "Clay-made cat, what? cat catch rat;" and that "keep your own counsel," — the admonition of a judge to a Sinhalese Jury, — was conveyed as an advice of His Lordship to 'engage your own Proctor.' But we are pretty certain that no Interpreter of that period translated Kopi kelé giyá as "Coffee

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went into the jungle."

This is indeed very strange. Nearly all the circumstances

~~These specimens, though not perfect, prove,~~

~~beyond all manner of doubt, the proficiency to which~~

connected with Education are now more favourable, than they were seventy-four years ago. The school masters are now more abundant. They are of a superior class. School books are undoubtedly of a higher order. The opportunities for mastering English are greater. There are at present more English-speaking men in the country than at any time before. Not a few parents now talk to their sons in English – an advantage of which children were deprived seventy years ago. Children themselves, amongst the higher orders, frequently speak English at home, and at school, which they did not in 1802. The number of English books, to which one single boy can now have access, for reading, was not then found in the whole island. The means of the Sinhalese for educational expenses are incalculably greater now than before. The time, too, devoted exclusively to English studies, as we have already shewn, has become gradually greater and greater since the period of which we write.

Yet, with all these advantages the proficiency which the majority of the Sinhalese children make in rudimentary education, is not greater now (12) than it was when Dasanaike 85B

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Mohandiram wrote to Mr. Howard in 1815. Compare, for instance, what Mr. Sendall the Government Inspector of Schools, stated in the following extract in 1864 with the specimens which we have given of writings in 1815. "An exercise in composition, by one of the best candidates opens thus: 'I am conscious that I have undertaken to handle a very difficult task. This with the addition of more time and better qualifications should, I think, tend to merit excuse.' (13) Examine this. The writer wishes to say that he feels the difficulty of the task which he has undertaken, (a description of the town in which he lives.) He also thinks that he could do better if more time were allowed, and feels generally diffident about his own powers. That funny caricature of language in which these simple and very sensible ideas are expressed, pervades the whole exercise, which is by no means badly conceived. I know the author to be a lad of good qualities and studious habits, and to have been under instruction of one sort or another for more than ten years. He has considerable command of language, and a tolerable flow of ideas; and is yet unable to put six words together so as to express a clear thought with correctness: and I venture to say that the process by which he has been brought into that condition has by this time incapicitated him for ever from either writing, speaking or thinking with distinctness and accuracy." (14)

These remarks only apply, as remarked by Mr Sendall,

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'to the second rank of the educated youth of this island;' and they form, we regret to say, by far the largest class, who share the deplorable fate of the "best candidate" as above indicated by him.

It is, indeed, due to the Sinhalese youth of the present day to say, that they are infinitely superior to a by-gone generation in the arts and sciences, and in general information. Many there are, who greatly excel in those noble and arduous departments of knowledge in which induction and mathematical demonstration are employed in the discovery of truth. Not a few can read and translate Cicero's Orations, and the Greek Testament, Homer, or Xenophon; solve a problem in Euclid; prove many a formula in Trigonometry; work very difficult sums in Arithmetic or Algebra; answer questions in Mechanics, and Dynamics, etc; besides being proficient in physical, political and commercial Geography, English History, etc.

But, how many there are, even of this class, who unlike the scholars of a bye-gone day rest on their oars for years and years together, without any sensible change in the re-education, until they themselves are ashamed to sit with younger persons, and are compelled to leave School! How many again, are there, who are certainly very expert in the first four books of Euclid, in reading a

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passage out of Vergil, or Sallust, in working a sum in Arithmetic, etc.; but, who are generally ignorant of plain English! They are lamentably deficient, too, in their spelling; and rarely put knowledge, which they evidently possess, into a moderately intelligible shape." (15)

86 A

"In the very important subject of English," says the same Inspector of Schools, from whom we have already quoted, "the majority of the candidates were painfully deficient. There was something characteristic, also, in the nature of their deficiency. A half-educated Englishman will express his thoughts in a dialect, which, however little impeded by the trammels of grammar, is at least intelligible. But here I have before me page after page of ambitious composition, the fantastic absurdity of which defies all attempt at interpretation." ib. p. 78 We would call it 'arrogant' instead of 'ambitious' composition. It arises from conceit, just as a half-educated Sinhalese man enters a witness box, and prefers to speak in English rather than in his national tongue. In such a case the Counsel calling him rarely wishes to wound his witness's dignity by asking him to give his evidence under interpretation. The cross-examining Counsel, knowing his great

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advantage, by pampering the witness's vanity, encourages him to pursue the course which he has preferred. The Judge, too, unfortunately, with a view, very often, to expedition, allows him to go on. The consequence is, that in nine cases out of ten the witness states facts to which he never intended to depose; he is rendered ridiculous, if not a liar, in the eyes of every one present; and the poor suitor frequently suffers by the conceit of his witness. The deficiency here alluded to, is so common that we find it in a class of students still higher than that to which the conceited witness belongs. It extends even to some who present themselves for admission as Proctors. Many of them pass a very creditable examination in Blackstone's Commentaries, D'Lolme's English Constitution, Byles on bills of exchange, Smith on Mercantile Law, Addison and Chitty on Contracts; Grotius, Vanderkeesel, Vanleeuwen, and Vanderlinden, in the Roman-Dutch law; Taylor and Best on Evidence; Broom's Legal Maxims; the Ordinances, etc. But, it is painful to observe the sad deficiency which many a candidate amongst the Sinhalese, exhibits as regards his knowledge of English, and for which he is very properly 'plucked', — a deficiency from which, we are happy to say, the Burghers are generally free.

It is perhaps difficult to explain why lads, who are not a bit inferior to their Burgher brethren in all other respects,

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should in English alone lag behind them. We shall attempt a solution.

The greatest of all difficulties which a Sinhalese boy has to contend with, from an early age, is the want of those opportunities, which a Eurasian, to acquire the knowledge of a large amount of words, and gradually to observe how they are applied in conversation. Parents themselves amongst Eurasians show a greater attention, than amongst the Sinhalese, to teach their children. Portuguese being gradually given up, English is now becoming exclusively the language of their homes, of the play-ground, and of their walks. Indeed the child of the Eurasian has greater opportunities to read, converse, and write in English, than a Sinhalese boy: and it is therefore not
86B surprising that the former sooner becomes 'the full, ready and exact man' than the latter.

Apart from natural, other difficulties may be here ~~be~~ stated. Great deal of the deficiencies in the education of a Sinhalese youth may be traced to defects in their training. Most of them may be guarded against, we are confident, if properly cared for in the early part of the educational course of such a person. Sendall very correctly says that "all this is in

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a great measure the result of imperfect training; but is also in some degree due to indolence on the part of the teachers, and neglect of that duty of self-improvement, which is rendered doubly binding upon them by the obligation of their calling." ib. p.30

If indeed it be granted that, in the situation of the youth of this country, the knowledge which is most useful to them, and the language which affords the largest means for acquiring profitable knowledge, is the English, there is no question that greater attention should be paid in the instruction of English as a language. Now, in addition to the difficulties which its acquisition presents to the Sinhalese, there is positively less attention paid to teaching English, than is bestowed on other branches of study.

Not a few are the difficulties which the Sinhalese still have to contend with in acquiring a correct acquaintance with English. The English idiom is different from the Sinhalese as 'I cannot' is ~~different~~ from 'to me cannot.' What occurs to an Englishman first in expressing his thoughts, generally occur last to a Sinhaleseman. (16) If 'Welsh children think habitually in two languages, and the scholars

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in the better class of Welsh Schools are in no respect inferior to their comrades in England'; (17) we must bear in mind that the difference between the English and Welsh is not so great, as that between the English and Sinhalese; and that owing to that great difference the Sinhalese boy takes a greater time than the Welsh before he begins to think, if he at all does, in English. After a close attention to its study for five and forty years we still feel this difficulty, and not infrequently express purely Sinhalese thoughts in English words. (18) We are persuaded there are not many, even amongst the more mature scholars of the day, who habitually think in English. If we ask an ordinary Interpreter why he drawls out his words in the fashion which is peculiar to many, he will tell us — 'why I must have time to think of the English words equivalent to the witness's Sinhalese.' 'Nay,' said we once, in a friendly manner, to one, 'get the image of what the witness told you into your mind, whilst all your thoughts occupy it in English.' His reply, accompanied by a sneer, was 'How can a Sinhaleseman think in English!' So much for the idiom.

The difficulty of mastering the language itself is greater than acquiring the idiom, owing to the

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defective system adopted in English Schools: and here the hardship is felt more in the first few years of a boy's entrance into the study of English, than afterwards. We shall suppose that a boy of five years, – and that is the earliest age at which Sinhalese children commence to learn, – is sent to School. 67A

He easily masters the alphabet, and soon picks up by rote the spelling that is set to him. When he has advanced a little he is called upon to read his First Book of Lessons. He goes through it, but he knows not what he has read. The Second and Third Book are likewise read, and unfortunately with the same result as before. At this stage an elementary English Grammar is put into his hands, although the boy knows no more of the language he is taught than a Parrot that is made to prattle 'God save the Queen!' or an animal that obeys the bidding of his master. We shall suppose that this boy has also committed his grammar to memory, and is able to repeat word for word what is given in the book: what then? He knows not what "Grammar" is. Perhaps, that is difficult at first to comprehend, and may be best explained when he has acquired a knowledge of what Grammar teaches. But, how does

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he get an idea of what a noun is, or what an adjective is? If he is told that yonder 'chair' is a noun he will perhaps know it; but he acquires by such an explanation a most mischievous notion as to the genus of nouns. He learns – not that all chairs are nouns, but that all nouns are chairs. Besides this an English master is usually unable to converse, and lead his pupil to understand what he has taught. The consequence is, that the boy goes on in his book-learning, picking up at the same time the meaning of a few English words by observation rather than by any explanation, until he is able to read and write; but "with an almost universal inability to put knowledge, which he evidently possessed, into a moderately intelligible shape."

This is indeed "not an incurable state of things", as remarked by Mr. Stendall; and, although he has hit upon the proper remedy, and has considered it his duty to require a vernacular language as indispensable for admission into the fourth and all lower classes; (19) yet he himself states its impracticability when he reports, that 'amongst the best of the candidates for admission to those classes, some have not offered themselves for examination in either of the vernacular languages.' The reason is manifest, – that they were unable to read or

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write their own mother tongue. Whilst we thus point out to the Sinhalese another evil, to which a neglect of studying the Sinhalese leads, we may indicate the remedy which is not only practicable, but will save a great deal of a boy's time. It is to teach English and Sinhalese at the same time. A proper mixed Vernacular School should be the stepping-stone to every English Seminary. There the boy can with facility pick up sufficient of the English language by means of his own language, as the students of North's Seminary of 1800, soon learnt the meaning of many thousand words from their manuscript Glossaries — an advantage which is not possessed at the present day.

We are by no means advocates of "word learning," as it was then called, and practised; but the only remedy we can suggest is that the vernacular should keep pace with English studies, until the student is at least able to understand an ordinary English book.(20) We are indeed not singular in this opinion. The Rev. Mr. S.W. Dias successfully adopted this plan in the education which he imparted to a few scholars more than one-third of a century ago. So likewise did Mr. Frederick D'Livera, the late lamented District Judge of Colombo. Another authority, by no means less competent than either of them, but more

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~~so by reason of his varied acquirements,~~

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so by reason of his varied acquirements, his knowledge of different languages, and his very great experience as a Teacher, thus speaks on the subject: and though Mr. Blake's remarks apply to a grammatical knowledge of the Sinhalese, yet they are equally applicable to a general acquaintance with the vernacular, and an ability to read and write them. He says:

"We may lay it down as an incontrovertible position — that ignorance of the grammar of one's own language incapacitates one from speaking and writing a foreign tongue with correctness. It is no valid objection to this position, that there are some natives, who, having exclusively studied the English, are capable of speaking and writing that language not only with correctness, but with elegance. This is only affirming that there are some minds 'so finely turned' as with inconsiderable help, and with little labour of study, to be able to conquer every difficulty and master any art or science. Such minds indeed are few, too few, to allow us to base on their example a general proposition of the least importance. But, take the mass of the natives who study English, and inquire why they are ever learning, and yet are never able to shine as respectable English scholars — and the answer will, perhaps, be that they reflect little on what they learn — that they exercise themselves but little in reading and writing

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that language – that they think and speak, too, very sparingly in it, – a statement whose truth cannot indeed be questioned. But why of so many who sedulously perform all these conditions but a very few really write and speak good English? The correct reply is, the neglect of the grammar of their own language. For the mind is to be formed by filling it with ideas through the medium of sounds of which it perceives the signification; and if this be true in every art, it is incontestably so in Grammar. Let the Sinhalese youth learn to discriminate the parts of speech first in his own mother tongue, that he may be afterwards able to do it with facility in another. At that period of his life, when he understands the word mama better than the word noun or substantive, and Guna-wachana, better than the term adjective (now these terms noun, substantive, and adjective are themselves terms of Latin derivation) no course could be more judiciously adopted than to initiate him in grammar in his own language, in which he will with comparative facility distinguish the different parts of speech, and imbibe, as by intuition the rules of arrangement as they are successively exhibited to him. And, when he is conducted from the Grammar of his own language to that of another, however different from

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his own, he comes prepared to perceive that a word which is a noun or adjective in one language is a noun or adjective in every other, and that though rules of syntax do differ, yet the principles on which those rules are based, always are, almost radically, the same; so that if there are nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. in one language whose corresponding terms in another are also nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.; there, are also substantival, adjectival, verbal, and adverbial forms of expression which also correspond in the meaning which they convey; nay, even in cases in which corresponding parts of speech are not existent he will readily find their substitutes." (21)

There are many defects in the present educational system. But only a few can be here conveniently mentioned. The loading the mind with too many subjects at once is not the least among them. "Neglect of the good old precept non multa, sed multum", says Sendall, is one source of the evils complained of. Too much is attempted; subjects are taught, of which the Teachers themselves knew little more than the names; and children are hurried through the earlier stages of their education, in haste to arrive at their high-sounding arcana of knowledge, a smattering of which they are encouraged to believe will set them on the pinnacle of intellectual culture." (22) We may also

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remark that more attention is improperly paid to other branches of study than to English. Such a course may suit very well in England, where the English boy learns the language on the lap of his mother; but in Ceylon, we apprehend, the English system in this respect must be reversed; and greater attention and time devoted, which we regret is not done, — to purely English studies. The training too in this particular branch of study must be applied to the circumstances of the pupils, to some of which we have already adverted. A variety of modes should be devised, not only to infuse a knowledge of English, but to point out, if not to eradicate, a large number of words and expressions, and many modes of thoughts, different tastes, etc. which are peculiar to the Sinhalese; and which, when faithfully transferred to the English, render the language un-English. There is also a sad deficiency on the part of Teachers in explaining the subjects of studies to their pupils. Not only are many of the teachers in the lower classes 'unfit for their calling,' but those who are fit and well-trained, and who are set to upper classes, take no trouble whatever to help the student for the practical application of knowledge that is mechanically acquired. Not only explanations are absolutely necessary, but prolonged conversation with

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a view to instil the subjects in the minds of the pupils, and to awaken their dormant powers of reasoning is indispensable. This, we are assured, seldom engages the attention of teachers at present. Indeed, far from such a thing being possible we know that in some of the higher schools of this island, the allotted time for repeating the lessons, in any one branch of study, is so limited, that frequently, the entire class is turned out before all the boys have repeated their lessons. This result proves too evils, – the multiplicity of subjects which engage the attention of pupils within a limited space of time; and the largeness of numbers which find admission into one class.

Another and important desideratum in an improved educational scheme is the appointment of competent teachers. The great failure of education hitherto may be traced to a want of attention in this respect. As Europeans cannot reach the native mind by means of native languages, the persons most adapted for the mixed vernacular schools are, undoubtedly, the natives themselves. Too much care cannot be bestowed in their selection; and if, as was the case under Worth's government, great pains were taken to see that none but trained men were appointed, we should indeed have little reason to complain. 888

We are sensible of the difficulties in the way of selecting competent men. That there is an absence of a

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highly educated class of men, who seek such employments, is a lamentable fact. But, if the government have a proper regard to their responsibilities, and their duties to a nation, whom Providence has placed under their rule, we may not long lament the absence of proper teachers, as we have never felt the want of trained labourers in other spheres of action.

If, however, we consider the natives alone as the most competent for the preparatory mixed schools, which we have suggested; we believe that none but Englishmen should be intrusted with the classes in English schools. For better it would indeed be to shut up such schools altogether than to place in them school-masters from other nations. As people do not gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles, it is very clear, men cannot acquire a knowledge of English from Sinhalese teachers.(23) In the selection too of English masters, it is folly to suppose that the persons upon whom the patronage of a Secretary of State falls, or for whose helpless condition a colonial Governor feels commisseration, are the most competent to fill these situations. Nor, are Doctors of Laws, Masters of Arts, or distinguished wranglers in the English Universities generally qualified for the office of a

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School-master. The wonderful acquirements of Doctor Johnson did not qualify him to be a Teacher; and, as properly remarked by Boswell, "the greatest abilities are not only not required for this office, but render a man less fit for it." We want not men greatly learned, who take not delight in teaching; who never wish to explain what is taught; who consider it a pest to be questioned on any subject which the pupil does not understand; and who are vexed to hear questions in bad English, and to remain long amongst black children. People, who care only to get their salaries, and do nothing beyond hearing a lesson repeated within a given time, are certainly not the men that are likely to improve matters. Without disparaging any of those who ~~fill~~ these high and responsible offices at present, we may mention an Armour, ~~a Bailey, a Haslem~~, a Browning, a Lembrick, a Marsh, a Bailey, a Haslem, a Kessen, a Boake and a Bamforth as the kind of men who took delight in teaching, who felt a pleasure in their arduous and responsible work, who left no means untried to reach the minds of their pupils, and to interest them in the subjects taught; and who, above all, spared no pains or trouble to improve the intellectual condition of their little charges — 89 A 89 B

'Delightful task! to rear the tender thought,

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same type → And teach the young idea how to shoot.'

need we say that the labours of such men were eminently blest? We are certain, at least, that, one-third of a century ago, such was the case with the labours of Marsh, — that good and pious Missionary, who never sought his rest without invoking a blessing on the work to which he so heartily, energetically, and wholly devoted his life; and whose 'prayers' have 'availed much,' as we know from living and unimpeachable witnesses on the Bench, the Bar, and the Pulpit, not to mention many other secular departments of this Colony, and also those whose evidence has been lost to us with a generation that is passing by.

90 A. <u>Section 32. North's Reforms: Educational and Ecclesiastical</u>

In returning from this digression to the other reforms which North effected in the educational and religious Establishments of the Colony, we notice that he appointed a staff of Country Schoolmasters, and Catechists, each on a monthly salary of six dollars eight, and ten respectively. He took the greatest care to see that, not only

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education was desired in the districts in which schools were established, but, that the school-masters were competent, and duly qualified to impart instruction. With these objects he issued a Proclamation that no school should be established without his license; (1) and refused to appoint any master without a strict examination. He set Dutch clergymen over them, and paid their travelling expenses for the visitation of their different flocks. He trained several local preachers; and licensed them to preach the gospel. He also applied, and obtained for the same purpose, more qualified persons from the coast of Coromandel, where they had been educated by Danish missionaries. Twelve of this latter class were appointed to the twelve principal towns of the island, — Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, Puttlam, Mannar, Jaffna, Mulativoe, Trincomali, Batticalo, Matura, Galle and Kaltura. Each of them was authorized to perform divine service in one of the Churches in his province, every Sunday; to administer the Ordinance of Baptism; to solemnize marriages; to visit all the schools in his district, at least three times in the year; and to be a check upon the school masters and Catechists, with regard to whose qualifications and conduct he was also required to report to head-quarters. Desirous that that the Christian religion should be continued and

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propagated as much as possible, he issued his Proclamation (2) ordering all School-masters headmen and inhabitants to assist all officers in its promotion, and to send children diligently to school.

The Dutch inhabitants were allowed the undisturbed exercise of their religion; and the English government granted to their clergy an allowance equal to half of their former salaries. One of them who officiated at the Wolfendhal Church (2a) at this period was the Rev. Gerardus Philipsz, a Sinhalese gentleman of one of the oldest and highest families, who like Peter Philip Juriaan Quint Ondaatje, (3) had been educated and ordained, in Holland; and, as stated by Cordiner, "supported the character of a most respectable pastor." (4) Another whom North appointed in 1800 to superintend forty seven schools in Jaffna, was Christian David, the first ordained Tamil Minister in Ceylon who was not less zealous and energetic in the cause of Religion and Christianity than any other Christian Minister. (5)

It will be perceived that in some of the arrangements for the promotion of education and religion North blended Establishments and offices together. The School-masters were made to act as Catechists, and also as Notaries. He did so, it is believed, in order that the whole expense of the Establishments,

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amounting to £4,000, might not be set down to the account of education alone — a step, by no means unnecessary, seeing that the Imperial Government was averse to a large expenditure on Education. Notwithstanding such a precaution, North received orders early in 1803, directing that the expenses of all the Schools in the island should not exceed £1,500 — a sum which was barely sufficient to maintain the European Orphan Asylum and the Academy for English instruction.

Most grievous consequences ensued from this inconsiderate order. The school establishments were cut down in conformity with the maxim of "making a coat according to the cloth." The salaries of many school masters being withdrawn, the Dutch clergy either retired to other Dutch colonies, or returned to Europe. Though a pious school master was occasionally met with, who continued to perform the duties of his office, unrequited, yet the majority, "a hireling herd," as they are denominated by Harvard, abandoned their charge; and many actually became worshippers of devils.(6) The places erected for Christian worship gradually fell into decay, and many years had not elapsed from this date before some were only "a heap of stone and timber"; and others were converted into heathen temples(7) for the abominable worship of the

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Saiva Lingam.

The miserable economy which led to the above results, and which effected only a saving of £1,800 per annum, did not quite answer the intended purpose, as persons with additional salaries had to be appointed for registering lands who might have also served as School-masters.(8) When such a state of things had called forth the execrations of English travellers the Imperial Government were quite incensed at their own neglect; and though Viscount Castlereagh afterwards acquainted North's successor, that 'the measures of his government had been freely censured for their tendency to discourage the progress of Christianity, yet the evil which had been inflicted on the colony by the parsimonious policy of the Imperial government, which, as remarked by Philalethes, 'tended to stunt the intellectual growth, or to obstruct the moral improvement' of the natives, could not be easily repaired.

Cordiner, who was appointed in 1797 the first Colonial Chaplain of the Church of England, gives the number of Christians of this period as amounting to 324,000. That they became entitled so to be called by the operation of the 'outward visible sign' of Baptism is unquestionable;

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but that any received 'an inward spiritual grace,' as hinted by Cordiner is not so certain. Indeed, we believe that not one of the many hundreds who weekly assembled to the tom-tom of the Proponents, as the people now congregate upon a similar notification, for purposes of vaccination, recognized in the ceremony anything more than a registration of names, which the Sinhalese considered essential to their temporal interests, or in the light of an 'admission into rank,' giving the recipient, as baptism did, a status both socially and legally. 91 A

Lord Valentia lamented the absence of more labourers in 'the Lord's vineyard', a feeling which was doubtless participated in by his distinguished host, North; but the spirit of missionary enterprise in Ceylon did not commence till the latter end of 1804, when three German missionaries arrived in the island under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. They were stationed respectively at Jaffna, Matura and Galle. Their exertions, however, availed little. After a patient trial at each place for three or four years the result was proved to be a failure. Their schools were not properly attended. The people showed no inclination to hear the word of God. These missionaries themselves were indifferent teachers. There was also a retrogression by the removal of 'the ancient moral landmarks.' Their efforts were thus rendered abortive. The missionary who was sent to the North was consequently

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withdrawn after a few years of hopeless exertion. So likewise were the teachers in Galle and Matara, where the baptized Christians were "worse than Buddhists." Whatever adverse opinions were held by other parties, we are certainly of opinion, that the seed has not yet fallen upon 'good ground'; and, being 'choked with tares, and lost by neglect,' the religious condition of the Sinhalese beyond Unawatuna in the Galle district, continues to be what it was in 1804.

No attempts, it would seem, were made at this time, for a new version of the Bible in Sinhalese. Though North was constrained, for the want of sufficient talent in the Country, to be satisfied with what he had of the Scriptures in the Sinhalese, and that was but a scanty supply of New Testaments, (9) he ordered the Rev. Charles Frederick Schroter to translate the liturgy into Tamil, and when completed, that it should be read in all established places of Christian worship. (10)

The progress of Popery in Ceylon was however, different. Even according to Cordiner, it commanded great success; and the reason for that success may be here accounted for.

Popery had already become hereditary in some families; and the knowledge of such a fact is always more powerful than any human means to render the mind of men firm in their attachment to the ways of their forefathers. Not-

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-withstanding all the disabilities created by the Dutch against Roman Catholics, those who professed that religion continued firm in that particular faith until the English accession. With that change of government in 1795 the penal laws against the Roman Catholics ceased to be enforced, - until they were altogether abrogated in 1806. But, how people became originally reconciled to this form of Christianity, more than another, may be next considered.

The early propagators of Popery not only held out to the people hopes of eternal salvation, but accorded temporal advantages and preferments.(11) They bestowed not offices on any, except Christians. Persons who professed the Christian faith were exempted from many services, to which others continued liable. Employment was readily given to those who embraced Christianity. The offices in connection with 'the Customs-department' were especially conferred on fishermen - a class of Christians who even to this day outnumber all other classes. Christian fishermen were also permitted to fix their own price for the pearls which they had to dispose of. "The apparent success of measures like these among the obsequious, pliant and feeble races of Ceylon can occasion no surprise" (12) Nor were these inducements and the allurements, which the new religion presented, confined to the lower orders. Portuguese of rank

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came forward to stand sponsors for higher grades of men when they were baptized. Many of them were 'exempt from impressment in the navy.' Many received food gratuitously from the public stores, originating the phrase 'Rice Christians' — a rank which they were encouraged to believe was not inferior to the status which they attained by baptism. (13)

The adaptation of pagan rites and customs to the ceremonial of the Church of Rome was not the least among the high inducements to conversions to Popery. "If" said Abbé Dubois, many years a Missionary in India, "any one of the several modes of Christian worship be calculated more than another to make an impression and gain ground in India, it is no doubt the Catholic form which Protestants consider idolatry. Its external pomp and show are well calculated to the genius and disposition of the natives. It has a pujah or sacrifice, processions, images and statues, tertan or holy water, feasts, fasts, and prayers for the dead, invocation of Saints and other practices which bear more or less resemblance to those of the Hindus." They were also nearly identical with those of the Buddhists.

Accustomed to the worship of images, the mind of the Buddhist was greatly pleased with the representations which graced the Christian Churches. There was a pomp or grandeur in connection with their ministrations which was most congenial

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to the feelings of ~~the~~ Buddhists. Between the Priesthood of that ancient faith, and that of the newly imported religion there was much concurrence. The dress of the priests of both was similar. Their tonsure too was not much unlike. Both were held in esteem for their celibacy. Both were maintained by the people. In both therefore, was exhibited the character of the poor bhikku, 'mendicant.' The Sinhalese found that the Romish priests were endowed with sacerdotal dignity to which the priests of Buddha laid claim. The rich vestments that surrounded the altars of the former, were identical with the gorgeous decorations which encircled the idols of Buddhist temples. The religious restrictions imposed upon the priests of both denominations were nearly identical. The string of beads on which the Buddhist counted the number of times they recited the Pirit, was identical with the Rosary which encircled the neck of a Papist. The cross which represented the Tree on Calvary, on which Jesus had triumphed over Sin and death, reminded the Buddhist of that Bodhi at Uruvelaya against which Buddha leaned as he himself conquered death, and exclaimed

Through myriad births I came wayworn and far, small
Seeking the Builder of this mortal life:
Failure perpetual all my search did mar;
For, life is ever found with sorrow rife!
Now, builder of my life's house! thee I see,
Thou fram'st for me no further dwelling here!

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Roof, rafters, scatter'd, broken are by me
Nor canst thou life's supports again upreear.
Extinct are all desires: emancipate my mind;
Free from the body now, Nirwaná it shall find.

The Saints of the new religion, like the objects of the Buddhist's old worship, were called Muni. The representations of our Lord on the cross a propitiation for sin was identical with various like paintings of Buddha in the temples, wherein he is represented as making a púja', or body propitiation, to obtain merit.

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Proceeding to an examination of the doctrines of the new religion, the superficial observer failed not to perceive there similarity to those of Buddhism. The morality of both systems was not only excellent, but was nearly identical. If the Buddhist, from an observance of the destruction of animal life by Christians, had a misgiving that that universal love which is so earnestly inculcated in the New Testament did not extend, as in Buddhism, to all animals, he was soon persuaded that this was entirely a mistake of men who changed the prohibition to "kill" into "murder." We have actually heard such sentiments from converts from Buddhism into Popery. If he had not taken the trouble to examine the Ten Commandments seriatim, and see how far they corresponded with the Dasa' Kusala, in Buddhism, he was speedily led

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away by the correspondence of some of them, which, as they put restraints on mala in se, he at once pronounced to be just and reasonable. No one, again, could better understand than the Buddhist the necessity for individual action and exertion to expiate sin, and for the intervention of a supernatural being on behalf of man, whose innate sinfulness both Christianity and Buddhism acknowledged. The man, therefore, who had already been taught that meritorious action, ever so great, did not entitle a being to the summum bonum of Buddhism, without the intervention of a Buddha, or until the appearance of such a being amongst men, after he himself had made many a sacrifice for the sake of mankind, – would not be long before he understood the means of salvation, which, as pointed out by Christianity, was alone through the merits of that sacrifice which the Son of God had made for us. Nor did the Buddhist find that the highest aim of a Christian was different from his own for the Moksha of the Buddhists, for which Nirvana is only another name, was found in nearly all Roman Catholic Books of this period to signify the eternal rest, and the highest state of happiness of the Christian's faith. When, therefore, the Sinhalese found that between these two religions there was not any sensible difference, either in the modes of worship, or the end

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sought by each religionist, they did not much hesitate before embracing the new faith; and, though at first, naturally, they clung to both with equal ardour, yet the rigorous punishments to which their hankering after their old love subjected them gradually weaned them from their attachment to Buddhism; and such an alienation of feeling gathered strength in each succeeding generation, so that even when every effort was made by North to propagate Christianity, according to the doctrines of the Church of England, he found that the only Christians who were to be found in Jaffna were the members of the Church of Rome;(14) and, as Buchanan states, 'vast numbers had openly joined the Roman Catholic ceremonies, to which they had ~~been~~ long been secretly attached.' (15)

From the attention which North had shewn for the improvement generally of the country, placed under his charge, one would suppose that he had not neglected the opening of the country by means of roads. The fact is, however, that, though he had ordered a survey of the existing lines of communication with a view to improvements, he could not effect any during the short period of his rule — a great portion of which was spent in warfare and in organising a

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system of government. The internal communications of the island therefore remained in 1805, as they had been before. Strictly speaking there were no roads. There being no wheeled traffic at this period none were necessary, except in the larger European settlements, where alone a few carriages were used. In the towns there were broad pathways; but in the country the line of road which ran round the island was scarcely discernible at different places; and it was with difficulty that a palankeen was pushed forward through the surrounding thickets. The routes however were the same that are given in some of our old Sandesas. (16) The difficulty of travelling was so great in those days that a trip to Kandy occupied more than one month, and to Negombo two days. (17) The two routes which were taken from Colombo and Trincomalie to Kandy, by Macdowal and Boyd respectively, and which are indicated in a table of roads of the period given by Percival, totally disappeared in less than twelve months after they had been opened; and we find that Captain Johnson had to employ guides to show him the road, and 'the guides' themselves lost their way.' (18)

As regards bridges, there were none. All the rivers were forded by means of floating platforms made of heavy

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timber, or canoes. The latter were so small that Europeans were loth to use them; 'and for that reason' says Thunberg, 'they used three boats tied together, and covered them with planks so as to form a floating bridge.' (19) Over smaller rivulets, however, the Sinhalese constructed cane bridges, one of which Cordiner describes as 'one of the most curiously constructed and most picturesque which could be conceived.' The principal part of it was suspended by withes from the boughs of large trees. (20)

93A

Section 33 North's Judicial and Constitutional Reforms.

On proceeding to a review of the reforms which North introduced in the administration of Justice, and constitution of the colonial government, we shall first briefly record their condition upon his arrival in Ceylon.

The system of government was founded on certain ordinances promulgated by the supreme government of the Dutch in India, and known as the statutes of Batavia. (1) These laws, by altering and modifying the jurisprudence of Holland, were adapted to the circumstances of the colony, and to the temper and spirit of the natives;

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and, though they never obtained express sanction from the superior tribunals of the Republic, their utility however was so great that they were readily adopted by common consent.(a)

According to these regulations, which constituted the law of the land, despite the efforts of Commissioner Andrews to disregard it, — there were three principal courts in Jaffna, Galle and Colombo, respectively. Appeals were permitted from the two first Courts to the tribunal in Colombo. In all civil cases, above a certain sum, and in all criminal cases affecting persons above the rank of a sergeant, an appeal was also allowed to the High Court of Justice in Batavia. All criminal cases were reviewed by the Governor in Council, and the sentences in them were confirmed, disallowed, or amended as he thought right or proper. In civil cases, however, the Governor alone interfered. We learn on the authority of those who drew out for North a statement showing the Constitution of this period, that this dangerous power was vested by the government of Batavia, for the first time, in Falk, in whose great wisdom, integrity, and experience they had very great confidence.

The officers who presided over the law courts were selected from the civil ~~&~~ or military service of the colony; and received for discharging such additional duty no extra pay, except what was called mantel gold, or

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'money for a cloak', which amounted to about twelve pounds per annum.

Besides the three courts above mentioned, there was an inferior tribunal at Trincomale, which probably owed its institution to the excessive territorial jurisdiction of the Jaffna court, to which it was made subordinate. In all these courts the principal officer was a Fiscal, ~~nominated~~ by the Supreme Government of Batavia, and who acted as a judge in the civil Court, and as the public prosecutor in criminal cases. In addition to these courts there was also an inferior tribunal in each province, called the civil raad, or Council, the members of which were composed partly of Company's servants, and partly of Burghers.

The western province, of which Colombo was the chief town, was divided into eight korles. Each of which was under a Modliar, or native chief. His jurisdiction was, in practice, hereditary, so long as he professed the protestant religion. The Modliars, as at present, were under the orders of a civil servant, called the Disava, (3) who held the fourth rank in the government of Colombo, and was saddled with numerous duties. He was to
93B collect all the revenues, and administer justice; was charged with the ordinary correspondence between the Dutch and Kandian governments; and exercised an

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appellate jurisdiction over all appeals from the decisions of the Korle Modliars.

Whilst treating on the ancient system of native headmen we may refer to the origin of the Gate and Atapattu departments, in which the Sinhalese still eagerly seek for rank and title. Originally, both under the Sinhalese and European governments the civil offices were kept distinct from the military. The civil authority of each Korle, or district, was administered by a Korále-rála, or Kórála, who was placed under a Disáva, or 'provincial chief,' and who conducted his duties through the medium of Atukórálas, sub-district-officers, and Vidáns, who received that appellation from being the officers who conveyed all 'orders.' The Korala was entrusted with power to try and determine all petty cases, as well as to collect all revenues within his jurisdiction. From his judicial acts there was an appeal to the Disáva, who also controlled the proceedings of his subordinate in connection with the revenue.

The military service of the country was entrusted to Mudaliyars. This was, it is believed, an Indian title, introduced into Ceylon after the Malabar domination, and borrowed by the Portuguese. It comes from Mudalali, 'chief', which the higher classes of Malabars on the

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Indian Coasts assume without being conferred by the Crown. It is the same appellation, which was adopted in Kandy, as Mudaliyá.(4) Under the Portuguese the Modeliyar, — was equal to 'an army Captain', and was at the head of Mohandirams or 'lieutenants', Arachchis or 'Serjeants', and laskoreens or 'soldiers'.

The military forces were divided into two classes, the Vasala, or 'the king's', and E'tapattu, changed in course of time to Atapattu, being the provincial.(5) Vásala is also the designation for a royal palace; and on the arrival of the Portuguese they translated this word into Porte or 'Seaport town'; and since vásala was peculiarly 'the king's own', they added the word Governor's to porta; and called the Modliars of one class by the designation of Governorsu porte. Upon the arrival of the English, being unable to understand the original import of "porte", which, like vásala, also signified 'a gate'; and, confounding ~~as~~ its primary with its secondary sense, they literally translated the word to mean 'Governor's gate.'(6) The chiefs and subordinate officers of this force were allowed the use of scarlet uniforms whilst those of the Atapattu wore black. The uniform of the former may be seen in the guard of honor which is still preserved.(7) These forces were at first strictly confined to military duties, for which they were paid by grants of lands; and the distinction between the civil and Military chiefs was carefully preserved

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until the administration of Governor Falk, who not only with a view to reduce expenses of government, but also to obviate the constant disputes which arose between the chiefs of these two departments respecting the extent of their rights and privileges, combined the duties of the Korala and Mudaliyar, and retained the latter name as the rank of one office, abolishing the subordinate native civil servants, and intrusting their duties to military officers, — (8) a proceeding which led to no embarrasment since the old native military forces were gradually remodelled, and were ultimately superceded by regiments of native infantry in European costumes. 94 A

Falk also relieved the Disâvas from their multifarious duties by establishing the Landraad Court, which at first took up such cases only as were referred to it by the Disâva. This tribunal was highly popular, and was greatly respected by the Sinhalese, — not only for the correctness of its decisions, but for the very great patience and consideration with which the judges investigated the facts of a case.

Shortly after the arrival of North in October 1798, he issued his proclamation that the administration of justice be carried on as heretofore, subject to the following, among other, trifling modifications. (9) He abolished torture, and barbarous modes of punishments; and directed that capital punishments be by 'hanging' only, except where the culprit himself preferred

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decapitation. He granted liberty of conscience to all, and permitted the free exercise of religious worship. He ordained that all inquiry in criminal matters should be in open Court, and that no confessions be obtained by torture. He consolidated all the principal criminal courts in Jaffna, Galle and Colombo which went by the name of Hoff van Justitiæ, into one; and directed that their functions be exercised by one Court, which was to be presided over by himself, as His Majesty's representative, with one or more judges to be associated with him. This may lead to the belief, and is quite open to the inference, that the Victor intended that this should be the aulea regis. Accordingly he alone conducted the business of the Supreme Court for some time; and presided over it both in Colombo, and on circuit, assembling his Court at every station in the island. He also empowered Fiscals to take cognizance of inferior offences. The 'Town Courts' which existed at this period with a civil jurisdiction to try cases wherein the subject matter did not exceed rix dollars one hundred and twenty, were empowered to exercise jurisdiction over all civil matters, and were designated Civil Courts. The number of judges required by the Dutch constitution being found inconveniently great, they were reduced to one civil judge, and three criminal judges in each court. He especially retained the Landraad Courts, introduced summary proceedings in all civil cases, granted an appeal to a Court composed of the governor, the Commander of the

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Forces and the Chief Secretary to Government; and reserved to himself, as Governor, the right to exercise an ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Before a few weeks had elapsed from the introduction of these changes, he, on the fourteenth day of October 1799, altered the constitution of the Supreme Court, and nominated five gentlemen high in the service to officiate as judges conjointly with the Governor. (10) He also created two appellate jurisdictions, called, a High Court of Appeal, and a 'Minor appeal Court.'

North again introduced in January 1801, a more extensive reform by which he regulated the more effective administration of justice, having also previously altered the constitution of some of the minor courts, and raised their criminal jurisdiction.

Whilst these measures were being gradually introduced the colony received the royal Charter of the 18th of April 1801. This consolidated all previously existing laws relating to the administration of justice, the courts, their officers, the practice of the courts, etc. Foremost among its provisions was the withdrawal of the unprofessional element in the 'Supreme Court of Judicature', and the substitution of two professional judges to represent His Majesty the King on the Bench, with powers which we shall here specify, and all which it is reasonable to believe, were quite in accordance with the powers inherent in the Superior Courts of Westminster. The very name of the

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Court declared its 'Supreme' character; and the Acts of the Sovereign who had power to do so leaves no doubt of his having assimilated the Colonial Court to his own Superior Courts of Westminster. It was made a Court of Record. It consisted of a Chief Justice, and Puisne Judge, — both Barristers of not less than five years' standing in either England or Ireland. They were to be nominated by the Supreme authority, and appointed by letters Patent under the British Seal. This Court was especially required to use a Seal, bearing a device and impression of His Britannic Majesty's royal arms, with an Exergue or label surrounding the same with the words — 'the Seal of the Supreme Court.' This seal was especially intrusted to the care of the Chief Justice. All citations, monitions, Rules, orders and other process of Court as well mandatory as executive were to be in the name and style of the King, and were moreover to bear the said seal. The Chief Justice of this Court bore rank and precedence before and above all subjects, except the Governor or Lieutenant Governor as the representative of the King. To render this clearer, in all other respects the Chief Justice of this Court was clearly made equal to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench in England. The appointments which followed, as stated in the Charter, were couched in the language used by the Crown in the appointment of Judges to the Superior Courts of Westminster. From the

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date of that Charter, the Judges of the Supreme Court have been officially designated by the Crown as well as the subject, with the dignity due to Judges presiding over his Britannic Majesty's superior Courts. Its ministerial officers were an Advocate Fiscal, a Proctor for prisoners, a Registrar, a Fiscal, and a number of clerks, Interpreters, Sworn and Mace bearers, etc.

The first chief Justice under the new constitution was Sir Codrington Edmund Carrington, formerly a pupil of the late Sir William Jones, who was not less well esteemed for his high legal attainments than for his extensive Asiatic researches. The first Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court was Dr. Cushington who like the Chief Justice was a lawyer, eminent in his honorable profession. The Advocate Fiscal was Mr Alexander Johnston, and Mr. Cornelius Arnoldus Prins was the Proctor for Prisoners. Besides Mr. Prins, who afterwards rose to be Advocate Fiscal, there was only one other Dutch lawyer at this time. He was Mons. Bernard.

That this tribunal was greatly appreciated by the people may be seen by the following remarks of Mons. Bernard; and now that it has been improved by the addition of a trial by jury, and by a stricter attention to the growing wants of the island, and by the appointment of judges of great learning and sturdy independence, it acts, in many cases, as a check on the courts of inferior jurisdiction – very often as a barrier against the undue assumption of power by the Executive, – and,

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undoubtedly, as a great power in the state between the Crown and the subject. "We are bound," says Mon. Bernard, "to do justice to the only one of the new Establishments of real utility to the island of Ceylon, and that is the Supreme Court of Judicature; which, though but imperfectly adapted to the local situation, the indigence, and the local usages of the Colony, has saved it from military despotism, and has administered justice to the satisfaction of the public, to whom it would have been more eminently beneficial, if the charter of the court had established a trial by jury in criminal cases, which is the adopted mode in the presidencies on the continent. It is an undoubted fact, that this Court of Justice, by re-establishing the confidence of the people, and inspiring them with a respect for its authority, has in some measure reconciled them likewise to the proceedings of Government." (11)

95A Section 34 Disputes between the Civil and Military Authorities under North

For various other reforms in the administration of justice we refer the reader to the Ordinance Book, which also gives details of different other improvements which North effected in a sanitary point of

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view, as well as in Fiscal regulations. Before however leaving this 94a-A
part of the subject, the details respecting some disputes of this period between the civil and military authorities may be mentioned. They arose in consequence of the Supreme Court using the military parade ground as a place of punishment for offenders convicted before it.

This spot of ground, which was opposite the old Hoff van Justitie, on the site of which the present legislative Council has been built, was under the Dutch government the ordinary place of execution, even for capital punishment. It was selected by the Dutch authorities as the most convenient place for that purpose, as the judicial authorities were enabled to be present, and, by their presence, to produce a striking impression on the minds of the people. ON

When the maritime provinces of Ceylon became the property of the English Government, and when in course of time the functions of the Supreme Court, which the representative of the King assumed, had been given over by the charter of 1801 to two judges, properly bred to the profession of the law, it began to hold its sittings in the old Hoff; and, it would seem, as a matter of course, used the opposite ground for the same purpose to which it had been applied by the Dutch, and especially in case of prevarication and contempt, where the influence of immediate example

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was instantly called for.

Before however this ground was so used Governor North had given it over to Major General Macdowall for the use of the troops, to be inclosed with a hedge and gates, and to serve as a military parade. No regular grant was made out, but North's instructions were that this ground should be considered as exclusively appropriated to the Military in the same manner as a barrack or a store house.(1) This appropriation had remained unquestioned for more than a year before the Supreme Court began its sittings in the Hoff, and continued for one year afterwards. At the expiration of that period, however, the military began to feel some inconvenience on account of the use to which this ground had been occassionally applied by the Supreme Court. In addition to such inconvenience there was also some necessity to use every precaution to prevent strangers from entering into the Fort, where this parade was situated. The reader is aware that towards September 1804 the relations between the English and the Kandians were not of the most pacific character. Captain Johnston had already marched on his unlucky expedition to Kandy. General Wemyss, who was also Lieutenant Governor, was with the head-quarters at Negombo. This was also the time when a general invasion

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of the Kandian country was contemplated, and consequently reinforcements had arrived in Ceylon. Every inch of ground in the Fort was required for Military purposes; and it was also ascertained that spies had been lurking within the precincts of the fort.

Under such circumstances an order was issued, by Colonel Baillie, Commandant, in the early part of september 1808, "That no person excepting the Military should be allowed to cross the parade." Soon afterwards a corporal punishment was inflicted on the disputed spot upon a witness sentenced by the Supreme Court. A sentry who saw this took up the Fiscal's Peon in charge, but speedily released him. Thereupon the Town-Major wrote to the Fiscal, conveying the Commandant's wishes that no civil prisoner should be flogged on the Garrison Parade. The subject of this letter was conveyed to the judges of the Supreme Court, who directed Frederick Baron Meylius, the Fiscal, to have a personal interview with the Town Major, probably with a view to gain further information. This was done; and the result was that the Town Major listened to nothing that had been said by the Fiscal, declined to withdraw the order, and abruptly referred him to the Commandant. The Fiscal was not quite pleased with this treatment, nor did the judges, to whom everything had been reported,

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accept the conduct of the Military officer with complacence.

On the 18th of September upon an affidavit of the Fiscal, detailing the above circumstances, and expressing his belief, that he would be resisted if he attempted to enter the Parade, a Summons was ordered on A. Barry, Town Major, to appear before the Supreme Court and answer for his conduct. The Town Major, in obeying this Summons, stated that he had acted under orders of the Commandant, and that in pursuance of such orders he had directed the sentries, "that the gates of the Parade should be locked, and that no person except a Military man should be allowed to go on that Parade."

This led to a fresh summons to the Commandant to attend forthwith to answer to the matter stated against him, and to be dealt with according to law. Colonel Baillie appeared accordingly, and stated that the ground in question, which was in the fort, had been set apart by the Governor for exclusively military purposes – that it had been enclosed two years ago, when orders had been also issued preventing people from entering it – that nevertheless the orders had not been strictly carried out, that he had therefore renewed the order to Captain Barry, and that under such circumstances he conceived the order was legal, and he had a right to issue it.

The Supreme Court, however, considered it otherwise,

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and declared that the order in question was illegal; and, by virtue of the 95th clause of the Charter, which directed the Governor or Lieutenant Governor, and all officers civil and Military to aid and assist and be obedient in all things in the execution of the powers, jurisdiction and authorities vested in the Supreme Court, it further called upon Colonel Baillie to withdraw the obnoxious order.

That the Military power was subordinate to the Civil, admitted of no doubt. That all public servants whether Civil or Military were bound to aid the Supreme Court in the execution of its duties was also clear. It would also have been decorous and proper on the part of the Military if they had communicated to the Supreme Court their intention to issue such an order, and their failure to do so was indeed reprehensible; but we are by no means prepared to admit that the Governor, and "Commander in chief" who had been specially empowered by the King to appropriate any part of maritime Ceylon for forts (2) besides 94(2)-A
exercising the right incident to the war prerogative of the King, was not at liberty to set apart this particular ground for Military purposes. Such right to "all forts and places of strength" throughout all his dominions is undoubtedly declared in the two statutes passed in the reign of Charles II; (3) and it cannot be denied, that the King who could enter even upon

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the land of his subjects to make fortifications, had a clear right when war was threatened and spies entered into the already existing fortification of his Majesty, to adopt measures to prevent from it the ingress or egress of his enemies as well as those whose presence was inconvenient. Be this however as it might. The Supreme Court decided otherwise; and it was the bounden duty of Colonel Baillie to obey the order. His refusal to comply with it was clearly a contempt of Court; and he was therefore called upon to enter into recognizance to keep the peace, and be of good behaviour, [himself in rds. 50,000 and two sureties each in rds. 21,000] for six months. He was however allowed time till the following day to produce his sureties. On that day the judges received the following from the Governor.

Printer, pl.
[Take in as shown]

To My Lords,

The Chief and Puisne Justices of the Supreme Court.

My Lords, — In consequence of your Lordships' representation I have given orders to the Town Major of this Fort, to countermand the order of which you complain, and the sentries have been accordingly removed.

At the same time I cannot help representing to your Lordships the very great inconvenience which must occur from the infliction of corporal punishments, not military, on the Military Parade, for the prevention of which from henceforth I have deemed it expedient to issue an order.

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I have &c. F. NORTH.

Colombo, 19th September, 1804.

PROCLAMATION

At Colombo on Wednesday the 19th day of September 1804.

Present - His Excellency the Governor in Council - F. North.

Whereas inconveniences may arise from the execution of Corporal punishment in Criminal cases (other than for Military offences) on the piece of ground surrounded by an enclosure within the Town and Fort of Colombo, commonly called the Parade Ground.

We do hereby direct that henceforth no such Corporal punishment (other than as aforesaid) be ordered or allowed to be inflicted thereon, and farther that no person be permitted to enter therein, without the express authority of the Commandant of the Garrison. Provided always that (excepting with regard to the infliction of Corporal punishment within the Parade ground aforesaid) nothing herein contained shall be construed to restrain or limit the Jurisdiction and authorities vested by His Majesty in the Supreme Court of Judicature in this Island over all persons Civil and Military within and throughout the British settlements in the Island of Ceylon and the Territories and Dependencies thereof. 94(2) B

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By His Excellency's Command

RICHD. PLASKET.

This letter and the Proclamation were both read in open Court by the Registrar and filed – Colonel Baillie appeared with his sureties, but the Court dispensed with them and discharged the Commandant on his own Recognizances.

The Judges in acknowledging the Governor's letter stated, that they were sincerely happy that the order of the Commandant of the Fort, which they had considered illegal, had been countermanded by His Excellency's authority, and without calling for further interference from the Supreme Court.

"Satisfied that it had been their uniform practice as it was their earnest wish, to avoid all contest on the subject of jurisdiction, and in no instance unnecessarily to violate the feelings or opinions of any order of persons whether Civil or Military, they should have paid the most respectful attention to any suggestion of His Excellency pointing out the probable inconvenience or disgust that might arise from the infliction of corporal punishment on the Military Parade ground from the jurisdiction of ~~the~~ Civil authority, and the perseverance of the claim, after private communication from the Fiscal and publication from the Court, compelled the Judges to assert and support the powers vested in them by His Majesty."

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It is impossible to regard this as a matter of jurisdiction. Clearly the Supreme Court exercised a "jurisdiction" over all the inhabitants whether Civil or Military, and both within and without the Fort. The first person whom they tried in that Court was a Military man. No one ever objected to the jurisdiction of the Court, which was undoubted. But it did not therefore follow that a right was vested in the Supreme Court over the buildings and property of individuals, much less those of His Majesty by virtue of his war prerogative. Indeed that Court could not, under the plea of jurisdiction, change its sittings as it pleased, nor could its judges enter into a private dwelling or a public property, against the wish of its owner, therein to hang a person whom they had condemned to death. In the executive government, and above all in the governor, "as the commander in chief" resided the power and duty of providing such places, and assigning them for the purpose indicated; and the very sequel of this disagreeable and exciting transaction must shew that in that matter the power of the governor was paramount, and, should, as it did, prevail.

But the authorities were also wanting in their duty, when, as remarked by the judges, they "allowed the armed forces of the garrison to meet every day under their directions to enforce an order which had been judicially declared 94(3)-A

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illegal, and which direction must have led to consequences which could not be too anxiously deprecated, or too cautiously avoided."

Doubtless the attitude taken by the Supreme Court was not a little annoying to the Military authorities; and consequently very early in the morning of the 24th September an order was issued by the Commandant to prevent every person going out of, or entering into, the Fort; and the Barrier gate was closed in consequence. The Chief Justice who was residing in Colpetty came to the Court as usual through the South Gate, but the Puisne Justice who was residing at Marandhan and several officers of the Court who lived in the Pettah were prevented entering it, the Bridge having been raised and the Gate shut. The Chief Justice took his seat on the Bench and remained long waiting for his Colleague and the Court officers. Hearing of what had taken place he directed the Registrar (Mr. Rose) to proceed to Colonel Baillie's house and to enquire of him whether any order was given to prevent any person coming into the Fort, and, if so, to state by what authority such order was given. He was further to state that he was directed to proceed to the Governor with a message from the Chief Justice. The Registrar called, but Colonel Baillie was said not to be at home. He then proceeded towards the Delft Gate leading to the Residence of the Governor where he was stopped by the Sentry who informed him that he could not

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pass and that Colonel Baillie was outside the Fort. A Mandate was thereupon issued calling upon Colonel Baillie forthwith to appear. In the mean ~~while~~ Mr. Justice Cushington had appealed to the Governor, who then resided at the premises where the Colombo Academy is now held. His Excellency came at once with his suite, had the Gates opened and took possession of the Keys. The Judge and officers were thus able to enter at 12 o'clock and proceed to the Court house. (4)

Colonel Baillie appeared to the Mandate and put in a letter received by him from General Wemyss dated the day before, and one from Captain Mowbray the Adjutant General to the Forces, under Authority of which he acted. Witnesses were examined as to the handwriting of the letters, and Mr. Loos and Mr. de Silva the Clerk and Sword bearer as to their having been kept out of the Fort. A Mandate was then issued to General Wemyss to appear on the 29th September to answer for his conduct and to be dealt with according to Law. To Mr. Tolfrey, the Fiscal for the Province of Colombo was entrusted the service of the Subpena, and a Clerk of his Mr. H. Van Ceylenberg with Peons &c., was sent to Chilaw for that purpose. A Subpena was issued to the Adjutant General.

On the 28th September Sir Alexander Johnstone, who was then Advocate Fiscal, delivered into Court a 94(3).

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letter sent to him that day by the Governor, stating that it was of the utmost political importance that General Wemyss should remain with the Head Quarters at Negombo during the then Campaign, or elsewhere where his business might ~~then~~ call him, and requesting the Advocate Fiscal to move the Court to defer his appearance until the return of the detachments then in the field which was expected to take place on the 15th October. Mr. Johnstone accordingly moved for time till that day. The Court deferred considering the motion till the next day, – the day fixed for the General's appearance.

On the 29th the mandate was returned verifying the service on General Wemyss who was absent. A Mandate was then directed to issue commanding him peremptorily to appear on the 3rd of October.

On the 1st October Mr. Johnstone delivered in Court a letter received from Mr. Plaskett the Secretary to the Council enclosing a Minute of Council with a letter addressed to him by the Governor, and moved for a Commission to take the Affidavit of General Wemyss to the circumstances which would render his presence at Colombo on the 3rd October detrimental to His Majesty's Service; intimating that on the return of the commission he would move

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for time till the 15th of October for the General to appear. The Court according to the forms then used "declared that the Advocate Fiscal do take nothing by his motion".

On the 3rd October, the Court met and General Wemyss, the Commander of the Forces and Lieutenant Governor of the Island appeared. He was surrounded by the Officers of the Garrison, and the Court House, the ground round it and the Parade Ground were filled with Soldiers. From their loud talking and gestures a disturbance was apprehended, when the Chief Justice asked of the General what was meant by so unusual an assemblage, adding that if it was intended to intimidate the Judges not all the guns of the Garrison levelled at their Lordships would have that effect. The Commander disclaimed any such intent, and orders were given forthwith to the soldiers to disperse and keep the peace. The crier of the Court was directed to proclaim the order that no one was to remain in the Court premises with their Swords or Bayonets, and which order was forthwith enforced even in the case of the General and his suite.

Depositions were then taken of Mr. Plasket who produced the Commission and Instructions of the Governor which were read in Court as also 41. Geo. 3. cap. 11. §8, 9 & 10, section 11 of the Articles of War

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and sec. 73 and 95 of the Charter. The depositions were also read.

General Wemyss being called upon to make answer to the matters charged in the depositions, produced his Commissions as Lieutenant Governor and as Commander of the Forces. He was then examined, when he admitted having issued the order and stated among other matters, that spies were lurking in the precincts of the Fort and that
94(4)-A the Patrols were ordered to apprehend such as they could find. Being again called upon to shew cause why he should not ~~be called~~ enter into recognizance to keep the peace, and be of good behaviour for one year, and to appear to any Libel that should be filed against him at the instance of the Advocate Fiscal, General Wemyss with vehemence objected to give Recognizances, and protested against his being called upon to do so. The Chief Justice then informed him that it would be the duty of the Judges to enforce the order by charging the Fiscal upon a committal to take his body in custody until he should comply with the order of the Court, requiring such recognizances, the amount named being Rds. 100,000. General Wemyss then entered into and acknowledged the Recognizances, and was discharged.

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The Minutes of the Court show some further proceedings in which General Wemyss took a conspicuous part in interfering with the proceedings of the Court of the Justices of the Peace at Jaffrapatam, the members of which (James Dunkin, George Lusignan, H. Layard and George Turnour,) addressed a letter to Mr. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government. This letter having been produced in Court a mandamus was directed to the Justices commanding the Court to proceed in the exercise of its criminal jurisdiction, and a Writ of Certiorari to transmit certain proceedings to the Court. General Wemyss was also brought into Court on this matter and examined on the 15th of December.

On a subsequent day Sir Alexander Johnstone stated to the Court that he was that morning informed by Mr. Farrell, Magistrate, that General Wemyss had lodged a complaint against Sir Alexander. The Supreme Court obtained the deposition from Mr. Farrell by certiorari and took evidence thereon. General Wemyss appeared and swore that he had received a challenge from Mr. Johnstone to fight a duel with him, and prayed that he might be bound over in Surety to keep the peace. Mr. Rose, Mr. Herbert Beaven, and Mr. Alexander Wood were examined as witnesses, when the Supreme Court found that no challenge had been sent, and that "there was no sufficient cause

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why the said Alexander Johnstone should be bound by ~~recognig~~ recognizance to keep the peace."

Two days after the closing of the Fort Gates, the Governor wrote to the Judges intimating his intention to remove the Court House to its present place at Hulf's-dorp, which was formerly the residence of Mr. Andrews the Collector and for a time of the Governor himself. The following interesting Correspondence on this subject will explain what followed.

To My Lords,

The Chief and Puisne Justices of the Supreme Court.

My Lords – In addition to the various inconveniences which must attend your Lordships' permanent residence in this crowded Garrison, I have the honour to inform you that I expect in a very short time the arrival of a Regiment of Negroes from the West Indies, whose habits of life are so little known, and probably so little analagous to that of the Natives of this Island, that it is equally desirable for the department over which you so worthily preside, as for their own discipline, that they should be quartered within the fort.

And as the Government House which I have offered for that purpose cannot be rendered habitable, I am compelled to request your Lordships to give up the

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the Buildings you now occupy as soon as you can conveniently remove.

In fixing your new residence without the fort, your lordships may be assured that I shall be happy to comply with your wishes, and to prove the high esteem with which I have the honour to be, My Lords,

Your Lordships' most Obdt. faithful servant

FREDERIC NORTH.

Colombo, September 26th. 1804.

To His Excellency
The Hon'ble FREDERIC NORTH.
Governor and Commander in Chief, &c, &c, &c.
Ceylon.

SIR, — Your Excellency having been pleased to signify to us your intention to remove the Supreme Court of Judicature from the Fort of Colombo, we think it a duty to your Excellency, and to the public, to submit to your consideration the reasons that lead us to hope that your Excellency may be induced to permit the Court to remain in its present station.

Your Excellency has, in general terms, alluded to the various inconveniences produced by the present ? presence

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of the Court within the Fort of Colombo, we trust we may be permitted on the one hand to obviate the apprehension of inconvenience from its stay, and on the other hand to point out the extensive injuries that may attend its removal.(5)

That the Fort of Colombo is not merely a Garrison or Fortress, but the principal town of our settlements in Ceylon, the centre of the British population, of Commerce and business, is obvious; the public wharf, the Custom house, the Offices of Government are situated there, and public convenience should appear therefore to suggest the propriety of making that the station of the Supreme Court.

But there is another reason equally cogent with public convenience; the necessity of public control. In this isolated spot, at this distance from Great Britain, in a society in which the military must form a very large proportion, the presence of a Court of Law appointed by the Sovereign is the best and most constitutional protection that can be afforded to the inhabitants.

Its active powers are seen and acknowledged; for they cannot be overlooked; and even the tacit influence of its presence is of considerable service

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in checking the turbulence of passion and preventing the commission of crimes.

On general principles the presence of such a Court, must be admitted to be beneficial, but in this instance the inconveniences are, as we must presume, supposed by your Excellency to form an exception. 94(5) - A

What are the inconveniences to which your Excellency is pleased to refer?

After what has past, and adverting to what is now in agitation, we cannot but conclude that your Excellency conceives the conflict of civil jurisdiction with the jurisdictions, opinions and prejudices of the Military to be the principal inconvenience.

With the Military jurisdiction, legally exercised, the Supreme Court has never interfered; but it has exercised the power of compelling the Military to keep within those bounds of Jurisdiction prescribed to them by the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War.

With their prejudices it is conceived to have interfered by the infliction of corporal punishments on a piece of ground used by them as a parade.

On this head we beg leave to observe that the spot of ground in question was formerly the ordinary place of execution, even of capital punishment; it is placed

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within a few paces of the Court and immediately in front of it.

The punishments that have been inflicted there by order of the Court, have been very few in number (about four or five) and only in cases of the prevarication and contempt of witnesses, where the influence of immediate example was instantly called for.

Had any intimation been afforded to us that this was a circumstance unpleasant to the Military, it would not have again occurred from the comity and attention to the feelings of every department of men which we have uniformly observed.

But, although these instances had ocurred at various times during a whole year, no such intimation was conveyed until an illegal order had been received by the Commandant of the Garrison tending directly to a resistance of our sentences.

For this offence, the commission of which was unnecessarily courted, and which after the fullest and most mild expostulation from us was still maintained, the Court thought proper to bind him in his own recognizance to keep the peace and be of good behaviour.

A more moderate exercise of jurisdiction in the

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preservation of the peace can scarcely be conceived.

That question has however been set at rest by the authority of your excellency exerted in a legislative act.

The transactions of the 24th instant are notorious, they form at present the ground of judicial inquiry.

We should not mention them therefore in this place, but as having directly tended, as we apprehend, to induce your Excellency to adopt the intention of removing the Court.

While Your Excellency, the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Settlements, and of all Forts and Garrisons erected within them, was present; resident at Colombo, an Order was issued by the Lieutenant Governor and Commander of the Forces from Chilaw, a station nearly forty miles distant, directing the Commandant of Colombo, "to shut every entrance into the Fort from 8 in the morning until 12 or 1 at noon, to admit no persons whatever within the fort during these hours, except His Excellency the Governor and his suite, and officers and men on duty." 94(5)

In consequence of this illegal command given and carried into execution without any communication with your Excellency, ~~the Governor and his suite~~ the ordinary course of Civil communication, of Commerce, of

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Justice, and of Government, were impeded.

The Chief Justice was imprisoned within the Fort, the Puisne Justice and the Advocate Fiscal were repelled from its Gates, although afterwards admitted by the particular and personal interference of your Excellency.

During the session of the King's Supreme Court, by the mere order of a Military Officer the whole course of Justice was suspended.

At 12 Your Excellency thought proper to rescue this place and its inhabitants from this illegal coercion, and to vindicate your own authority, and crush its further violation, by taking possession of the keys, and throwing open the gates of the Fort.

With us the obligation remains of inquiring into the cause and circumstances of this illegal Order, and we are responsible to His Majesty for the due exercise of the powers of this Court, and for the Correction of this Military usurpation of authority, and contempt of the Law.

The Lieutenant Governor and Commander of the forces has therefore been summoned to appear before the Supreme Court there to answer for his Conduct.

We have proceded both in the form of our process, it being by a Summons (and not by a Warrant) and

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in the period of time allowed that officer for his appearance, with a respect due to his function, and a regard to the public service.(6)

In the meantime during the pendency of this inquiry your Excellency has been pleased to signify your intention to remove us from the Fort.

In the ferment of the minds of the Military, heated by the agitation of questions which themselves have raised, we cannot but submit to your Excellency the pressing necessity of Civil Controul.

The Military neither can claim, nor ought they to affect, a jurisdiction within the Fort exempt from the civil authority. Our process must run throughout the Fort, and it must be obeyed.(7)

The instances of obstruction to the King's writs have hitherto been very few, and have proceeded from the ignorance or error of individuals who have on admonition conformed to their duty. Yet we are sensible that misunderstandings might arise.

To obviate these, even before the receipt of your Excellency's letter we had resolved that on all occasions, when it was necessary to execute the process of this Court within the Fort, and there might be any reason to apprehend mistake or opposition, the 94(6)

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name of the Town Major (he being a Magistrate) should be inserted in the Writ together with that of the Fiscal.

At the same time we feel it our duty to state to your Excellency our conviction, that the removal of the Supreme Court under the present circumstances, as it will sanction the mistaken opinion that the Fort is exempt from its jurisdiction, will excite a dangerous spirit of contempt and insubordination to Civil authority. That its process will be opposed, its Officers meet with resistance, which in the common course of events must lead to riot, and probably, amongst ignorant and armed men, terminate in some fatal accident.

Weighing all these circumstances, the late example of illegal violence from the highest Military Authority under your Excellency, the dangerous influence of that example, and the consequent urgent necessity of Civil controul, we have felt it our duty respectfully to submit these reasons to your Excellency's judgment.

We have the honour to be with great respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble Servants,

C.E. CARRINGTON

E.H. LUSHINGTON.

Court House, Sept. 30th 1804.

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To My Lords

The Chief and Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ceylon, Colombo

My Lords, — I have received the letter which your Lordships did me the honour to write to me on the 30th, in answer to my notification to you, of my wish for the removal of your Court House from the Fort.

I have duly weighed the objections which your Lordships suggest to that measure, and would certainly feel myself unwilling to persist in it, (however necessary for the public service) did my knowledge of the state of the public opinion, which you must suppose I have most anxiously consulted on this occasion, lead me to imagine that your supreme judicial authority over all persons Civil and Military (myself excepted) was in any manner called in question, or could I coincide in opinion with your Lordships that your absence from the fort would occasion any opposition to the currency of your orders or the execution of your decrees.

I am equally sensible with your Lordships that the Military power ought to be kept within due bounds. All that has lately taken place here tends to prove that no attempt to exceed it can pass unnoticed, and as the whole garrison has seen

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their Commandant under recognisance and will shortly see the Commander of the Forces at your Bar, I certainly cannot suppose that they will entertain any higher ideas than they hitherto have of the lawful extent of Military authority.

That the exertion of that authority within the walls of a fortified Town must be more frequent and more public than elsewhere, is an opinion which I am convinced your Lordships must agree with me. And that the necessity of its frequent and public exertion renders a fortified Town a most inconvenient and unsatisfactory residence for the Supreme Judicial authority, is an opinion, which, however erroneous, I have not newly adopted, as is well known to my Lord Chief Justice, with whom I have had many amicable discussions on the subject.

94(6)-3

As Your Lordships advert particularly to the two instances which have lately happened, and which you suppose, I do not say unjustly to have increased my anxiety for the establishment of your Court house without the Fort, I will take the liberty of saying a few words on both those subjects.

The first originated in my having given over to Major General Macdowall, for the use of the Troops, the interior part of the Square opposite the House which

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your Lordships have since inhabited, to be inclosed within a hedge and gates, and to serve as a Military Parade.

The appropriation had remained unquestioned for more than a year before circumstances drove your Lordships into the Fort, and for a full year afterwards.

The corporal punishments executed on that ground by your order met with no resistance whatever, but occasioned a remonstrance to your Fiscal from the Town Major. The Advocate Fiscal, I believe by your direction, enquired of me the circumstances of the case, which I related to him as above, with the addition, that I did not believe that any regular grant had been made out, but that my instruction was that it should be regarded as exclusively appropriated to the Military in the same manner as a Barrack or a Storehouse. This in his opinion was sufficient for the purpose. Your Lordships decided otherwise. But when that decision was made, I might perhaps have expected that my erroneous opinion should have been rectified by some Communication in return to that which I had made in the morning as the Garrison Standing Order which proceeded from it would have been cancelled with it, and been renewed on a more legal appropriation of the Ground being made.

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Your Lordships then examined the Commandant, who declared his immediate readiness to obey me if I should order him to remove his Sentries; had your Lordships then sent him to require that Order of me, it would have been given with as much readiness and a far better effect than it was on the following day after my unsolicited interference in the business.

In the whole course of that transaction I confess that I am unable to discover any circumstance which can make your Lordships' residence in the Fort more desirable than I thought it before.

On the other business it is unnecessary and would be unbecoming in me to speak at any length, since it has been made an object of Judicial Inquiry instead of political animadversion, as I first considered it.

94(7)-A

I can only assure your Lordships that I should not have resented it so publicly or so instantaneously as I did, had I not considered that the identical disrespect to your Lordships was involved in the direct ~~of~~ contempt of my authority, and that by the same measure I asserted and restored the dignity of both.

Your Lordships have judged otherwise and the Conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor will be brought

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under your immediate examination

That you have proceeded and will proceed against so high an Officer with all due comity and mildness I cannot doubt.

In the time which you have granted for his appearance I must needs imagine that you have shown a great indulgence; since the mischiefs ~~to~~ of delaying it twelve days (after every security given and every submission made,) have outweighed in your Lordship's considerations those which the Governor in Council apprehended from pressing it.

I am perfectly aware of the high responsibility with which your Lordships are invested by His Majesty. But I cannot consider as entirely trifling that which it has pleased him to intrust me for the preservation of the general safety and tranquility of the settlements. And I conceive myself bound to exercise my own powers firmly and conscientously in discharge of that primary duty.

The removing all occasions of dispute among the higher authorities I consider as a most essential part of that duty in this insulated spot at such a distance from Great

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Britain. Your Lordships have experienced (as I am happy to hear from yourselves) few instances of obstructions to the King's Writs, nor has the number of those instances been increased by any of the late transactions. You are sensible that misunderstandings may arise; I confess myself astonished that more have not arisen. The remedy which you propose, I own, does not appear at all equal in efficacy or convenience to that which I am taking.

94(7) B

The Town Major has been named a Magistrate to give him certain authorities which are supposed necessary for the due exercise of his official functions. In both capacities his concurrence with your officers, when called upon, will be useful, and it is his duty to give it. But I cannot help thinking that the making him your direct officer, on a special spot, would be in every respect inconvenient and indecorous, and calculated rather to produce differences than to allay them.

But, why in your Lordship's letter should you have passed unnoticed the very substantial and material reason which I gave you, of a positive want of space in the Government buildings within the Fort against the arrival of a Regiment, which

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I have reason to expect within this month, and for the reception of which I have destined, not only the apartments now occupied by your Lordships, but the whole range of Civil Offices in the same line, with the single exception of the Chief Secretary.

I have purchased for your accommodation the spacious and airy house of Mr. Bertolocci, with a sufficient demesne around it, and will take immediate measures to improve the approaches to it on both sides (the only point in which it is deficient), so that, I hope, by the middle of the month to see Your Lordships stationed there; and am perfectly convinced that your removal to it will be neither derogatory from your dignity, obstructive to your authority, nor in any way inconvenient to the people whose rights are intrusted to your care.

I have the honour to be

My Lords

Your Lordships' most obedient

humble servant,

FREDERICK NORTH.

St. Sebastian's, 2nd October, 1804.

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Section 35. Taxation and Revenue under North.

There is one other subject to which we may refer before we conclude this section, and that is the taxation of this period, to which we have already incidentally adverted. (1)

The revenue of this period was derivable from two sources — monopolies, and taxes.

i. As we have previously stated, the largest monopoly which the government enjoyed was the trade in cinnamon. When the island was on the first of January 1802 transferred by the English East India to the imperial government of England, it was thought that its interest, in respect of this monopoly, would be better secured by entering into a contract with the Company. Accordingly, the Ceylon government undertook to deliver annually 400,000 lbs. for which the Company paid £60,000, which was at the rate of three shillings per pound, besides all their clear profits beyond five per cent, which the Company derived. Under such an engagement it was not competent for the colonial government to export any cinnamon on its own account, but since a large quantity, amounting to thirty or forty thousand pounds, was always rejected by the Company's agent,

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it found its way into ~~England~~ the English market under the appellation of Cassia, besides being sold at two shillings the lb. for consumption in India, or in any country to the east of the Cape of Good Hope. (2)

ii Another great source of revenue which Ceylon derived at this period was from pearls. The Dutch Government had been rather unfortunate in obtaining any income from this branch of revenue, from 1768 to 1795: and, when at the latter date there was every indication of a successful fishery, (3) and the results of a searching inquiry promised an abundant supply, political disturbances alone prevented the Dutch from profiting by it at this time. Ceylon, however, after having shortly afterward fallen into the hands of the English, they availed themselves of the valuable information which the records at Jaffna afforded them regarding the condition of the pearl banks; and lost no time in securing a successful fishery, which yielded £60,000 in 1796, and £75,000 in 1804. The total income from this source during North's Government was £430,000. The renters who purchased the right of fishing, and who sold the pearls to Indian Merchants, made immense profits; and several were enabled, in a comparatively short time to retire with handsome fortunes, as did many others from similar

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speculations by purchasing paddy rents.(4)

iii. Chanks formed another object of material consequence to the British Government. A revenue was derived from it, in two ways; first, by the sale of the exclusive privilege of fishing the chanks; and secondly by the export duty on them when taken away from Ceylon, which on an average amounted to £375 a year.(5) The yield by the rent of this article in 1796-7 was £1668. 15s; and the entire revenue exclusive of the export duty, for the entire period between 1796-1806, was £20,358. 15s.(6)

95B

iv. The Government also derived at this time some benefit from a root called the "Chay-root" or Madder. It was collected principally in the districts of Wanni, Jaffna and Mannar; and was employed for dyeing purposes. It gives a fine red colour to cotton cloth, although the same is not very lasting. The diggers were allowed by the Government a remuneration of £5. 12 s. 6d. per candy; and a commission of ten to fifteen per cent was paid to an Agent for its collection. After deducting all expenses the nett income of Government from this source was annually £2,025.

v. The income from the sale of elephants gradually diminished during the administration of North; and Bertolacci believes that it did not exceed £225 per annum.

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vi. There were other productions of this island to which the government laid claim, and which they levied a duty, as they now do a royally on Plumbago. Under this head we may mention Sapan-wood, shark fins and becho de mar, or sea-urchin. The first is used for dyeing; whilst the two last, being both substances of a glutinous nature, were used by the Chinese for culinary purposes. There seems to be no great demand at present for the two last named articles; and far from a duty being levied on them, the objects themselves are scarcely to be seen.

vii. If as agriculturists the government of this period traded in Sapan wood and Cinnamon, the authorities also assumed the character of farmers by Trading in horse-flesh. Colonel Barbut, who was the highest English military officer at Jaffna obtained a grant from government for the islands of Delft and the Two Brothers, and began the rearing of a stud of horses on account of government. This was not a new adventure, but was simply the carrying out of an establishment which had existed during the Dutch government. The breed of 'Delft horses,' as they are still called, promised to be a source of great profit – to government as many were used by the Cavalry troopers – when, not only the death of the

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enterprizing Colonel, but orders from His Majesty's Government forbidding grants of lands to Europeans, — probably issued under the apprehension of ill-consequences from colonization, — hindered the executors of Barbut from holding the grant, and carrying out the enterprize. The stud, however, continued under the orders of the colonial government, which especially interested itself in agricultural pursuits after the obnoxious orders had been repealed. The number of horses about this time must have been considerably above "200 mares, and 50 colts and fillies," as it is stated, that that was their number seven years afterwards in 1812, and after some inattention, and also after the breed itself had been suffered to deteriorate. Yet, it is also stated
96 A that 'there were among them some beautiful animals, generally useful, spirited, and well-formed'.(7)

Under the head of Taxes, the largest which was imposed was, perhaps, that on the staple food of the country. Nothwithstanding great relief which North had given to the agriculturist, there were still burdens under which he groaned. Not only was the land tax excessive, and not only was it improperly assessed — but it was most vexatiously recovered. We have already referred to the subject; (8) and there

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can be no doubt', says Bertolacci, 'that if any acts of government can place Ceylon in that state of opulence and prosperity to which the strong productive powers of its soil and climate entitle it, the improvements suggested by him in the collection of the land revenue are measures which will promote those happy consequences.'

(9) We endorse every word written on this subject by the Auditor General of this period, and hope that ere long the Government will in its own interest as well as in that of the people abolish a system that is ruinous to the agriculturist.

The revenue from the tithes, as well as the halves and fourths to which fields were liable, was perhaps not much greater than the amount which the taxgatherers, in the persons of Renter profited, and which amounted in one year – and we here state an average – to Rixdollars 470,832. Though such was the revenue from paddy cultivations, and though every facility was given by North to the husbandman, consistently with the systems which he found in existence, and which he gradually improved; yet we learn on the authority of Mons. Bernaud, that the cultivations during this period did not produce more than two-thirds of the quantity produced during the latter part of the

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Dutch government. This is so true, says the same writer, that Baticalo, which had till 1794 exported paddy to India, became after that date, indebted to the coast of Coromandal for its staple food. This depression continued to increase year after year; and, during North's government it was necessary to send ten bullocks for the 'meat rations' of the little English garrison of the same district, from which thousands of cattle had been previously brought down to other Dutch Settlements. (10)

The other revenues of the Government derived by taxation were from receipts on judicial proceedings, fines and forfeitures, auction sales, land customs, licenses, fish rents, sea customs, salt, marine dues, post office, premium by the sale of government bills, Deliam or capitation tax, and, "Joies," (11) as wearing trinkets and jewelry were called in the Government Proclamations. (12)

96 B Notwithstanding the fact that the Jewel tax had been known during the Dutch Government, (13) its recovery under the provisions of North's proclamation of the first of April 1800, through the intervention of renters, who exacted payment among other things for the tortoise shell combs which people wore on their heads, — led to much discontent, which shortly ripened into

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disaffection in several parts of the maritime provinces. Six weeks had scarcely elapsed from the date of this law before it became necessary to send a military force to Negombo and Mannar, where the people rose in open revolt in consequence of this odious tax. Prompt and severe measures, however, contributed to put down the revolt, and to restore peace; but not until conciliatory measures had been gradually introduced by government, was the feverish excitement of the people entirely allayed.

Prominent among the leaders of a puny insurrection, which the people of the Kandabodapattu in Matara had got up, were Don Simon Mohandiram, and his brother a Vidan-Aratchi of the same name. (14) Their rebellion was put down without much difficulty. Yet the people in the rural districts were unable to appreciate the mild and beneficient measures of the Government under North. They continued discontented, and disaffected; and it was on that account that the people of many a maritime district easily yielded to the pressure from without, and became tools in the hands of Pilimatalawe, in the warfare which he renewed after the 'Dare massacre.' The number of persons in the maritime districts who joined the Kandians, and fled into the Central Province are stated to be one hundred and

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sixty eight; (15) and they were inhabitants of the districts of Colombo, Galle, Matura, Mahagampattu, Batticaloa, Trincomale, Wanni and Chilaw.

We now come to the close of North's career in Ceylon, — a career only stained by the crooked and indefensible policy of his government as regards the Kandians, and the wars with them; but in all other respects greatly distinguished for every thing that was calculated to promote the welfare of the different classes under the English Crown, and to raise him in their estimation, and to entitle him to their lasting gratitude. The sentiments of general regret amidst which he left Ceylon on the 25th of July 1805, are so correctly stated in an ~~general~~ address of the general inhabitants, which accompanied a piece of plate of the value of one thousand guineas, that we shall, before concluding this notice of North and his government, extract a few passages from it.

'To Your Excellency,' (said the subscribers to that address), 'is eminently owing the prosperity and security these territories enjoy. Amidst every impediment resulting from a war in the interior, and under pressure of severe physical calamities, your Excellency will have the satisfaction of leaving

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the country you have governed, in a state of the highest improvement; – its revenues flourishing beyond our utmost expectation; the enemy humbled and reduced; and the confidence of the native subjects of His Majesty in the power and resources of the government increased and confirmed.

'The augmentation of the public revenue, so important in itself, becomes still more valuable when we revert to the causes – to the confidence which the natives have derived from the uniform integrity of your public acts, and from the constant and successful attempt you have paid, to open to them the paths of justice, and to provide for its speedy and pure administration. 97A

'The natives under your government will long remember your Excellency with reverence and gratitude, as the founder of the Seminaries for their improvement in religion and knowledge, and of various institutions of charity for the relief of their sick and poor; and, most particularly, for the incalculable blessings you have brought upon the Island by the successful introduction and rapid extention of vaccination.

'These are some of the prominent features of your Excellency's public conduct; but when combined with

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these we reflect on your private virtues and those talents and acquirements which add a lustre to your social
97B qualities, we have no other consolation for your departure than in turning aside from our privation to your prospects.' (16)

On the 24th of July the second Maha Modliar gave 'an elegant ball and supper' to North and all the principal ladies and gentlemen of the settlement; and on the following morning all the Sinhalese gentry assembled at the Governor's residence, when the Maha Modliar presented a long address, from which we extract the following paragraph.

'During your Excellency's government of seven years,' (says the Address) 'no one spoke of your Excellency's smallest deed, without praising your amiable manners, humanity and wise arrangements for the best of the country and its inhabitants; and we are convinced by several occurrences that you possess the love and esteem of all the inhabitants of maritime Ceylon.' (17)

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Section 36 Pilimatalawe Unmasked.

98 A

Return we now to Sri Wikrama and to the Kandian affairs, which in a preceding section we brought down to the conclusion of peace, and the year 1805. It was about this time that the king ~~learnt~~ for the first time learnt some of the intrigues of his Prime Minister. It was then that he wrote to North, that 'he had withdrawn his confidence from his first Adigar.'(1) It was also then that both Pilimatalawe and Migastenne, his father-in-law, were arrested, and committed to one jail.(2) Whilst they were still in confinement Sri Wikrama was laid up with small pox,— a circumstance which rendered it necessary to overlook their conduct. They were therefore summoned before him, and told, that the King would not press matters further against them, but hoped that they would in future be faithful to him, and attend to the affairs of the kingdom, which he was now compelled to intrust temporarily to their guidance.

After the king had recovered from his illness, which lasted about six weeks, he exhibited no ill feeling to his Ministers. On the contrary, it is stated, he shewed them much greater regard and attachment than he had done at any time before.

But Migastenne, who was as shrewd as he was disloyal, knew to a certainty that it would not be

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long before the king would be put in possession of all their misdeeds. So did Pilimatalawe. They were therefore most anxious to take some decisive step, to avert the evil; but they had not the moral courage, or the decision of mind to take a bold step. In this state of indecision, and vacillation they were obliged to put on the best face they could, and to discharge their duties, apparently, with honesty and fidelity.

During this period, not altogether more than a year, when there was undoubted peace in the country, the king directed his best attention to the embellishment of the town, the opening of the Kandy lake, the construction of several public roads, and the improvement of his domestic comforts. Greatly annoyed at the loss of his state carriage (3) he built another, ornamented with gold and silver. It was as costly as it was spacious; and it was designed to be drawn by sixteen horses. (4) After the work had been completed he desired Ratwatte, the nephew of his Prime Minister, and who was a favorite of the king, to give it a trial, from a wish, as it is said, to avert the dangers of Vas. (5) We need scarcely say that the young nobleman did himself the honor of riding in this state carriage, in the great street of Kandy; and reported that it was good and sound.

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Not very long after this date Migastenne fell sick. He continued long ill. Sri Wikrama, in his anxiety to cultivate terms of friendship with his ministers, called at the town house(6) of the diseased Minister, during one of his state visits to the city. Migastenne received his Sovereign with all the consideration due to his exalted rank by one in his position. Sri Wikrama was greatly flattered by the reception accorded to him. He stayed longer than any one had expected. He inquired into his minister's affairs, and his ailments. When he was told that the patient did not freely take medicines, he spoke kindly and affectionately to the afflicted minister, and advised him to take the decoction that had been prescribed by the Doctors. He even insisted upon his doing so before he, Sri Wikrama, left his bedside. The polite gentleman did not refuse to obey his master, and he accordingly took the medicine; although he had much rather not do so according to his declaration afterwards to Pilimatalawe, – that life 'had no charms for him, and that a quiet death from the diseases from which he now suffered was preferable to that which doubtless was in store for him.' No sooner, however, had the King left his appartment than Migastenne threw out the whole of the draught, which he had never swallowed. Seeing this Pilimatalawe remonstrated against his avowed 98 B

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resolution not to take physic. The answer of the dying man was very significant – 'Do you wish me to live, so that you may see my head dangle, (among the Keppetiya trees) in the meadow?' Migastenne persistently refused to take medicine or nourishment; and the consequence was, we need scarcely record, his untimely death, which necessitated the appointment of a person to his office of second Adigar and Disava of the Seven Korles. This was in 1806.

In filling up this vacancy the King conferred the office of Second Adigar on Ehelapole, the nephew of Pilimatalawe. Ehelapole, who derived his name from a vast tract of ancestral lands in the Matale district, (7) was a nobleman descended from those courtiers, who had anciently come down to Ceylon with the sacred Bô, during the reign of the great Asoka of world-wide renown. (8) His education, though suited to the circumstances of the period, was not very respectable. He was about thirty eight years of age, and of the middle height. He was fair in complexion, and was very lean. The agility of his body was so great that he early took delight in horsemanship, an exercise in which he greatly excelled, and which he ostentatiously carried on in after life. He had a pair of large full eyes that denoted

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great capacity of mind. There was much animation in his countenance, which was also very prepossessing. He wore short whiskers and beard. In his intercourse in private he was greatly distinguished for his courtly address, politeness, and ease; and altogether, was by no means a bad representative of 'the oldentime Sinhalese gentleman'.

From early association with Pilimatalawe he imbibed all his bad principles, and narrow and contracted views. Though in promptitude of action he slightly excelled his uncle, he was nevertheless his inferior in judgment. He, like his predecessor, was also deficient in the comprehension and vigour of mind which were so necessary qualifications to command success in their patriotic aims to set aside the Malabar dynasty. Ehelapole doubtless loved his country, 99A
but himself more. He was not wanting in patriotism, but his avarice exceeded his patriotism. Indeed so clouded were the minds of most of the statesmen of this period, by different selfish interests, that they failed to see that the removal of one evil which they strived to effect, only brought on others of greater enormity. No novelty distinguished Ehelapole's plans from those which Pilimatalawe had adopted to obtain a supremacy in the state. He also, like all his countrymen, lacked courage when and where it most needed.

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Such is the character of the man whom Sri Wikrama appointed in the stead of the deceased second Adigar, and whom we introduce to the reader, in the very outset, as the person who occupied a very prominent place in Sinhalese History for a long time afterwards. The king might doubtless have made a better selection. There were indeed many less objectionable than Ehelapole. But, it would seem that he greatly disliked to make a sweeping change by which he would irritate the chiefs, who were more or less in the interest of his Prime Minister.

It was, moreover, a political maxim well recognized in the East, that 'a prince should not patronize strangers because of the fault of an hereditary servant.' 'For,' adds the same authority, 'there is nothing which causes greater dissensions in the realm than this.' (9) Whilst, therefore, he appointed Ehelapole to this office, the king divided the Disavony, which his predecessor likewise held, between himself and Molligoda,— a proceeding which was not only just and politic, but was intended as a reward to his favorite, and a source of security to himself.

It is indeed a relief to the mind to turn from a contemplation of all that is wicked and base in human conduct, as we have seen in that of Pilimatalawe, and shall presently see in that of Ehelapole, to a character

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of an opposite nature, as we regard that of Molligoda, who also held a very distinguished position during the period upon which we have just entered. The reader already knows his kind offices to the king. They exhibited alike his good breeding, and the goodness of his heart. Though he was connected with the best families, (10) whose aims for the subversion of Sri Wikrama's Government were well known; yet Molligoda never once departed, as we shall see, from his strict line of duty to his master, and the gratitude that was due to his benefactor. So true was he to himself, and the interests of Sri Wikrama whom he served, that many a conjecture was formed of his decided hostility to Ehelapola. (11) But far from such being the case, it would seem, Ehelapola owed his life to his supposed enemy. Molligoda's situation was indeed a difficult one. His feelings and the feelings of his class were ~~more~~ identical more or less with those of the Premier in regard to the domination of Malabars. He, as well as all the other Chiefs, desired a change in that respect. Yet his good sense taught him that the means proposed by the other Chiefs was the most objectionable to bring about that object. His honesty precluded him from doing ought against his benefactor; and the great fault of Molligoda, if fault it be, was, that like Cromwell 'he had too implicitly obeyed his master.' 99B

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To these he added other noble qualities which greatly distinguished him from his fellow chiefs. He was quick in perception – fertile in expedients – and intrepid in action. He was younger, fairer, and stouter than Ehelapole; and also excelled that nobleman in martial valour.

The appointment of this chieftain was indeed a sad blow to Pilimatalawe. He could not bear the idea of the King's 'favorite', as he was well known at this time – being thrust into power, and placed, though with his own nephew, in an office which was not only very lucrative, but commanded much influence. He perceived at once that he could no longer carry out his machinations against the king without detection. He also noticed that there was much significance in the fact, that the vacancy created by the death of one chief was filled up by the appointment of two individuals, one of them being moreover, an outsider, – the entire revenues of the Seven Korles having immemorially belonged to the holder alone of the second minister's office.

Alarmed by this additional token of suspicion on the part of the king, Pilimatalawe immediately got up an insurrection in the Seven Korles, which he declared was the undoubted result of the great dissatisfaction of the people, who were now called upon to serve two masters, and render to them services which they had been

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accustomed from antiquity to perform to only one person. The plot of the wily chief succeeded. The king, in his great anxiety to conciliate the people, to whom alone he looked forward with confidence in an emergency, did not pause to argue the point with his minister. He did not tell him that the appointment of two men to one district did not necessarily create double services; and that as far as the people were concerned the presence of two chiefs in one district was a positive benefit to them, since one would be a check upon the other's exactions, and mal-practices. On the contrary, he listened to the assurances of his minister that he was able to quell the rebellion, and authorized him to initiate such measures as might lead to such a happy result.

It was, however, a matter of no little surprise to the king that the people of the Seven Korles returned to their duty simultaneously with the above authority given to Pilimatalawe; but that surprise soon vanished when the king observed that the tranquility of the country thus speedily secured was not by means of any concessions to the people – not by redressing the grievance complained of – not by allieviating the burden said to have been imposed by the creation of two chiefs, but – whilst retaining the same alleged grievance and burdens, and the same number of officers, – by the removal

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of the King's favorite who was obnoxious to the Ministry; and by transferring the Disavony to Pilimatalavve himself and his nephew. (12)

This was too glaring a fraud to escape detection. The King at once perceived the cause of the disturbance, and traced it to his chief. His 'success' moreover excited the King's suspicion and jealousy, and heightened the aversion he had for sometime entertained towards him. Consequent upon such feelings, he purposed to destroy the dangerous influence of the chiefs, which had just been exerted to the King's detriment. He observed that that influence arose from the constitution of the country, by which all the revenues of the sovereign which were paid in kind, passed in the first instance into the hands of the Disáva. He also perceived that that officer, so long as he fulfilled the fixed requirements of the province which he governed, acted in it like a feudal Baron, with all the power of the sovereign, and that when his adherents were numerous and his government supportable, the people of the district were apt to lose sight of the King, and become so attached to the interest and family of their Disava, that the coalition of a few of them became dangerous to the Crown. This mischievous state of things Sri Wikrama proposed speedily to alter. He obliged the Chiefs constantly 100 A

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to reside at the seat of Government, and did not suffer them to visit their respective districts without permission from himself; and while absent he retained their families in Kandy as hostages to secure their good conduct. (13)

Though the King still retained Pilimatalawe in office, perhaps from motives of necessity than policy, it was impossible for him to conceal his feelings towards him any longer. Continued acts of treachery, and frequent indications of disloyalty, (14) served more and more to open exhibitions of displeasure, which had only previously slumbered in Sri Wikrama's mind. Both the minister and the king took offence at each other's conduct. Mutual hatred followed mutual dread; each believing that his life was insecure from the treachery or perfidy of the other. In both

same type

'Began to rise, high passions, anger, hate,
Mistrust, suspicion, discord; and shook sore
Their inward state of mind.'

Both waited for an opportunity to unbosom themselves; and that opportunity soon arrived when Sri Wikrama, in tones perhaps more severe than he had accustomed to speak to his chief minister, demanded to know why he had not sent the number of labourers so urgently required for the public works. (15) The Chief, nettled

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by the altered manner of the King, expressed for the first time his disapprobation of the works which Sri Wikrama was then engaged in, declaring that 'they were most vexatious and oppressive to the people.' The King, who had not the most distant notion, that such had been the light in which the people regarded the works, which he conceived were for their advantage, and who moreover believed that this was another ruse by which the minister intended to alienate from him the affections of the people, – told him that he was satisfied that the people had never complained of any hardship, but that the Adikarama had probably incited them, as he had just before turned out the inhabitants of the seven Korles to revolt. On hearing this accusation Pilimatalawe, reminded the King that 'it was he who had placed him on the throne' – asked him if such conduct as that which had since lately been exhibited towards him was his recompense;' – and told him that 'the King's behaviour was, to say the least, anything but just or generous.'

The hitherto pent-up feelings, and the repressed indignation of the listener now burst out in a blaze. His Majesty's natural resentment expressed itself more in his look, voice and manner than in his language; and he said: "knowing, that 'when one who has rendered

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a service, is invested with much power, he minds not ~~to~~ his offence, and fears not to do wrong, — making his service a standard,' (16) he had overlooked many of his misdeeds. But, (he added) kindness, ever so great, could be remembered with gratitude, only so long as no mean advantage was taken by the benefactor of the obligation created by that kindness, — that patience and forbearance, like everything else had their limits — that it was a poor and miserable benefaction indeed to be placed on a throne, if the regal functions which attached to it were to be discharged by the person who elevated him to ~~it~~ the throne.' (17)

This severe, but appropriate, rebuke provoked no reply. Yet, unmistakeably, it only incensed Pilimatalawe the more, and increased his rancour and venom against the king; and the minister soon afterwards left the palace.

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Section 37. The Fall of Pilimatalawe

A decisive crisis was indeed now at hand. Pilimatalawe could not any longer deceive the king, nor delude himself with a

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belief regarding his own safety. It was therefore necessary that he should embark ~~that he should embark~~ on some desperate emprise; if not for securing the object of his heart's desire, to secure his own personal safety. He, therefore, at once contemplated the assassination of the king, and also resolved to step into his throne.

Many circumstances conspired to facilitate this wicked purpose. By this time the most influential of the nobility had been gained over to his side. The people had well nigh forgotten his bloody deeds of 1798. Indeed, he had nearly become their favourite by espousing their cause, and publishing amongst them, that he had remonstrated against the exaction of much labour from the people for public works. The people themselves, he knew, cared not who assumed the regal office, and would live contented under any government that was not oppressive.(1) But, there was one wish which he still desired to gratify — one little proceeding which would redound to his honour, and greatly raise him in the estimation of a caste-worshipping mob, and also remove any opposition on the score of an ancient dictum, that the nobility of the goyivanse should not be permitted to ascend the throne.(2) It was an alliance with the royal family.

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The coalition of the Kshestriyas with Vasysyas was anciently not so frequent as in subsequent times. When the Kshestriyas themselves had been very rigid in the observance of exclusiveness, no advances were made by the nobility to disturb such a feeling; but, when the purity of royalty had been gradually ~~been~~ destroyed by questionable alliances, and doubtful accessions to its ranks from the continent of India, it was not surprising that those Sinhalese noblemen, who could trace their origin to the time of Asoka, and to the 'sons and grandsons of the Princes, of a family equal to Asoka, who accompanied the glorious Mahabodhi, (3) laid claim to the Sinhalese throne, and frequently sought alliances with ~~the~~ royal personages. In process of time the attempts of the nobility increased so greatly that kings and princes became very jealous of the Vasysyas, or the Goyi Vanse, and took every precaution to prevent their encroachments on the privileges of royalty. (4) Though the Proclamation referred to, simply amounted to the individual will and opinion of a dying sovereign, and could not bind the people, if, in the absence of a direct descendant, they were disposed to elevate to the throne any one they pleased, it was

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nevertheless greatly respected, like all edicts proceeding from the sovereign. It was in consequence of such a feeling that Pilimatalawe desired this semblance of a royal alliance, — an alliance which, it is said, Rajadi Raja Sinha had contemplated for the reasons stated, at ante p. 66, when Pilimatalawe was undoubtedly his great favorite. Yet, he was now too old to take a wife in addition to the one he already had. He however had a son Rajadi who was sufficiently advanced in life to marry. He therefore resolved to unite this youth in marriage to the daughter of Maampiliya Banda, who was the natural son of Rajadi. This could not, however, be effected according to the usages of the country without the permission of the reigning Prince. To solicit that authority from Sri Wikrama, under the circumstances already stated, and in the relations which existed between them at this time, was not a proceeding which could be pronounced to be either wise or discreet. Yet, such was the impetuosity of Pilimatalawe's character, that he calculated too much upon the forbearance already shown by his master; and, disregarding the dictates of prudence, which, if he had any, must have shown him, that the Sovereign, who had already curtailed the influence of the chiefs, would not easily consent to increase it, — made the necessary application.

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We need scarcely say that it was sternly refused.

Very little time intervened between the refusal, and the initiation of measures to assassinate the King. Whilst those measures were in active progress Sri Wikrama heard of several misdeeds of his minister; and, unable to conceal his own strong conviction, that the application which Pilimatalawe had just before made was merely a step to the throne, he assembled the Chiefs, enumerated various grounds of complaint against the minister, and his nephew; charged them with mal-administration, accused the former of being the author of everything cruel and unpopular, that had been done during his reign; (5) and committed both of them to prison pending a formal trial.

One would have supposed that Sri Wikrama, badly as he is represented by foreign historians — and generally reviled as a tyrant by Europeans, — would have dealt with his offending Minister with the same rigour by which his punishments of a subsequent date were characterized, or with the severity with which he usually punished state offenders. But, three days had scarcely passed away before the king relented, and before he remembered his old benefactor. 'Even in the very luxury of rage, he softening forgave' his foe. This was indeed the third time he had so done: and though none will pronounce

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him a weak monarch, none can deny that his conduct, so far as we have reviewed it, shows that he possessed a discreet mind, and a generous heart. That conduct must also lead any reflecting person to the belief, that Sri Wikrama thought and did, as Prospero in the play had done, —

'Though with their high wrongs I am struck to the quick,
Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
Do I take part: the rare action is
In virtue than in vengeance: they being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown further: go release them' —

— same type

An order for their release was forthwith issued, and they were set at liberty. He neither confiscated their property, nor inflicted on them any fine. They were told to 'go and sin no more' — to go to those vast domains of each, to the extension of which Sri Wikrama himself had not a little contributed; — and to pass their days in quiet and peace, a recreation which the incessant intrigues of a court life for more than fourteen years had rendered urgently necessary. More still. The King told his minister, that 'he forgave him all his offences'; and as a proof of his sincerity 'conferred new honours upon him.' (6)

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It is not difficult to account for this strange

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proceeding. The King was placed in a very perplexing situation. 'As when one sinking in the ocean, and clinging for support to a serpent, neither looses his grasp, nor finds it possible to hold him fast,' (7) so the king could not well discard his minister, nor yet retain him. He was indeed helpless. He had no relations, or countrymen of any rank, or powerful friends. He had no confidence in the chiefs; and, though he believed that he had been liked by the people, he could not reach their hearts, except through the intervention of men of Pilimatalawe's position and influence. And, though on the other hand, he knew the danger of the 'serpent', he nevertheless cherished him, believing that the additional honours which he had conferred on the minister would befriend him. Alas! The King scarcely knew the calibre of the Kandian chief's mind. He knew not human nature sufficiently — not even the ancient maxim, 'How should promotion and honour conduce to the conciliation of the wicked! Even after a watering with nectar, poisonous trees bear not wholesome fruits.' (7a)

Sri Vikrama was not the only person who erred in such grave matters. Wiser kings, more erudite scholars, and deeper philosophers than this Malabar Prince have found it difficult to fathom the mysterious heart of man,

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and to ascertain the true extent and depth of its 'deceitfulness,' and 'desperate wickedness' as the Book characterizes it.

Forbes states that "the intrigues of Pilimatalawe were certainly sufficient to excite alarm, and, if their scope had been known, to excuse any severity which the King might have adopted. Various acts of caprice and indecision on the part of the monarch, with regard to his minister, terminated in 1812, by the dismissal of the first Adigar from all his offices." (8) We rather regard the King's decision as an order 'honourably to retire from office' than as a 'dismissal'; and such a construction is alone consistent with the fact that 'he conferred new honours on him'. (9)

Retirement, however, from active life, to Pilimatalawe, who like the birds of the Muntes species, belonged to class that is never happy unless constantly engaged in conflict and warfare, — was simply intolerable: and, as the deer in the Sinhalese proverb, 'does not change his spots by entering from one forest into another,' Pilimatalawe was scarcely benefitted by the change in his fortune, the additional honours, or that leisure which he now enjoyed in his own country-seat. Those honors, and that leisure, on the contrary, gave him a great impetus to action, and great facilities to carry out his nefarious design against the life of his Sovereign. He organised a rebellion in the districts of 1028.

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Udaruwara and Yatinuwara, in which he had much family influence.(10) He directed their chiefs to enter Kandy on a given day, and to help the Malays to assassinate the King, and to set him on the Sinhalese throne. At the same time he engaged the services of the Malay Mohandiram, and sixty Malay soldiers, who formed the body guard of the King, to attack the King on the same given day. He also bribed Balawattala, the royal gate-keeper, to aid Pilimatalawe in his evil designs against the King. The preliminaries being thus arranged, the wily Chief waited with great impatience for the consummation of his fond desire. In the meantime the King, who took great alarm for his own personal safety, was deprived of his usual rest; and, it is said, that at this particular period, he seldom slept at night, and that he often presented himself before the sentinels in the Palace to see if everything was right.(11)

It would also seem that Sri Vikrama often stole out of his chamber, and sauntered about the city, in disguise, listening unobservedly to private conversations in the houses of his chiefs. On the particular night fixed for the massacre, as it will hereafter transpire, the King was so engaged, probably having had ample reason to suspect danger. When, therefore, Balawattala, who was to give the signal for the attack, found that the

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King had gone for his nocturnal perambulations, he communicated the fact to the Malay Mohandiram, and requested him to postpone the engagement to a future date. In the mean time the two provinces already mentioned prematurely broke out in rebellion, and marred the entire plot. The King obtaining prompt assistance, and not being altogether abandoned by his chiefs, was enabled to suppress this incipient insurrection, and to apprehend its ring-leaders. Though he ordered Pilimatalawe, his nephew, and son to be arrested, the two first alone were taken up during the night, when they were secretly conveyed to the different prisons in the most inaccessible parts of the country. The Malay Mohandiram and his men fled to Colombo; And in due course the Prime Minister, and his nephew Ratwatte, with several others, were put upon their Trial.

It was indeed due more to the cause of justice, than to the King's interest and safety, that a miscreant such as Pilimatalawe should have been punished. 'Forgiveness of a foe or friend' says the Hitopodesa, 'is doubtless the ornament of a good man, but when extended to offending beings it is a fault in a monarch'. 'If' adds the same authority, 'either a father, a brother, a son or a friend conspire against his life, they must be put to death by a prince who wishes for

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103A power.' (11a) Pilimatalawe was accordingly arraigned, along with his associates in crime, on several charges of high treason. The king, who, according to the constitution of the country, had a perfect right to try the case, delegated his authority to a Commission consisting of three Chiefs to do so. They were Dulleve, Pusselle and Molligoda. The prisoners arraigned were 1. Pilimatalawe Adigar, 2. Ratwatte Disava, 3. Pusselle Gabadanilame, 4. Davulagala Ratemahatmaya of Udunuwara, 5. Balawattala Vahalkadda Mohindarama, 6. Divelgama Mohottala, 7. Veragama Mohottala, 8. Bambaradeniya Undiyarala, 9. Nellegoda Undiyarala, 10. Kiribathkumbura Undiyarala. and 11. Ukkurala, messenger of Pilimatalawe, nicknamed 'Colamba Ukkurala'.

Many persons were present at the trial. It lasted three days; and a host of witnesses proved the various charges, which some of the prisoners themselves admitted. The king in no way influenced the decision of the Court. He appeared more in the character of a prosecutor, than as a judge. He asked questions, and directed the attention of the Judges to particular points of the case. He abstained from charging them with offences which related to a period before he accorded forgiveness to his minister. He confined all his accusations to overt acts relating to the rebellion which he had just before put down, and to certain

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conversations which the king himself had overheard in connection with it. 'Did you not,' asked the king, of his prime minister, 'on such a night, [naming it] go with a fire-brand in your hand, from your own residence(12) to Ratwatte's house,(13) and there talk over a plan (stating particulars) to raise a rebellion?' The minister was silent; and our informant says that he was 'more dead than alive.' The Commissioners proceeded, and patiently investigated all the facts urged on both sides. Though none but the third prisoner made a defence, and called witnesses, the Court inquired of all, if they had anything to state. The two first prisoners confessed their guilt; and so did several others, especially the last who had received the nick-name of "Colomba Ukkurala," from his having been employed as the minister's trusty messenger to carry his treasonable correspondence, principally with persons in Colombo. The Commissioners had no difficulty in pronouncing a verdict, which they did by acquitting the third prisoner, and condemning all the rest. Sri Wikrama confirmed the decree, and desired the judges themselves to fix the punishments of the prisoners.

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Even now, it would seem, the king felt for his benefactor, and desired to hear if he could save his minister's life, or reduce a punishment which

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admitted of no mitigation. The Commissioners respectfully declined to interfere with that part of the king's prerogative, adding, that they saw no reason to deviate from the usual course adopted in such cases. The third was discharged. All the convicted prisoners were then condemned to death; except the eighth, who was sentenced to be severely flogged in the streets of Kandy. Of those who were to suffer death, the first, second, and fourth, being chiefs were beheaded; (114) and the rest were impaled.

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No one was indignant at this result. Every one expressed the justice of the decision. Many declared that retribution had at last alighted upon the heads of the "uncle and the nephew," for the murder of the good Ereowavala and Dinagamuwe, who bore the same relationship to each other. The culprits themselves were silent on hearing their condemnation. That silence was not owing to any bewilderment which some people feel when they are falsely charged with crimes, and accused of offences of which they are utterly innocent; or to any amazement which others sometimes feel, when, being the objects of a deep-laid conspiracy, certain trivial and insignificant facts which had a foundation in truth, are so nicely dovetailed as to render the whole story a crushing piece of evidence of guilt. Nor was this silence

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the result of that confusion which a man who had passed a domineering life feels, when he becomes the object of derision and contempt on the part of those whom he had ill-treated; for such exhibitions were not known in an oriental Court. No! The silence was owing to the irresistible force of the evidence. It was the result of conscious guilt, which they dared not deny, and of which but little came to light. It was also the combined effect, as we believe, of a struggle between feelings of dismay and respect — dismay at their own desperate situation, and respect for authority, which none were more careful to observe than the higher classes of the Sinhalese.

The trial of Pilimatalawe presents to our contemplation several favorable traits of the king's character. As a despotic monarch who possessed the undoubted right of administering justice in state offences, Sri Wikrama was alone entitled to try and condemn Pilimatalawe. But, he preferred to stand aloof, and delegate his authority to the nobles. How different was the conduct of English princes under similar circumstances! Indeed how different was it with them, even under the safeguards of a constitutional government! How often — far from surrendering their own powers, — did they strive to encroach upon the rights of the subject, and to assume an unauthorized jurisdiction! It was in accordance with such a desire that they frequently suspended, and illegally set

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aside, the English constitution by the declaration of martial law; and created that 'illegal and arbitrary jurisdiction' of the Star Chamber;(15) which existed through all the period of the Plantaganet family. When again the trial of Pilimatalawe had been intrusted to the Chiefs, how different from that of English princes was Sri Wikrama's conduct! He did not 'make fraudulent pretensions of the prerogative, and dishonest distortions of the law' as did many an English king. He did not prefer charges which were founded simply upon 'idle and vaunting language,' as had been preferred against the Duke of Buckingham by Henry VIII.(16) As the reader is aware the charges against Pilimatalawe were more substantial than those against any who died on the scaffolds of Henry, or who had been 'despatched' by the infamous Jeffreys, acting under the orders of king James. Sri Wikrama did not betray an impatience as had been evinced by many an English prince, to secure a conviction in hot and indecent haste; for Pilimatalawe's trial lasted three days.

104 A

There is ample evidence to show that Sri Wikrama was, down to this period, a good and just king. 'It is said,' says Marshall, 'that he administered justice with great impartiality.' (17) There are not a few, still living, who remember how he protected the poorer classes against the tyranny and extortion of the chiefs, and defended them against the injustice

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and corruption of the Judges. There are living witnesses who can testify to the fact, that a man who ascended the high Cocoanut tree on the side of the Nata devala, which stood there till lately, and clamoured for justice, never failed to obtain it; and we know, on the best possible authority, that many a time Sri Wikrama threatened a corrupt judge, who did manifest injustice to suitors, that 'he would pour molten copper into his mouth if he pronounced a like unjust decree'. 104 P.

Besides the proceedings connected with the above trial, Sri Wikrama's conduct in reference to Pilimatalawe's son, who had not been apprehended with the father, but was brought in after the trial had terminated, must strongly bear out the general character, which until this period, we accord to Sri Wikrama for humanity, moderation and justice. This youth was also one of the ringleaders of the rebellion of 1812. His guilt was made manifest at the trial of his father; and yet the king spared his life, as it is said, in accordance with the usages of the country which forbade capital punishment on a criminal apprehended, as young Pilimatalawe was, on a Buddhist sabbath day. (18) For ourself we believe the king was more willing to spare him on account of his father, than by reason of any supposed adherence to ancient usage — a feeling sufficiently manifested by an ejaculation of the King, which indicated that retributive justice had been amply satisfied by the death of "an uncle and a nephew, for an uncle and a nephew — aye, an uncle and a nephew!"

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During the period, to which, in reviewing Kandian affairs, we have devoted the previous section, the Government of the maritime provinces was in the hands of the Right Honourable Lieutenant General, Sir Thomas Maitland, and (when, being disabled by illness, he was obliged temporarily to visit England) of Brigadier General John Wilson, who had acted as Lieutenant Governor. Under their government there was but little improvement in the British settlements; and no conflict of any kind with the neighbouring state. 'Outflanking the huge peninsula,' says a writer in the Asiatic Journal, Ceylon appeared the most imminently menaced by the ambition of Napoleon, whose aims at the period appeared to be directed the East, as the most fitting theatre of imperial sway.'(1) Consequently a large naval force was concentrated at Trincomale, as not only the most central point from which to watch the course of events, but the 'best harbour' in the Indian Seas.

Sir Thomas was, like his locum tenens, doubtless a gallant soldier, but lacked the energies and administrative talents for which his noble Civilian predecessor was so greatly distinguished. Unfortunately he failed in health, without which no man ever initiated any extensive measures for the proper government, or the improvement of an

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important Colony, especially one which, like Ceylon, had but recently come into the possession of the English, and of whose affairs and interests they were not well informed.

There was, however, one matter to which Maitland devoted great attention. It was the Agriculture of the Country. 'The laudable exertions of General Maitland,' says Bertolacci, 'for the improvement of agriculture in the districts of Jaffnapatam, Mannar, Trincomale, the Wanny, Batticalo, in the island in general, were characteristic traits of his government; and deserve the grateful acknowledgements that were made to him, upon this score, by the native headmen, at his departure'. 'These exertions,' adds the same writer, 'were crowned with so much success, that the government share of paddy, which in those districts, in the proportion of one-tenth to the gross produce, has in five years increased, according to a table which is given, (2) to an annual increase of 126,750 parrahs of paddy to Government, and to nine times that quantity to the population of the island.' One of the most effectual means for promoting cultivation which Maitland devised, was to render help to the impoverished husbandman, who wanted not only land, but money to repair his tanks, and

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buy iron for his implements of husbandry, and also his seed corn, and clothing. All these requirements were foreseen; and to provide for them the Governor made advances to the Cultivators, all which they paid after crop, in money, or paddy, at their option.

In 1806 Maitland proposed to repair the Giant's Tank, estimating the probable expense at £ 25,000. But the authorities at the Colonial office in England being wholly unacquainted with the requirements of the Sinhalese, opposed the ~~the~~
105B attempt, and being indifferent to their interests the project fell through, not only then, but afterwards when Sir Robert Brownrigg, the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1833, Sir Robert Horton, and finally Mr. Stewart McKenzie, urged the necessity for undertaking the work.

Such disregard of the interests, and such ignorance of the wants, of this colony reflect great discredit on the imperial Government, or the Colonial Minister who represented it. The theory that nations could acquire territory, and keep it for the furtherance of imperial interests has become a thing of the past, and has given way to the more liberal policy which consults the welfare of the conqueror and the conquered, with equal

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fairness, if not with the same anxious care. If European and native interests are identical in matters affecting the the general condition of the island, we must not forget that they clash in a variety of matters, relating to circumstances and conditions of life which distinguish the fixed settlers from those of an ephemeral and ever moving population. We have already seen the ill-effects of the Imperial order to curtail the expenditure on education during North's Government. Ceylon has been similarly treated at various times, in various other matters; but we cherish a hope that lesser councils will prevail in the future.

In justice, however, to the Imperial Minister of the period it must be stated that there were ample grounds to justify the stringent measures which were adopted by him to keep the local authorities within certain bounds. The financial condition of Ceylon had been for some time most deplorable. The returns annually showed a deficiency in the revenue. The most flagrant profligacy pervaded the acts of Government. Its servants evinced the greatest disregard to its interests. Large defalcations were reported in several revenue establishments. The explanation afforded of such

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deficiencies was worse than an admission of down-right robbery. (3) Even the secret service money, which was placed at the disposal of the local Government, was sadly misappropriated. 'This state of things,' says a recent writer, 'arrived at its acme under Sir Thomas Maitland, ~~who under Sir Thomas Maitland~~, who was under the conviction that Great Britain was an inexhaustible mine of wealth, that could not be too deeply worked by her children, deemed it consistent with his duty, as we shall presently see, to improvise a few useless appointments for the apparent purpose of discovering how far the most reckless extravagance might proceed unchecked.' (4)

Though little may be traced to an enlightened policy of the local Government of this period, there was nevertheless a decided improvement in the administration of Justice, an improvement which had been rendered expedient or necessary by the past experience of the Judges and law officers of the Crown.

Consequent upon the departure of the Chief Justice Lushington in 1809, various changes also took place of the Supreme Court; but the appointment
106 A of the Honourable, (since Sir) Alexander Johnston as Chief Justice (5) was indeed a grand epoch in the history of the Administration of justice in Ceylon. Chiefly upon

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the recommendations of the Chief Justice a new charter was granted to Ceylon in 1811; and it was promulgated on the 8th of November of that year. Its provisions which deserve mention were the introduction of trial by jury in certain criminal cases, — and the reestablishment of the Landraad Courts, institutions the importance or value of which cannot be too much over-rated.

The Supreme Court commenced its first sessions in Colombo on the 9th of December 1811, and the first criminal trial which engaged its attention was a case of homicide against Captain John Parker, and Quarter Master John Staples, both of H. M's Ceylon Regiment, for the murder in a duel of Captain James Brown of the same regiment. (6) The prosecution terminated in the conviction of the first prisoner, who, for the reasons stated by the Chief Justice, was sentenced to a week's imprisonment.

'The feelings of a Court uncommonly full,' says the official report of the case, 'were sensibly gratified to witness the first instance of such a form of trial in this colony, and to see a most respectable British jury impanelled for this important case.' As regards the conduct of proceedings in Court, the same report adds: 'The public left the scene deeply impressed with the feeling that this cause of such general interest had been conducted with a degree of attention, humanity, ability and decorum eminently honorable to every branch of the Court. (7)

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That the jury system thus introduced by the charter of 1811 was a great success was acknowledged by many a judge of the Supreme Court; (8) and does not admit of any doubt. For, it had originally all the elements that were necessary to bring about that result. How much the efficiency and usefulness of this invaluable institution has since been sadly impaired, and from what causes, we shall notice hereafter.

In concluding a review of the British period of Ceylon, between 1806 and 1812, and of the chief person who administered the Government, we shall give two anecdotes that are related of him, and which prove not only the goodness of his heart, and the amiableness of his disposition, but the mode in which he dispensed his patronage by creating the offices to which we have already adverted.

One of these anecdotes relates to an English gentleman by the name of Samuel Daniell. He arrived in Ceylon with creditable testimonials, and letters of introduction to Sir Thomas Maitland, also recommending him for an appointment in the Civil Service. The Governor received him kindly; and, according to etiquette he shortly afterwards sent him an invitation for dinner at the "Kings House" (9) in Galkissa (since named Mount Lavinia, ~~that being in those days the Head Quarters~~ after the name of Lady Barnes), that being in those days the Head Quarters of

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the Governor. Daniell had scarcely been an hour in Sir Thomas's company before he distinguished himself, not less for his eccentricities than for his varied accomplishments. He spoke on a variety of subjects. Polite literature was a topic which he intermixed with allusions to monkeys, tigers, horse-racing, hunting, etc.; and the Fine Arts in which he greatly excelled, could not hold him long before he dashed into old Madeira Paxton's Claret, Curry and rice. He evinced a partiality for oysters and fish for which Sir Thomas had likewise a great weakness. In this intercourse he was ever desirous of displaying his wit, and his superiority in trifles. Amidst subjects of serious importance he relaxed all his dignity, and shewed his skill at a trick, or his aptitude for a pun. 106 B

These were qualities which rendered him a favourite of Sir Thomas Maitland, and his suite, and which also obtained for him in process of time the nom de guerre of "wag". He had other qualities, besides the above which shewed the eccentricity of his character. He cared not ceremony. He despised etiquette, and he make himself 'quite at home,' even before he was quite sure that he was welcome to do so. Agreeably to such propensities he took advantage of the kindness shown to him, and became a frequent visitor at the Mount, dropping in at all hours, with a number of monkeys, parrots et hoc genus omne, in which he took great pleasure. Enjoying too,

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all the comforts which a vice-regal mansion in the colony usually afforded; and even his pecuniary wants being supplied by Sir Thomas, whenever he mentioned of "a complaint in his chest" as he facetiously termed his exchequer; Sam was not in a great hurry to press his friend for an appointment. But the time came when there was no help for it. In the middle of 1810 Sir Thomas fell ill; and it was ~~great~~ pretty generally rumoured that His Excellency intended to leave [Ed.] Ceylon. Sam could no longer postpone his intended application for a post in the Civil Service; and probably remembering the old saying,

Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
Res augusta domi —

he purposed to prefer his claims in a manner which was peculiarly his own; and the following particulars will illustrate it.

One morning, very early, whilst the Governor and Captain Prager, his Aide-de-camp were taking a walk in the gardens attached to the Mount, the former was not a little surprised to see a gentleman on horseback advance with a large train of coolies, and no end of "trunks, chairs, saddles, guns, spears, parrots, tiger traps, frying pans, gridirons, and camp equipage." As the visitor approached the house Sir Thomas observed

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the wave of his hand by which he had with perfect nonchalance directed his followers to enter the 'King's House.' A nearer view revealed the well known physiognomy of Sam. "Upon my word!" exclaimed the good General as he turned towards Prager, "this is very cool!" and desired the Aide-de-camp to 'command a halt, and to tell Mister Sam, that although his company was not wanted at the Mount, he might stay breakfast, and then depart for other quarters.'

The message was faithfully conveyed, but it did not disconcert Sam in the least. For he heartily laughed at it, remarking that 'he thought 'King Tom' — for such was the soubriquet by which the Governor's associates called him — had hit upon a cheap way of getting rid of him:' and, as both Sam and Prager walked up to Sir Thomas, who was seated in a large Dutch chair, under a Cocoanut tree, the former added, "Prager, 'tis no go; and so I shall tell the General; for I am very hard up, and as hungry as a Trojan." "Well Mister Sam," said the General in the usual style of an old Soldier, as the party neared, — "here you are again, and I suppose upon the old score; but what mean ye maan, by bringing an army of black rascals to the Mount? Ye had better mind your P's and Q's, Mister Sam; or yi'll tire General Maitland out." Then

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suppressing a smile which was provoked by an arch look blended with the indescribable good humour of Sam, the Governor desired his Aid-de-camp to order breakfast, remarking, that 'Sam appeared to be very hungry, and that it must not be said that he was starved at the mount.' Hitherto Sam had been quite silent; but when he heard of the General's solicitude for his hungry guest, he expressed his high appreciation of his hospitality, assuring him that he would not fail to do justice to it. Sir Thomas 'had no doubt of it,' and he said so, repeating it twice, as it was his wont, and at the same time bidding him go and make himself decent for the breakfast table, as he would find some weemen there.'

Sam quickly obeyed. An early breakfast being announced, shortly afterwards, the Governor's party sat down, and amongst them Sam, whose genial countenance soon made the Governor forget his assumed anger at Sam's mode of entering the mount; and putting on his blandest smiles, recommended Sam to do his best.' Sam did not require any such pressure. He had utterly set about the work before him in right good earnest; and the reader may depend upon it, Sam did 'his best,' and despatched the kabobed prawns, fish balls and cutlets, soused Seir fish, pigeon pie, snipe cutlets, ham and eggs, muffins, curry and

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rice, English-bottled beer, and all the other usual entremets of a Ceylon breakfast' with all the celerity which a healthy Constitution, added to a voracious appetite, and a good digestion, could assist.

Greatly amused at the vagaries of Sam, of which there were not few, and wishing to inform his old acquaintance that he had meant nothing by his severe rebake on his first entrance, Sir Thomas said; "You may, Mister Sam, have the run of your teeth here; till you get tired of the Mount, so long as your infernal tiger traps, and parrot cages, and the black fellows are kept away;" and he added, in allusion to his own intended departure, — "we may, perhaps, get rid of you in a month or two, but at all events we must make the best of a bad bargain; for, I dare say, you are a little afraid of the Supreme Court." The reader is doubtless aware that the Supreme Court in those days exercised an original, and entertained cases for debt, etc., committing to gaol those who could not fulfil their pecuniary engagements. To everything which the General had said Sam bowed assent; and put on the most serious face.

The repast over Sir Thomas betook to his Hookah; and, being now in the best of humours, and pretending to be very serious, 'begged to ask Mr. Sam a question or two.'

"Ten thousand, if you please," responded Sam,

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"now that I may exclaim one jam satis, of all the good things we have at the Mount, not to speak of all that we have just had."

Sam rejoined, "Sir Thomas, your impudence will hang ye yet; but what claims, — what claims I say, — have you upon General Maitland, that you always come to the Mount when you want money, — as I know you do now."

"The best claims in the world, your Excellency!" hastily exclaimed Sam; and assuming rather an angry look on his benefactor, he inquired "Have you not a thousand times addressed me as your own Sam; declared to others that Sam kept your life and soul together; and expressed your regret that you could not make me Vice Treasurer, or find me some such place that would keep my head above water, or cure my complaint in the chest?" The old gentleman more amused than annoyed at the impudence of the young bully, and taking an additional puff at his favorite Hookah, said smilingly in a tone which conveyed dissent from what he had just heard, — "not quite so fast as all that, Sam." Whereupon the latter continued — "how many would feel the obligation to be on their side, if Your Excellency's own Sam would only condescend to allow them to supply cash for his wants? No — no! Your Excellency, I prefer the

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head of the well; and no one shall even boast of being Sam's banker, except Your Excellency." After a little pause Sam continued, "Can Your Excellency wonder at the constant remarks that I, I – your own Sam, should have been so long upon the shelf?"

"God bless my soul!" exclaimed the veteran soldier, as he further puffed away at his Hookah, and eyed his aides-de-camp, who enjoyed the vagaries of their companion as much as their chief, – "Is it possible! Did you ever hear this fellow speak in this style!"

Sir Thomas was not serious; nor did he doubt that he had often listened to language which savoured of greater impudence than he heard on the present occasion. He simply meant to give a turn to the conversation, when, as he expected, – for the General had a great aversion to fawning, and always liked to hear the blunt truth, – his Aide-de-camp readily answered, – "Repeatedly."

Encouraged by this response, for he felt that he did nothing new, and that he did not in any way now transgress the bounds which he had frequently set to himself before, – Sam resumed his discourse urging his claims on Sir Thomas.

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"Whilst" said he, "any Italian fiddler, or French vagabond with a pretty wife, or, or"; and he went on to say something which was probably unpleasant, when the General interposed: "Enough-enough Sam; no more! You have hit me on the raw! but never ye mind. I suppose ye meant nothing. Come Sam, tell me what in the world are yet fit for, except it be to roam about in the jungles like a wild beast. The Revenue branch is out of the question, for you will soon get rid of rixdollars in the Treasury, and do, as many others have done, swear that the white ants have eaten them all up. If however, you can point out any place that will relieve me from being the chancellor of your Exchequer, without interfering with any body but the wild beasts, with whom, by the way, the Modliar says (pointing at his Interpreter) you are on such good terms that they stand while you draw their pictures, (10) — you shall have it, upon." —

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The last sentence, and it is a long one, had hardly been completed when Sam's impatience broke out in a loud cry,

"Done! done! done! dictum factum reddidi! RANGER OF THE WOODS AND FORESTS!!" an office which the Governor had for some time been in contemplation to create, but which he had lost sight of from various

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causes.

"Well – well, Sam," rejoined the old General, greatly pleased at the readiness with which Sam had hit upon the right thing, – "you are the very devil incarnate! General Maitland is true to his words;" and extending his right hand, and shaking Sam's with great fervour, added: "you have it Sam, – you have it Sam, – you have it; and eight hundred six-dollars (11) a month to begin with; but mind" he added jocosely, "never you come to the mount again, until I send for you."

Sam's feelings having unusually got the better of his loquacity, he was not ready with a response; and the Governor directed Mr. Gay, Deputy Secretary to Government, who had just come in, to Gazette the appointment, and to order the Paymaster General to advance mister Sam six months' salary.

Sam now ventured to express his thanks to the Governor, but he failed in his several attempts to do so; for as he subsequently declared "his heart was up to his throat."

The good General observing Sam's confusion, and that the expression of his eyes sufficiently betokened all that his tongue had failed to express, again took him by the hand, and shook it heartily,

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saying: "Well Sam, God bless you! No piping—mind the tigers and the elephants — come to the Mount when you like; for depend upon it — you are always welcome! But don't you come in character; or, may the deil take ye — you'll be the death of General Maitland." (12)

Another anecdote, for which we were indebted to the very party whom it concerned most, may be here related. If it is not so droll as the one which we have already noticed, it is by no means deficient in interest, especially to the Sinhalese reader in that it shews the benevolent and kind disposition of the gallant soldier whose career as Governor of Ceylon closed shortly after the incidents connected with Mr. Daniell's appointment.

We have already alluded to the Governor's penchant for fish. He was often in the habit of visiting ~~Bentotte~~ the old Rest House at Bentotte, not only for the sake of the good fish which he found abundantly in that district, but for the oysters for which its river
108B has ever been famous. One day when the Governor was enjoying his otium cum dignitate in a chair in the outer verandah of the old Rest house, — and it was at no great distance from the building which serves that purpose now, — he happened to see two

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Sinhalese gentlemen walking by the riverside. Apparently, much pleased with their deportment he beckoned to them. On their hastening to the spot where the Governor sat, and saluting him with all the respect due to his exalted position, they were asked if they knew English and had been at school. The elder replied in the affirmative; and during some little conversation which next ensued His Excellency learnt that they were then enjoying their vacation at their country residence, and that they belonged to Governor North's Seminary at Wolfendhal. Observing too that they were by no means deficient in their knowledge of English, which they expressed with tolerable accuracy, and clearness, — the Governor 'asked them, if they could get him some fish.' 'Any amount of them, your Excellency,' said the elder of the youths. The Governor was quite pleased with the respect and readiness with which the response was made; and it delighted him still more to percewe the alacrity with which the elder went to work, the amount of influence which he possessed, and the respect which he commanded in the district. For a few minutes had scarcely elapsed from this time before

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the contents of three fishing canoes which had just landed, were put upon the compound of the Rest House.

The Governor then examined the different kinds of fish, and desired his servants to select what he liked best, offering the young man payment for what 'he had been so good as to procure.' Young Abraham D'Alwis, for such was his name, — respectfully thanked His Excellency; but added that he considered it a disgrace to his position to accept any payment himself, or to permit the Governor of the island to recompense the men, who were bound to give the speaker any amount of fish he had desired. 'Bound!' exclaimed the Governor with his European notions of independence, which were unknown in Ceylon in those days. 'Yes,' replied the youth firmly but respectfully, the boats and the nets belong to our Walavve, and besides 'it is customary for us to take as much fish as we want.'

After some further conversation regarding their family etc., the Governor desired the young man who spoke last to call at the Mount, after he had returned to Colombo, saying 'I'll see what

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I can do for you.'

A few weeks afterwards Alwis called on the Governor; and he was at once recognized; and then addressing his Chief Secretary, who happened to be present, the Governor said to him, Make this young man

MOHOTTI MOHANDARAM OF THE GOVERNOR'S GATE.

He received the appointment the next day, and was the same person who was afterwards the Governor's Interpreter, (13) and mentioned to him of the great intimacy which existed between "Sam" and the wild beasts, whose presence at the Mount so much displeased him. 109 A

Sir Thomas left Ceylon in November 1810 and the Brigadier John Wilson was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor, on the 29th of the same month. He acted in that capacity until the arrival of General Sir Robert Brownrigg in March 1812, when, all expectation of seeing Sir Thomas back being at an end, the colonists forwarded to him an address. (14)

It was about this period that this island was visited by the calamity of long and repeated droughts, which lasted during the three first years of Genl. Brownrigg's administration. The

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greatest distress existed in the country. The supplies from India were interrupted by the South-West monsoon and what did arrive was not sufficient to meet the wants of the people. A measure of rice was sold for one rixdollar, or eighteen pence. Even at that price few persons could obtain it; and fewer could afford the outlay. 'It was deplorable' says Bertolocci, 'to see at this time the numerous children of the Ceylonese families reduced and emaciated for want of food, and depending upon parents who were in no way able to provide for such large families.

Section 39. Ehelapola's First Phase.

The Minister who had succeeded Pilimatalawe just before General Brownrigg assumed the reins of government in the maritime provinces of Ceylon, was the same person whom Sri Wickrama had appointed second Adigar in 1806. The selection was made, it would seem, — not on account of

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any peculiar merits of the minister; for, as remarked by Marshall 'he never deserved the king's confidence,' — not from a desire to retrieve the king's character from any supposed odium attached to it for the execution of his uncle, — but, solely from motives of policy, out of deference to the wishes of the nobility. Chelapola's relations, who had obtained a decided ascendancy over the other chiefs of the country.

It was indeed not long before the king had reason to suspect a powerful combination of chiefs against himself. He was soon made sensible, that he could not satisfy the people without the co-operation of their own chiefs. It was therefore a matter of necessity, to elevate the second adigar on whom he had the greatest confidence, and whom he loved with the tenderness of a father.(1) Yet his appointment was the greatest error which Sri Wikrama committed, and by which he precipitated his own down fall. For,

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Ehelapola had all the faults of his perfidious predecessor, and nothing of his ability, or his great energy of mind. The only qualities for which he was slightly distinguished from his uncle, were his winning manners, politeness, and courtly address,(2) qualities, which, perhaps, deceived Sri Wikrama, and endeared him to the minister.

But the king was greatly deceived. "He ought to have known — to use his own words in addressing Mr. Granville subsequently, — the natural consequences of a Sovereign placing a powerful subject on a level with himself."(3) He should also have remembered that the relations, which united the late Minister to the Sovereign, were different from those which now existed between Ehelepole and himself. The latter no longer lived in that security which Pilimitalawe's friendship had suggested to his mind. He no longer had any cause to remember the apparently disinterested motives of his
1098 ex-minister, by whom he was elevated to the throne. In Ehelapole he could not repose that confidence, which, as a result of tried experience during a

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previous reign, had encouraged Sri Wikrama to intrust the affairs of the state to the sole management of Pilimatalawe. On the contrary, Ehelapole's undoubted complicity in the intrigues of his uncle during recent times, and the vast influence which he exercised over the chiefs, should also have induced him to regard his present Minister with feelings of great suspicion, if not deep aversion. Though regardless of all such considerations the king appointed Ehelapole as his Prime Minister, he, on his part, failed to perceive the obligation which such conduct had created. His feelings towards his patron, and his government were anything but honorable, or loyal. From the very first his policy was decidedly identical with that of his uncle. If there was any ~~of~~ the slightest difference, it was more formal than substantial — greater in the mode of operations adopted by each, than in the fundamental principles of their action. That difference may also be attributed to the difference in their character. One was discreet and patient; and the other careless and precipitate in his conduct. The cunning of one was well concealed,

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that of the other was soon exhibited, and rendered too plain not to be mistaken.

In raising Ehelepole to the office of First Adigar, it was necessary to fill up the vacancy thereby created; and Sri Wikrama did so by the appointment of Molligoda — a proceeding which vastly displeased the Premier. Indeed much time had not elapsed before Ehelapole exhibited his resentment, and Sri Wikrama had reasons to suspect his fidelity; and, as the suspicion induced watchfulness on the part of His Majesty, he soon learnt that the man, whom he had chosen as his first Adviser, was his bitterest foe; and that he not only pursued a system of intrigue, but actually attempted to wean the hitherto well disposed people from their allegiance to the Crown. Two years had scarcely passed away from the date of his appointment, before the whole of the Kandian districts, with few exceptions, 'was tainted with the leaven of the minister's treason.' Moormen, who, under the pretence of carrying on trade, entered the interior, were employed to sow seeds of disaffection in people's minds, — Buddhist priests, who, it is stated, acted under

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the advice of Paranátala, the second High Priest, entering the houses of people for alms, enticed the peasantry to join the stronger party, — and women, on whom ordinarily no suspicion rested, were despatched into different villages with treasonable communications.

The complicity of the Minister in these treasonable transactions soon came to the King's knowledge. Twice, at an interval of five or six months, he charged Ehelapole with being their promoter. But so plausible and specious were his explanations, that, though the King was not quite convinced of his innocence, yet he forgave him on both occasions. (4) Probably he wished to avoid the scandal of a trial so soon after the execution of his uncle; and, perhaps also remembered the old political maxim, that 'a king should never disgrace the minister, whose rise and fall are indissolubly connected with that of the king.' (5) It is also possible 110 A that, as the king stated to Mr. Granville, he 'confided in his own professions of loyalty and attachment. Still Sri Wikrama had sufficient evidence from the very explanations offered to take a bold step, and prompt action to restore order. Accordingly, he issued orders

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preventing all communication between the disaffected districts, and, those which he considered loyal, viz. Hewaheta, Dumbara, Uva, Kotmale, and Valapána. He laid restrictions against the contamination of the loyal by the presence of Moormen and Buddhist priests in the villages last mentioned; and ordered the expulsion of all women, who were not born in those districts, to their native homes. The effect of these stringent measures, affecting the guilty and the innocent alike, was, it is said, felt, though less severely than Davy has feelingly represented in his Account, where he states (6) that "wives were separated from their husbands, mothers from their children; the young bride and the aged parent,— all, indiscriminately, were torn from the bosom of their families, and driven from their homes; producing scenes of distress, and feelings of anger and discontent, which might well shake the firmest loyalty.'

We do not regard the King's conduct in the same light in which the English historian has viewed it. The order had reference only to an alien population— to the strangers, who had settled in districts other than those in which they were born, and who by their abode in them, had given a pretext for the visits of the

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disaffected. Doubtless the order affected the liberties of the people, and created some inconvenience; but it secured 'the greatest good of the greatest number,' in that it contemplated the peace of the country. We may also remark that this order did not produce greater inconvenience than the stringent rules laid down in some European countries against foreigners. Nor was it more severe than the Proclamation of North, who, when he observed the lawless character of the Malay population in Maritime Ceylon, ordered their expulsion to such places as the Government would fix upon; (7) or, again, the Regulation of Maitland, which prohibited that no one except those who owned houses in the Fort of Colombo should reside therein under certain pains and penalties. (8)

Another precautionary measure of the king, which served as a great check upon the conduct of Ehelapole was the appointment of an additional Minister. In ancient times our kings had seven ministers, the number prescribed by Manu. (9) History shows that subsequently this number was reduced to four; when one attended the king, another took

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charge of the affairs of the city, a third administered justice, and the fourth was assigned to matters relating to war. But for many years preceding the reign of Raja Sinha, there was but one minister. That monarch however felt the inconvenience of this diminished number and
110 B added a second. Sri Wikrama having now experienced greater inconvenience, increased the number to three; and his choice fell upon Dûlavve, whom he created the Adikarama of Sijapattu.

Sri Wikrama also transferred all officers attached to the kings Household, on whom he had the slightest cause for suspicion, or who owed their origin to the disaffected parts of the kingdom, to other situations, retaining those only, upon whose strict confidence he could implicitly rely. Since he knew that Ehelapole fomented discontent amongst the people he kept a sharp look out on his conduct, which it was soon ascertained, began gradually to be tainted more and more with disloyalty.

As a further check upon the minister and to prevent all combination between him and the privileged classes of Udunuwara and Yatinuwara, the King removed

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their Chiefs and subdivided the Provinces into several districts and placed over each a man of low origin — a proceeding which greatly irritated [?] the people. When such was the condition of affairs in 1812, those relating to the social [condition] of the country, or the domestic peace of the King were not better or more satisfactory. An unprecedented drought had nearly destroyed the harvests of the entire island. The people could scarcely raise sufficient corn for their maintenance. As, according to sages of old 'misfortunes never come alone' the King suffered severely from ill-health. Many members of his family were prostrated from a similar cause. He lost at this time his only son, of whom though a cripple he was doatingly fond. Of his Queens one was getting old, and the other was childless, thus depriving the king of all hopes of a direct descendant to take his place after him. Having also observed that he could not place any dependence on those officers whom he had newly appointed to his royal household, he sent for some of his relations from India. Consequent upon the changes which had been recently effected on the Continent by the occupation

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of it by the British, several Malabars were but too glad to quit their country, and settle in Kandy. About seventy persons, with a number of attendants, therefore lost no time in coming over to Ceylon. Amongst them there were several ladies. On their arrival the King added two sisters to his harem. He did so in the usual manner, after due proclamation, and observing the usual ceremonies, according to ancient customs.

The royal marriage being fixed, conspiracies and seditions were, for a time, forgotten amidst the rejoicings of the Court, and the bustle of crowds that poured in to pay their homage, and to make their customary presents. Yet, even in the hour of love and joy, the King could not divest his mind of the suspicions created in his mind of Ehelapole, which the confessions of the conspirators in Pilimatalawe's plot had given rise to. Indeed to him

—Love itself was bitterness of soul,—
A pensive anguish pining at the heart!'

On the occasion of the chiefs making their presents, the kings ill-will towards the minister shewed itself. His presents, though rich, and remarkably so, through a

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desire to show and display, displeased the king. Though

'Rare ornaments of priceless gems were there,
Many a gem, bracelet and ear-ring fair, –
Many a casket and box of burnished gold,
Which the pearl and the ruby and sapphire hold, –
Many a tool of gold, and silver cup,
Things costly and rare filled them brimming up;' –

the gift was nevertheless pronounced to be mean. (10) That of the minister's compatriot, Puselle Disava of the Seven Korales led to same scandal, which may be briefly noticed. This chief, it would seem, forwarded a large quantity of wild honey, ghee, the sesamum-seed as well as oil, – and a variety 111A of other seeds and grains of his district abounded and which owing to the general scarcity now felt throughout the land, he had thought, would prove a valuable gift on the occasion. Of these articles, the king ascertaining that the Gabadanilame, the brother of the donor, had withholden one half, ordered that what was so grudgingly delivered at the palace, should be thrown into the lake, and that the Panividakarayas, (11) who connived

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at this little fraud, should be removed from office. Dulevve, whose duty it was to carry out this order, from a misapprehension of the king's decree, proceeded publicly to flog the messengers, and to incarcerate the Gabadanilame. The king, hearing that the minister had misunderstood him, immediately stopped the corporal punishment, and liberated the offending officer of the Treasury after a week's imprisonment.

However trifling and insignificant these matters were, they created a deep impression on the minds of the Kandians. They now clearly percewed that the King had been determined to take offence at even trifles. Great
111B uneasiness was exhibited by some and Davy thinks that "they were anxious for a change of government." (12) We scarcely believe that such was the fact. The great bulk of the Kandyan population had no such desire; though they doubtless felt severely the failure of their crops, the oppression of the Chiefs, and also the escactions of the king, which he rigidly

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enforced from a desire to meet the enormous expenses of his Malabar relatives and friends, who had recently arrived in his kingdom. It is this self-same fact that Davie conversely states, when he says at p 320, that the chiefs had received many loans from the King's relations, Molligoda's debt alone amounting to 6000 pagodas, – a circumstance which induced them to desire a change of government, – as a means of getting rid of their liabilities. The Sinhalese reader need not however be told that these relations of Sri Wikrama were 'miserable beggars'; and that it was they who were indebted to the Chiefs in various ways. But the case was otherwise with Ehelapole. He clearly foresaw the danger to himself. To use Sri Wikrama's own words, "it was impossible for him to love the king after he had twice spared his life, when he ought to have forfeited it to the laws of his country. The debt of gratitude which he owed him he never could repay; and therefore, as the king naively added, "he took up arms against him." (13)

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Section 34 (40) The Kings Disordered Mind

112A He entered into a secret correspondence with the English Governor in Colombo, whose succour he earnestly implored in the contest in which he was about to be engaged. He also offered, for such assistance, to cede in perpetuity to the British government the province of Saffragam, of which he was the chief. The terms were, however, not sufficiently attractive to produce any immediate results; and General Brownrigg, who was new to the country, did not think it quite prudent to interpose in favour of the attempt of Ehelapole, till he had seen the insurrection which was about to commence, as he was informed, was likely to become universal.

As time passed on the king grew more and more jealous of his chiefs, and his hate of them gradually became more intense. In this temper of mind he heard of Ehelapole's doings, and despatched into their respective districts, all the chiefs, including his Prime Minister with orders to superintend the cultivations, and to collect the revenues. But it is difficult to say

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what was the real object of this mission. Some declare that it was with a view to raise funds to meet the extraordinary expenditure which was now rendered necessary by the presence of so many Malabar relatives of the king; some, that it was from a wish to divert their minds, by active occupation, from the evil courses, for which a town-residence afforded great facilities; and others, that he desired to place temptations in their way for the commission of offences, so as to enable him more speedily to punish them. Let, however, the object be what it might. It was quite clear that, soon after the above order, which the Chiefs complied with reluctantly, charges were preferred against Ehelapole. He was accused by a Malabar trader of extortion and plunder. The refusal of one of the royal villages in Saffragam to pay its customary dues to one of the Queens was attributed to the instigation of the Minister. Revenues which he had collected from a tax on Arekanuts were not paid into the Treasury.

On hearing all this the King issued orders

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in March 1814 for his Minister's immediate return, requiring him, at the same time, to answer the charges preferred against him, and to bring down the defaulters. Far from complying with this order, the Minister adopted a course which no longer concealed his guilt, if not his enmity to the king. He not only forwarded an unsatisfactory, and some say insulting, reply to the king, — not only renewed his correspondence with General Brownrigg, His Britannic Majesty's Governor in maritime Ceylon, for himself and the people promising ~~to~~ help in the event of an ~~insurrection~~ [invasion. - ED] by the English of the Kandean territories; — but also made vast preparations for a rebellion in the event of the English not acceding to his proposal.

In the meantime Sri Wikrama was neither listless nor inattentive. He was as wide awake as a weasel, heard all that was passing around, and promptly issued his proclamation, dismissing the rebellious minister, and appointing Molligoda as his successor, — circumstances which told powerfully on the people's minds. For, the reader is aware that the popularity of a Chief, amongst all Asiatic nations,

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lasts only so long as he continues in power, or in the confidence of the government which he serves. 'That man,' says the Sanscrit author of moral and prudential maxims, 'is courted by Fortune, upon whom, be he a son, a minister, or a stranger, the King fixes an extraordinary regard.' (1) So long as that regard continues undiminished, friends and foes alike, do everything as he bids; whether just or unjust — speak well of him, conceal his faults, — extol his praises, — pander to his vanity — and refuse to state ought against him even under the obligation of the most sacred oath. It is from this cause that Sri Wikrama heard very little of the proceedings of his vile minister. It is from the same cause that the English government still know nothing of the many evils which are perpetrated by some who happen to possess the confidence of their immediate superiors. It is also owing to this state of things that applications are now and then made by a poor unfortunate wretch, whose patience and long suffering under the tyranny of headmen have past all bounds of endurance, — for the suspension of his persecutor during an investigation into his conduct.

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The reader also knows the reason that, however much they may be attached to a Chief, the people retain ~~their~~ a sense of their regard for him only so long as they are actually in his power; and that, when deprived of that power, his friends desert him, and foes hate him with a malignity greater than that which had previously lurked in their bosoms.

Thus when the Kandians heard that their Chief had been supplanted by Molligoda, the ardour of their attachment towards Ehelapola declined; and when in spite of the inaccessibility in which he had arisen at the head of a hostile force, Molligoda, at a moment's notice, in compliance with his master's orders, crossed Adam's Peak, and over the loftiest range of mountains that environed Saffragam, reached the assembled forces, the hearts of the people completely failed them. A portion of them fled away, whilst some of the rest were easily routed, and others gave their adherence to the man who had risen into power.

On this unexpected result Ehelapola with a few of his adherents fled to the maritime provinces, and,

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via Kalutura, went to Colombo; and it is generally believed that Molligoda took no stringent measures to capture his chief, if he did not offer facilities for his escape, — a belief fully supported by a circumstance which we shall hereafter point out. On the rebellion being thus quelled Molligoda returned in great triumph to Kandy with about seventy prisoners. XII.

Sri Wikrama did not fail to requite his faithful minister's valuable services. He appointed him in the place of the renegade Chief, and conferred upon him lands and honours. He, it is said, literally covered him, from kneck to knee with gold chains, and presented him a very valuable gold sword set with precious stones. He also evinced his gratitude to another chief Ellapole, whom he now appointed to be Second Adigar.

Though Sri Wikrama must have been delighted at the success of Molligoda, yet the anger which now took possession of him at the conduct of his late minister, was truly fiendish. 'Frequently,' says the old adage, 'in a season of impending calamity the intellects of men become overcast.' Such was the condition of Sri Wikrama's mind. He was restless. Like all men who 113 A

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had not the power of moderating or entirely calming their feelings, he was liable at times to extravagant elations, and extreme dejection. As at a subsequent period of his history, when he was found hacking and hewing in pieces a square bedstead on board the Cornwallis, he boiled with rage, roared, and moved to and fro with great fury.' (2) 'He was not master of himself.' How truly and honestly does the description of the author of The Seasons apply to Sri Wikrama's condition, at this period. As we gather from facts before us,

> Now the distempered mind
> Has lost that concord of harmonious powers,
> Which form the soul of happiness; and all
> Is off the poise within: the passions all
> Have burst their bounds; and Reason half extinct
> Or impotent, or else approving, sees
> The foul disorder.

Yes, 'the passions all burst their bounds' and 'reason itself was half extinct!' But it would seem that these paroxysms of rage came on as frequently as they went away speedily. He himself was conscious of this; for he told Major Hook of the fact,

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when he deplored the absence of that safeguard in the British Constitution, by which Kings were prevented 'from doing anything in a passion' (3) — one of the most admirable contrivances of human wisdom, which, whilst it secures the inviolability of the monarch, makes every one of his servants, whether high or low, responsible for his acts.

Various conjectures have been formed as to the cause of this change in Sri Wikrama's conduct. "Some of the King's most severe measures", says Marshall, "it is alleged, were ordered to be carried into effect when he was in a state of inebriety, he having become liable to paroxysms of intemperance; and from the great quantities of Hoffman's cherry brandy bottles found in the palace, it may be inferred that he was fond of that liqueur." (4) This inference is not however inevitable. It is not the only one which the fact suggests. The allegation, too, which precedes the statement of the inference was probably founded upon the existence of "bottles". On inquiry from several domestics, and other parties who had general entree of the King's Palace, we have been

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informed that His majesty never tasted any liqueur. Even at his several weddings, or Feasts when he entertained the Chiefs, 'tea' formed the only extraordinary beverage of the entertainment (ante, p.156). He moreover belonged to that class of Malabars, who regarded the eating of beef, or drinking any spirituous drink as a great disgrace. The existence of "bottles" was nevertheless a fact. They were all empty, — the accumulations, as we are informed, of supplies taken over to entertain the several ambassadors who attended the Kandian Court, or to meet other
113B exigencies when distinguished visitors paid their Court to the King. (5)

Another cause to which Sri Wikrama's severity is attributed, is, Insanity. This is a question which may be best disposed of after we shall have noticed all his acts.

It is said that the intensity of hate towards his minister was so great, that even when his name was mentioned in after-life, "he half closed his eyes and averted his face with an expression of strong inward feeling." (6) Consequently,

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that on the particular day of which we are writing he was very violent in his temper, and severe in his conduct, may be believed. It is said that at one time, like a person under the influence of delirium tremens, Sri Wickrama was subject to hallucinations and illusions. He was in a perpetual state of fear of something unknown, felt a dread at an imaginary enemy, and alarm at some indescribable ~~thing~~ nothing. At another time he was frantic and wild like a mad-man. He would at others, it is said, jump out from his bed, and present himself before his guards, with questions which startled them not a little. At others again he would take to night-wandering, as if he had been under the influence of somnambulism.

A story is related of him in connection with one of his perambulations, which we record on the strength of tradition, (7) not only as illustrative of the unsoundness of the king's mind, but descriptive of the state of feeling towards him amongst his subjects.

The scene is placed a day or two after

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~~informed that His Majesty never tasted any liqueur.~~
Molligoda's return, and at the dwelling of a peasant two or three miles from the city. He had returned home after night fall, had taken his meals, and was chewing bitel in his open Pila, conversing with a neighbour, and observing, at the same time, the innocent sports of his boy with a cat. The topic of their conversation was the King; and his acts. Kirala, for such we shall designate the householder, whilst we name his companion, Kiri Banda, — for their names have not transpired — said to the other, 'these Demalu', referring to a number of the King's relations, who were at this time exercising undue influence over His Majesty to the detriment of his unoffending peaceful subjects, — 'are becoming intolerable.' 'Yes,' said his companion, 'they are, and 'tis a pity that the mahanilame hamuduruvo is at variance with the maha vâsala.' 'What's that you are saying!' exclaimed the host, 'have you not heard that the Maha-nilame Hamuduruvo has joined the Whites, and that several persons were brought down the other day to Kandy as

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having been implicated in a rebellion?' 'No,' replied Kiri Banda, rather in a whisper, and looking on either side of him to see if any one was listening, — 'no; but I have heard that orders were issued to apprehend Pussella Disamahatayo for writing a letter abusive of His Majesty, and that Parantala Hamuduruvo was suspected of some indecency, and interdicted from visiting the Maligava. 'That might have been the pretext for the order or, as is rumoured, (7a) he might have had a tender interview with some lady in the harem.' rejoined his listener; 'but the real fact is, that the Anunayaka hamuduruvo has been sending priests into the interior to foment discontent amongst the people.' 'That was not all,' added Kiri Banda, 'I have heard that attempts have been made to win over the Kappita (Major Davie), and that a letter carried by Sobini was intercepted, and that both the Suddas (meaning Davie and Thoen) have since been removed to some place in Matale. 'Hush! hush!' said Kirala, looking towards the compound

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and straining his eyes to see if he could detect any person's presence, — 'I have heard a noise — a rustling among the leaves; and it is possible that some of those Demalu are here listening to our conversation, as one of them did the other day at Kusalhamy's — for such we shall also name him — and reported to the Deviyo that he had spoken of His Majesty, whereas the fact was, that he had refused to give up some things which the Demala had attempted to extort from him.' 'I have myself heard,' said Kiri Banda, reducing his voice to a whisper, '— that these guruhamies are in the habit of dropping into people's compounds, at night; and it is even said that (the Deviyo) His Majesty himself goes about, as he did some time ago when he heard that conversation of Pilimatalavve Mahanilame.' 'Ané bân!' intergected the old man of the cottage, — 'I don't know what will become of us!' Just as he had concluded the sentence, his, a boy of between five and six

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years of age, ran up to his mother's embrace, exclaiming Amma anna guruva! 'Mamma there's the goblin.' 'Hush-hush!' said the mother, as she trimmed with one hand the wick of the brass lamp that was hung near the entrance from the pila into the room, and applied the other as a gag to her frightened child's mouth; and took him inside.

The supposed spectre gradually emerged from the dark and soon entered the Pila, darting a look of indignation at the door, from whence the boy had disappeared, and silently sat down on an elevated form close to which the peasants were seated.

He was dressed like a Fakeer - in an ample thin muslin cloth, a fold of which was tucked up between his legs. He had a covering of the same fabric, and carried a high iron staff in his hand. He was a stout tall and handsome person, and the poor inmates of the Cottage had at first every reason to believe that this was one of those 'eaves droppers' of whom

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they had been speaking.

From the absence of any attempt at self-introduction on the part of the stranger the reader may, perhaps, doubt the faithfulness of our statement, but we need scarcely tell him that in that particular, as in all matters relating to the substantial facts of this narrative, we record the circumstances as we have collected them; and that the stranger did sit himself down without any previous acquaintance
114B with the householder or his companion, and without accosting him, or uttering one single word. Nor did the peasants themselves regard such conduct as strange. For, in those days, the Nayakkars, a class of persons to whom the the Royal House of Sri Wikrama was some way allied, were frequently the objects of terror to the poor Kandians. They exercised great influence over the king, and whenever during their many visits, like this, any incivility was shown, the offender was invariably punished by the king. Encouraged by the partiality shown

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to them at the Court, the Nayakkars frequently visited the Sinhalese, plundered them, extorted money, and often exceeded all bounds of decorum by illicit intercourse with their wives and daughters. Sensible therefore of the privileges which the Nayakkars enjoyed, the Kandian peasant was the first to accost this "unknown" as if he had been his best acquaintance, and to offer him a share of that bitel which he was enjoying with his companion. And the feeling of unbending hauteur which the visitor exhibited will be further explained when we ascertain his identity, as the peasants soon did, when they had gradually entered into conversation. Yet the peasants betrayed not the slightest emotion upon gaining that information. The conversation, after a few words on indifferent topics at length turned on politics and the acts of the King, of which the stranger evinced a desire to know something. But the latter spoke indifferent Sinhalese, often introducing Telangu words, (16) which the peasants did not quite comprehend. Still they sufficiently understood him

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when he desired to know how the people regarded their King. The host replied, that situated as the king was he was perfectly right in being severe with the chiefs, who preyed upon the people; whilst his friend extolled the same king to the skies, and stated, what was a fact until very recently, that the king was popular amongst the lower classes of his subjects for protecting them against the extortions and oppressions of the chiefs. The two neighbours thus went on discoursing for a time, and expressing their honest convictions, that 'Ehelapole was not the friend of the king, that discontent reigned supreme, not in the cottage of the poor, but in the mansions of the great, — and that it was most rife in Saffragam, seat of the Minister's residence'. The stranger listened to all this with profound attention, but spoke nothing. He remained a while, and then took his departure, as abruptly as he had entered the Pila.

The poor people of this cottage were indeed under the belief that their fulsome adulation of the visitor in disguise was sufficient to neutralize the effect of the frightened acclamation

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of the little boy, reflecting on His Majesty's handsome countenance, and still more dignified person. But such alas! was not the case.

Next morning the child was taken before the king upon his orders. As a test to ascertain whether the child was responsible for his exclamation of the previous night, the king offered him a fire-brand and a plantain at the same time. The little fellow did not hesitate to choose the welcome fruit; and accordingly he seized it with avidity. The king 115A.
thereupon concluded that the child was sufficiently intelligent to entitle him to punish him for the offence of his utterance the previous evening, reflecting on His Majesty's crown and dignity. He accordingly condemned the boy to death; and he was executed in a novel but cruel fashion.

It was in this wise. Two high arecanut trees were firmly planted in the ground at such a distance from each other as their ends might be brought together at an obtuse angle. 115B.
The two points being next connected, each leg of the child was firmly bound to each tree at their

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junction. This done the ligature by which the ends of the two trees had been connected, was cut, and the trees suddenly and with a jerk, returned to their original position, tearing the body of the child into two parts which severally remained tied to the trees.' (8)

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Section 41 The Climax of Sri Wikrama's Tyranny.

We now enter upon the most sanguinary period of Sri Wikrama's reign. As remarked by Davy 'one scene of horror and blood-shed now rapidly succeeded another.' (1) Execution followed execution fast. It would seem that he completely changed his policy with regard to leniency being shown to state offenders,— a policy which had characterized his conduct up to this period. If he had previously erred on the side of clemency, he now unquestionably did on the side of severity.

Of the seventy people whom Molligoda had brought down from Saffragam, the king selected all those who had taken the most active part in the rebellion, and who from their position and

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other circumstances were fit objects of punishment. He also ripped open the 'old offence' of the Seven Korles; and all the headmen supposed to have been concerned in the rebellion which Pilimatalawe had suppressed, were summoned to appear in Kandy. All of them were men of rank and position in their district.

To try these and others, whom we shall presently name, the king appointed a commission of three chiefs of whom Molligoda was one. The other two were Sinapattuwe Maha Nilame and Gajanayake Millawe Nilame.

The trial which first engaged their attention was that of the persons concerned in the rebellion of Saffragam. Of them, upon due proof, of which no reasonable doubt was left on the judges' minds, forty seven were condemned, and executed. Of the headmen who were summoned for the 'old offence,' as it was called, thirty four (2) were convicted and executed, and some of them after receiving a severe flogging. (3) In addition to the above numbers, others whose cases occupied the attention of the Commissioners, may be here mentioned.

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The Gabadanilame, the brother of Pusselle Disava, who had incurred the displeasure of the king by a present being offered to him in a disrespectful manner, was imprisoned. The Disava himself was condemned for carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Ehelapola. There was undoubted evidence of the fact; for one of his letters was found in the possession of one of his attendants. (4) The chief was convicted and beheaded after his eyes had been plucked out and his limbs cut from their joints. To this catalogue we may add the execution of a woman who had been detected whilst conveying a message to Major Davie; (5) two Moormen who had fomented discontent in the interior; and also Paranatala, the second High Priest who is already known to the reader. (6) Amongst the persons dismissed from office was Manutugama, the chief priest of Asgiriya. In filling up the vacancy occassioned by the execution of Paranatala, the king introduced an innovation, and appointed three Nayakas and three Anunáyakas to the Malwatta Establishment — a proceeding which greatly displeased the priesthood.

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Before proceeding with a narrative of the events which followed, it is necessary to advert to a remark in Marshall's Conquest of Ceylon, from which we gather that Molligoda, like a Jeffries, acted unfairly as a judge; and the king still more unjustly by placing him on the Commission for the trial of prisoners for High Treason. (7) From all that we have gathered upon the most authentic information we are led to a contrary opinion. We believe that the action of Molligoda was as just, honest and humane to the persons whom he convicted, as it was loyal to the king, and highly politic according to the exigencies of the times. As we have seen already, Molligoda was not opposed to the other Chiefs. He even overlooked their faults with a view to mingle freely in their clan. He never complained to the king against any of them. He was indeed not inimical to them. So long as he was not the trusted Premier of the Government, his policy was to preserve a silent attitude, — his impatience of the Malabar dynasty, a feeling which he shared in common with others, being controlled by a strict sense of duty to the king.

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Yet, when he observed that a high trust had been reposed in him by his appointment to the office of Prime Minister, he could no longer faithfully serve his master without removing the leaves of sedition which spread itself in the ranks of the chiefs. It was therefore necessary to do his duty strictly and honestly. True it is indeed that on the adjustment of 'the old affair' of Saffragam, Molligoda was withdrawn from a share in its government; but that circumstance could not have justly influenced his judgement against those who were arraigned before the Commission at this period; for, he had been simply removed to another sphere of usefulness and emolument, equal to what he had lost. If however, any resentment was the result of that arrangement it must have been levelled against Pilimatalawe; but he was no more — he had been executed. Far from exhibiting any such feeling towards Ehelapole, it is said, that Molligoda always desired to live in amity and peace with that chief, as his conduct at the time, and of a subsequent date

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clearly proves. It is even alleged that to Molligoda was essentially due Ehelapola's life, which he spared by permitting him quietly to escape into the maritime Provinces. Tradition has indeed no-where asserted that he brought any bias to bear upon the guilt of those whom the Commission now condemned. They acquitted several out of those who had been tried by them. Molligoda's interest was moreover co-equal with justice, and his duty as Premier, – to get rid of the disaffected, and to save the loyal whose co-operation he so greatly needed. No more than the king did he believe that he could hold his place without the aid of the Chiefs. It must be remembered also that Molligoda was not the only one, like Judge Jeffries, who was appointed to try the rebels. He was assisted by two other Chiefs in the investigation of all the offences. We need scarcely add that two constituted a majority. 117

While we thus exonerate Molligoda from blame, we hesitate not to acquit the King of any indiscretion in placing him on the Commission. The firmness and justice which characterized the

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conduct of the Commissioners prove the soundness of the king's nomination. Molligoda was now the only man in whom the king now reposed confidence. It would doubtless have been a slur upon his character, — and have suggested a doubt of the king's confidence in him, if Sri Wikrama had overlooked his own Premier in appointing the Commission. All circumstances, therefore, warrant us in expressing our unqualified approbation of an act, by which Sri Wikrama delegated his own high and absolute authority and will, to three of his subjects. This and this fact alone, — independently of the circumstance, that even to Ehelapole Sri Wikrama allowed an opportunity to defend himself, — serves as a redeeming feature in the king's wicked career of the period under notice.

It is a fact pretty well known that the Sinhalese are so greatly attached to their families, that temptation seldom, if ever, induces them to leave their homes. The extraordinary affection which they have for their children has often indeed induced them to subject themselves to the greatest danger for their

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sake. 'During the rebellion of 1817 very many instances occurred of fathers voluntarily delivering themselves up, after their families had been taken up.' (8) It was, therefore, from a belief that Ehelapole, who owed allegiance to the king, and protection to his family, would not give them up to preconditioned destruction, that Sri Wikrama kept them in confinement for about two weeks.

Ehelapole had not yet returned to his allegiance or to his family. He was still in Colombo; and there were unmistakable signs of his never entering Kandy except as escort to an English force. When Sri Wikrama perceived this, he resolved to put the Kandyan law in its integrity into force, and that was to punish the family of the Traitor.

Whatever might have been the policy of this law, and perhaps we shall discuss it hereafter, — such indeed it was. 'According to Kandyan usages,' says Marshall, 'the relations of a traitor were liable to punishment.' Knox informs us that Raja-Sinha's wrath was not always appeased by the execution of the malefactor, but sometimes he punished all his generation. Ceylon was not indeed singular in this

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respect. It was a law ~~to~~ known to Indians from high antiquity. Other nations practised such rigours as much as Indians. The reader knows the Greek proverb, 'he who kills the father and saves the son is a fool.' According to the laws of Solon among the Athenians, 'the parents' crimes affected the children.' Josephus says that Alexander, king of the Jews, 'caused the
117B throats of the wives and children of those he put to death to be cut, as criminals against him.' Upon the authority of Philo we learn that it was usual with tyrants to put to death, with the persons condemned, five families of their next relations. (9)

In enforcing this law, it was scarcely necessary to go through the mockery of a trial. Yet it is a fact, that, though the ordeal was not a formal one, an investigation did take place, during which the wife of the Gabada Nilame was acquitted. The persons who were condemned to death were Ehelapole's family, consisting of his wife and four children, her sister in law and the wife and daughter of Puselle Disava. As one of the objects of this

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severe law, by which the sins of the parent were visited upon his children, was, by exhibiting a revolting spectacle more afflicting to the people than anything they suffer themselves,' to induce them to the laws, and to secure their allegiance to the Supreme Power, — orders were issued for the necessary preparations; and a day was proclaimed for the execution.

Section 12. THE EXECUTION

'I now must change these notes to tragick'. MILTON

It was a dismal May afternoon. Fogs rolled into romantic shapes at the distance. Dense dark clouds overshadowed the whole city. The mists in the Kandian capital had not yet disappeared, and were still hovering over the jungles on the mountain tops which surrounded it. Their emerald green, which sometimes enchanted the eye on all sides exhibited one volume of sooty smoke as if the mountain had emitted it preparatory to a volcanic eruption. The sun, clothed in cloudy storm, though near the meridian, did not penetrate

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his luminous rays through the overcharged atmosphere. The throngs of people who on other days passed and repassed the Great Street,(1) had not made their wonted appearance. There was nothing of that bustle and noise which usually disturbed the denizens of the town. Every thing was still; stillness made every thing gloomy; and this mournful gloom portended some evil. Even the sanctuaries of the gods, from which strains of sacred music issued forth throughout every morn, were silent. The Maligawa was almost deserted. The only sound which assailed one's ears was the hollow moan of a number of narrow, meandering streams, which descended through 'loose disjointed cliffs,' and 'fractured mountains wild.' In short

'Light, life, and joy the dubious day forsook.'

It was also the day fixed for the execution of Ehelapola's family. It was to take place, not at the usual place of execution, but in front of the Palace, which was just behind the Temple dedicated to the Tooth-relic of Gotama. The

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Palace was a large Mansion which rose above a beautiful moat, the walls of which were pierced with triangular cavities for purposes of illumination. At one end of it was the Pattirippuva, an hexagonal building, two stories high, on which the King appeared on great occasions to give audience to the people. At the other were the Queen's apartments, on the front of which were the representations of the sun, moon, and stars, carved on stone. It was in this open balcony, just behind the emblems of the allied races of the Suriya and the Chandra vansa that the Kandyan kings made their appearance, with the ladies of the harem, to witness rare sights, national processions, city festivals, or extraordinary fêtes. As a necessary appendage to a royal residence of princes, who were imbued with the Hindu faith, temples dedicated to their gods were in its immediate vicinity. Those that surrounded the Palace were the Nata, Pattini, Katragam and Maha-Vishnu devâlas. Surrounded by these sacred buildings, the Palace, especially that part of it which was

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assigned to the ladies, made an imposing ~~appearance~~ appearance; and also commanded an extensive view of the town.

As the time fixed for the execution approached, the dull silence of the morning was partially broken by a dense multitude who assembled in the open Square before the Palace to witness this foul deed. Sri Wikrama himself took his seat on a high chair; and some of his Queens were also there.

Of those who were now led before the King, the lady that now most attracted the attention of the populace, and for whom the greatest sympathy was felt by all who congregated there was Ehelapole Kumarihami. She was a patrician lady descended from one of the highest families in the land; and was the daughter of Keppitipola, Maha Diwanilame. Though she did not possess the characteristics of female beauty laid down by an English Prince, and had made her appearance under very disadvantageous circumstances, and in her dishabile; yet she was by no means deficient in personal charms. Though she was not in the

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full embon point of "forty," yet for a mother of five children, (2) of whom the eldest was twelve years old, she was reckoned a handsome person. Her figure was not so exuberant as to justify her being characterized as "fat"; and yet she was not thin to emaciation, especially by the aid of her elegant Kandian Tuppatti, being well developed. In colour she was decidedly not "fair," in the sense in which "the first gentleman in Europe" had used it; but she was of that complexion which the oriental sage regards as possessing the double qualities of the shade of the Bambu, — of being warm in cold weather, and cool in hot. (3) In stature she was neither very tall, nor very short, being therefore, according to another high authority, neither stupid nor crafty. Her beautiful eyes, sharp and black, which still retained much of their youthful fire, now bespoke the anguish of her mind. Her raven-black hair, though greatly ruffled during her recent incarceration, was not so much matted as either to destroy its gloss, or to diminish the gracefulness of the Kandian 'loose knot' behind her head. The absence of all ornaments, except a pair of arm-lets was calculated to enhance her beauty; and a shawl, which partially

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but gracefully covered her bosom, served, more to improve her appearance than to impair it.

Pusselle Kumarihami, the sister-in-law of the last mentioned lady, was younger, taller and more corpulent than Mrs. Ehelapole; but was reckoned neither so handsome, nor yet so intelligent as the latter. She lacked also much of the courage, which greatly distinguished the other.

Another patrician lady who was placed in the sad situation of the ladies just named, was the daughter of Pusselle, who had also suffered death at this period. She was the widow of Palipàna Disava. Like most young widows she was handsome: and, looking at her age, beauty, and her innocent appearance few could realise the idea of the horrible fate which awaited her.

Besides these three ladies, (4) the young family of Ehelapole were four in number. One was a sweet girl of nine years of age. She was undoubtedly pretty, possessed much of her mother's good qualities, and promised in a few years to excel her in all those feminine charms which

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attract attention, and inspire feelings of love and admiration.

Of the three boys one was a lad of twelve. He, it is stated, though good-looking, and possessed of much of the outward appearance of his Sire, was a feeble and weak fellow. He was pale, and trembled from head to foot. Not so however his next brother, the Madduma. He excelled Loku both in person, and in the vigour of mind. Even whilst at play he, it is stated, distinguished himself more than Loku Banda, inspiring all with the hope that he would equally distinguish himself ~~more than Loku~~ in after-life, if only his great pluck and energy would not lead him to embark in some desperate venture by which he might come to an untimely end. The remaining child was a boy of four or five years of age, and had only been weaned a few months before.

These were the persons who were now ushered into the presence of the King, surrounded by the executioners, the usual complement of guards, and headmen, and preceded by a Minister

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of State. Scarcely had the Minister, desirous of hearing the King's orders, fallen down on his knees, in the usual style of a court obeisance, which we have before described, — then the order was given to enact the bloody tragedy.

Though males and females thus formed the party to be executed, it must be borne in mind that there was a vast difference in the mode of punishment prescribed to the two sexes. Though as a rule, it is said, reverence for the fair sex belonged only to nations of northern origin, who were first to hold inesse foemenis sanctum aliquid; and, though owing to a defective social system, the Sinhalese, 119A like all Asiatic Nations, regard woman in a light different from Europeans, it must be confessed, that from high antiquity their conduct in awarding punishments to women well compared with, and was distinguished from, that of the most civilized nations of the West. If women till 1791 were condemned to be burned in England; and if the two Queens of Henry the Eighth, the Countess of Salisbury, Lady Rochford,

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Lady Jane Grey and others were beheaded, Sinhalese history presents no instance where a woman suffered death except by drowning. "To wound a woman, however slightly, is considered by the Sinhalese not only a disgrace, but a most monstrous crime." (5)

Accordingly, the execution which was now to take place in the presence of the king was confined to the males. Of them the first who was led to the slaughter, was Ehelapole Loku Banda. The executioner had scarcely approached him, when he, - poor fellow! more weak-minded than the rest, sought the protection of the mother, weeping. Whereupon the next boy heroically stepped forward, telling his brother, 'fear not - disgrace us not by your timidity'; and, rushing up as he turned towards the Executioner, added; 'here I shall teach you how to die."

'And his grave rebuke
Severe in youthful beauty, added grace
Invincible.'

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"yes", said the intrepid mother, greatly animated by what had just fallen from her brave son's lips — And 'no thought infirm altered her cheek,' — "yes, better — far better 'tis to die than to live. To death we have been condemned, and die we must; but die, children, we shall together. Let death then appease the king's insatiable thirst for our blood; and may our death avail him much, and conduce to his happiness! Children, happy thus indeed is the release we ~~thus~~ obtain — not for ourselves alone, but for a proud ancient nation, to which we belong, and whom, swayed by high patriotic feelings, your good father is attempting to free from the yoke of a foreign dynasty." Sri Wikrama having but imperfectly heard this speech expressed a desire to hear what the Kumarihāmi had said; but ere before a chief could approach the King to report her words, she continued: "Children, that father, is now, alas! separated from us, — and indeed for ever! Father of my children!" she apostrophised, as he fondly and tenderly kissed the babe in her arms, dropping a tear on his sweet little face —

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"my lord, and my protector, be not dismayed, when far away from this horrible scene, the intelligence of our fate reaches your ears. Rather let our sufferings nerve you the more to accomplish your designs — to set up of three known foreign powers, if indeed for your exclusive self you can not secure this our native land; for thee I crave the protection of the four guardian gods." and then turning to her children, she continued, — "Die children, — die — 'tis our fate! Arahan!" (6)

"Naraja dosho nacha mantri nascha
Nasatru dosho nacha bandhu vargat.
Nakshatra dosho nacha turakànom
Purushu hetah phatame vachaita

which is translated (7) to mean,

"Not from the King that rules the realms
Proceed our ills and woes;
Not from the Ministers of state,
Our kinsfolk or our foes;
Nor from the shining host of orbs
That glitter in the sky
Descend the ills that compass us,
and shall do till we die.

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And after? But the real source
Of all our ills on earth
Is merit or demerit earned
Within a previous birth!" (7)

Such bold conduct as this on the part of the mother greatly nerved the young but plucky madduma; and, as he had previously stated, he soon taught his elder brother to die, by bidding the executioner to dispatch him with one blow. 'Mind,' he repeated, as he raised his index finger, and stood firm on the ground, turning his neck to the trembling Ghalayá, — 'one blow.' Yes, by one blow of the heavy Kandian sword was his head instantly severed from the body! Scarcely had the quivering head, streaming with blood been placed on the chest of the deceased, according to ancient custom, when the Executioner ~~continued~~ proceeded with his bloody work; and wholly regardless of the fact that one of the other two children, who stood rooted as it were to the ground, was a girl. — (8) one by one their heads were disposed of as before by the Executioner.

A pause which now ensued threw

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Sri Wikkrama into the greatest possible rage; and, believing that the Executioner had not intended to decapitate the babe, cried out that — "not only shall he also die; but that his body shall be pounded in a mortar." A pestle and a rice Mortar were speedily brought to the spot; and it is indeed not surprising that even the obdurate heart of Jack Ketch failed him, and his legs faltered when he was commanded to approach the infant Punchi at the mother's breast. At length he did so; but it was 'with as much difficulty as if this worthy was walking on stilts'. The King perceived his nervousness; and the absence of that expedition and despatch which the intensity of his ungovernable passions desired, urged him to cry out, that the work should be proceeded with at once; and accordingly it was. 'The infant was plucked from its mother's breast, when the head was severed from its body, the milk which it had just drawn in ran out mingled with its blood.' (10)

The King was not yet satisfied! The pestle and mortar had not yet been applied for the

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purpose which they had been sent for! "Cause the mother herself to pound the flesh," vociferated the King! The order was communicated. The agonized mother hesitated, but the King was inexorable. In his extreme rage he trembled from head to foot. He declared he would punish all the headmen who showed any want of zeal in carrying out his orders, and even threatened to do what Tiberius had devised, when an inconvenience was felt under the old Roman law, which did not permit women being put to death until they were ripe for marriage. (11) This threat, even without the encouragement, which the lady had received from a friend of her husband was enough for her to decide the course of her action. For a moment she

> 'astonished stood, and blank, while horror chill
> Ran through her veins.'

Yet it was only for a moment. Fired with indignation at the foul threat, and more careful of high honor, than regardful of a mother's feelings, she was about to stir, when in

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the dreadful confusion of the moment one of the Executioners moved towards the lady upon some order which he had recewed. At his sight she was goaded to desperation. She, it would seem, Cared more for her honor than the meaningless act of touching with a pestle 'the corporeal clod' destined to its mother earth. Perhaps, a similar reflection overcame a mother's natural repugnance to the act, which the King in his mental callousness had ordered her to do. At all events we are certain that she displayed the most astonishing fortitude, when, in accents which concealed not her true feelings, she bade the executioner, Palayachcho — 'be gone gone, thou vile wretch! Let not thy vile person approach mine while, one single drop of life-blood courses in my veins. Sprung from that noble Sinha race, which never stoops to eat the mean herb of dishonor, I shall do the deed myself.' So saying she took up the pestle; but—what think ye Reader, she did? She did not lift it up — she did not pound the flesh of her own mangled infant, — but it fell!

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it fell down from her paralized hand!

Nevertheless, it was undaunted courage — keen and discreet appreciation of Honor — victory of sense over natural feelings! and all these high qualities were concentrated in one frail, but brave woman, worthy the name, and rare in the ranks of a bolder sex!

This indescribable scene of horror, it is said, was succeeded by a tempest, which as on the day that Elizabeth Gaunt was burnt alive, burst forth with great violence, leading the Kandians, like the oppressed English Puritans of 1685, to console themselves under the belief, that heaven was bearing awful testimony against the iniquity which afflicted (12) the country; and to fancy, as the poet has sung, that

> 'Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
> In pangs; and nature gave a second grain
> Sky lowr'd; and muttering thunder, some sad drops
> Wept at completing of this mortal sin.'

120B Even before this atmospherical disturbance Sri Wikrama abruptly left his place, from whence he

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had issued his bloody edicts. Not that the ardour with which he had feasted his eyes became subdued – not that the malignity of his hatred had subsided – not that the magnanimity of the noble lady had moved his obdurate heart, – but, the alacrity with which she complied with the foul order threw him to utter shame and confusion. Shame, and confusion, and perhaps 'the war of the elements' induced him to withdraw; but he still relented not, and relaxed not his bloody Sentence, which had still to be carried out against the noble lady and her relations.

They were therefore led to the usual place of execution in the centre of the Bogambara Veva, – a lake which now exists only in the memory of old men, and in the pages of History; and from whose bed has lately risen a graceful structure, – a dome resounding sweet with female voice, – alike ornamental of this city, and commemorative of that heroic woman, whose fraternity, whilst vending within it the staple productions of the country, shall during many

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generations to come remember her noble conduct. Upon a temporary platform built in the centre of the lake stood the three patrician ladies, their hands tied with strings to the ends of which were attached heavy stones sunk in the water. They had not been long in this attitude, each muttering something in preparation for death,— before the Executioner with a piece of square board fixed to a long pole "shoved" (13) each successively into the lake.

The consternation of the people was now very great. Their grief exceeded their horror at what they had now witnessed. They wept and sobbed aloud. Many dropped down faint, and overwhelmed with grief; and amongst them the old and venerable Disava Palipana, whom the king immediately afterwards dismissed from office "for showing such tender sensibility." Historians both Sinhalese and English have vied with each other in further descriptions of the effect which these executions had upon the people. Without accepting them literally, we may quote what Tolfrey records, "For two long days the entire

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city, with the exception of the tyrant's Court was one house of mourning; and so deep was the grief, that (it is said) not a fire was kindled, nor food dressed, — and a general fast was observed." (14)

Though the Sinhalese people were sincere in their manifestations of sympathy for this unfortunate lady and her little family, — and, though we believe that no Kandian who witnessed this tragedy thought of this period of terror without dread, and few described the scene without weeping," — we must however not omit to record a trait of their character. However just the Sinhalese may be in the selection of their favourites, they are not constant in their attachment. The feeling is transitory, and dies away with the person, or the circumstance to which it gives rise. No one amongst the Kandians cherished the memory of this ~~cherished~~ 12
heroic lady with "idolatrous fondness". No one amongst them exhibited that indignation which the horrible execution excited in their minds. If the maritime poet of a subsequent day found in the circumstances under which Ehelapole Kumarihami's execution took place, ample materials for a Drama,

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which is favourite of the maritime Sinhalese, – no one secured anything of hers as a relic worthy of preservation.' No 'fantastic devotion, to her cause' was exhibited, as by the English to that of the persecuted Caroline Brunswick. (15) The Kandians, though angry, were not, as the English were, "excited to such a
121B pitch of rage and indignation bordering upon rebellion." (16) Their anger was of that silent and non-demonstrative kind which distinguished the indignation exhibited by the English under like circumstances. For, at the execution of Ehelapole Kumarihami no "yells of rage arose from the bye-standers," as at the execution of Monmouth; and though the Executioner, greatly disconcerted at the stare of the proud patrician lady winced and reeled back, yet, he "flung" not "the knife with a curse;" nor did the people in the extacy of their indignation attempt to wreak their vengeance on the Executioner.

Section 37. ~~44~~ 43

122A The same apathy and indifference which

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characterised them socially, influenced the Kandians politically. It is therefore more imaginary than true, that "the Kandians were prepared at this time for a change of Government," (1) or that "the chiefs and people were ripe to revolt, and only waited the approach of a British force to throw off their allegiance." (2) Abundant evidence will be adduced to show that such was not the fact, although a few partizans of the ex-minister still desired a change.

That minister was now in Colombo. He had been introduced to General Brownrigg. He was provided with a residence in the suburbs by the English Government. "At his first interview with General Brownrigg," says Mr. Tolfrey, "he was received with the most distinguished kindness and respect, and was so affected with the novelty of his situation, and the unwonted kindness of a stranger, that regardless of the forms of introduction, he burst into tears. As soon as he was composed, the Governor soothed him with promises of favor and protection. The Adigar observed, that he looked to His Excellency as his father; that he

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had been deprived of all the natural ties of relationship, and trusted that the favor he solicited, of being allowed to call the Governor, and Mrs. Brownrigg his parents, would not be denied him." (3) Though Tolfrey has not stated it, we know on the authority of others who were present, that the Governor good naturedly assented to the proposal; and that Ehelapole was from that date, not only in frequent communication with Brownrigg but a constant visitor at the King's House at Mount Lavinia. It was during one of his early visits thither that the Governor accompanied Ehelapole to the sea shore, when for the first time he beheld the vast Profound; and it is said that 'the grand view of the expanded ocean which he enjoyed from the Mount affected him with feelings of wonder and delight.' (4) Doubtless, the sight was as novel, as it was grand. If the Buddhist minister, like Canute the Great, did not see in the waves which surrounded him the mighty hand of God, and acknowledge his creative power; yet, when he beheld how 'the wave behind impell'd the wave before,' he was able to drop a tear,

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probably being reminded of the vicissitudes of life to which he and his family had been subject; and reflecting how, as the Shakespere of the East (5) had sung,

'Life like wheel's revolving orb, turn'd round,
Now whirled in air, now dragged along the ground'.

'The unparalleled misfortunes of Ehelapole', says Philalethes, 'rendered him in a peculiar manner an object of sympathy to every feeling heart. The reception which he experienced on the part of the Governor, was such as was equally honorable to both parties. It was the respect and sensibility of a generous mind to a singular instance of the mutability of fortune, and of the extent of human suffering." (6) We should indeed be happy if such conduct was not open to a less creditable explanation. Unhappily, the facts which we have to record admit of a different construction. Ehelapole was an acknowledged traitor. He rebelled against the King, whose Prime Minister he had been; and at a time when naught could be alleged against

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the king's conduct. He called in the aid of a foreign power to help him in his undoubted treason; and he had deserted not only his country, but his family, who, according to the law of the land, the king held as hostages for his good conduct. All his "misfortunes" were therefore traceable to these causes. In the face of them he certainly needed a much stronger case to be made out, than 'the mutability of his fortune', and the sufferings of his family, to entitle him to sympathy, or confidence. Even if the generosity of a naturally gentle disposition might sympathize with such a person, 'Confidence', as remarked by Lord Chatham, 'was a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom.' It was consummate folly to place any dependence on him, as the sequel will show. "One," says the old prudential maxim of an Oriental sage, "should not form a friendship, or even acquaintance with an evil character;" and it compares such a character to "charcoal which, if hot, burns; if cold blackens the hand."[4] But, General Brownrigg wrinced to Chalepole as

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much regard, as he professed great attachment to the Governor. Both were insincere. They were both guided by the same considerations of policy, – to make each the tool of the other. They both had one common object to gain, – to depose Sri Wikrama, and rise into power. Beyond this their feelings and objects were as much opposed and distinct as the two sides of a brick: Ehelapole contemplated his own elevation to the throne, whilst Brownrigg designed to add it to England's vast empire in the East. The object of one was to preserve the national government; that of the other entirely to destroy it. (8)

Ehelapole had not been many weeks in Colombo, before he knew for certainty that General Brownrigg contemplated the invasion of Kandy. The Correspondence which took place between a few Chiefs of his party and Ehelapole apprized the English government, encouraged him to action, even the more than the important information which he had obtained from the

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ex-adigar.(9) So great was the conviction in the General's mind that the Chiefs would at once abandon the King, that great efforts were made to induce Molligoda to desert his Master and Sovereign, and to join the British Government (10).

Though all the measures to win over Molligoda from his allegiance to the King had signally failed, Ehelapola's plans and information indicated undoubted success in an expedition against Kandy. The people, though they had no opinion on state affairs were not quite pleased with Sri Wikrama's exhibitions of
123A severity. The majority of Chiefs were disaffected. Large numbers of Malays in the King's army had gone over to the English. The resources of the country were weak, and had been greatly impoverished by the wholesale divastations of the previous wars. The King himself was a prey to all the maladies which a distempered mind was subject. When, with these favourable circumstances on one side, the Government positively learnt, on the other, a facile path for reaching Kandy by routes which had been previously considered dangerous and inaccessible,—hostile operations were

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at once resolved upon; but were not commenced until a plausible pretext offered itself to declare war. That pretext was soon furnished, and by whom the reader will perceive when we shall have stated all the facts.

In the month of November 1814, as the news of the conclusion of Peace in Europe reached Ceylon, and General Brownrigg was celebrating that event by a grand dinner, (11) intelligence was received in Colombo, that ten persons (11a) of the maritime provinces, who had carried some cloth for sale to Kandy, had been unjustly seized by the Kandian King, and had been punished; ~~and had been punished~~, and that seven of them had consequently died soon after. (12)

From this period General Brownrigg made the most active preparations for war. His Excellency applied for a reinforcement of troops from the Madras Presidency; and, even before their arrival the first division of troops for service in the field was organized, and placed under the command of Major Hook. The Governor himself superintended the equipment of his division with unremitting assiduity. (13)

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On the ninth of December 1814, Major Hook ~~was~~ with his division of the army, marched for Hanwella, Ehelapole being the leader, guide, and the ally of the British forces. Here, it would seem, there was considerable delay. It might have been in expectation of the Indian troops, or until the arrival of several divisions from Galle and Trincomale. It might also have been with a view of obtaining a further act of aggression as an excuse for hostilities, which D'Oyle and Ehelapole spared no endeavours to provoke. But it was certainly not with the object of calling Sri Wikrama for an explanation, or to make the necessary proclamations of war. For, no such explanation was sought, and no proclamation of war had been issued, except as we shall hereafter explain. On the contrary, every effort was made on the part of the English authorities to encourge the disaffected in the Kandian provinces, and to promote hostilities against the Kandian government.

Though there was a great precipitancy

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in starting from Colombo, the troops were delayed fully one month in Hanwella; and after all no reinforcements arrived from India, and despatches from the Governor of Madras, informing the recall of the corps intended for service in Ceylon, on account of the pressure of political affairs on the peninsula 1238
of India. Nor were the difficulties of this hurried expedition confined to the paucity of troops. Positively the authorities found it impossible to obtain the necessary labour to conduct bullocks, carts, doolies, provisions, etc. Many people on hearing that the lower orders were compelled to accompany the troops in the character of coolies, deserted their homes; and those who yielded to the heavy pressure put on them by means of the horrid old law of "compulsory labour," soon made their escape, and otherwise eluded the pursuit of Government Officers. In addition to these difficulties the Government found that, hostilities with the Kandians hitherto having generally terminated very unfavourably for the English, this expedition

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was not popular in the army, or among other classes of the inhabitants. Yet, true to their instincts, 'rash war, and perhaps perilous battle being their delight;' and notwithstanding such contre temps, an army consisting of eight divisions, left Hanwella, and reached Sitávaka, the boundary of the Kandian kingdom, on the ninth of January 1815. In the mean time Ehelapole had not been quiet. He procured a small force amongst his adherents in the Three Korles to get up a 'pretext' for the conduct of the British in having embarked on this war. He procured that party to enter into a hostile encounter with a few loyalists, who pursued the adherents of Ehelapole across the Kandian boundary within sight of Major Hook's camp at the river. The number who crossed the river in pursuit of the belligerents of the Three Korles "did not exceed ten or twelve", and they immediately retraced their steps into their own country. (4) It would also seem that on this day, a little hut thatched with Iluk, a kind of rushes, was

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set on fire.

A very short time after this event, Major Hook received official orders to commence hostilities. Preparations for that purpose were immediately made. The army crossed the river, and entered Ruanwella. General Brownrigg himself joined the forces on the 12th of January 1815. The proclamation was not published till the 13th, two days after hostile operations had commenced; (15) and it served as a notice to some people of Ruanwella, and others in the maritime provinces.

As a public war, a war of one nation against another a formal declaration of hostilities was considered necessary, by the ancient laws of both Europe and Asia. If, however, the usage of the former at this period was restricted to a simple Manifesto within the territory of the state declaring war, (16) still it must not be forgotten that all information was carefully withheld from the party in whose power it was to make ample reparation for any supposed wrongs, and who was made responsible for involving his country in war. Though this absence of notice may not affect the legality of the proceeding, we still fail not to perceive

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its importance when we come to consider the bona fides of the entire transaction in the declaration, which ran as follows:-

PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency the Governor.

In Council

His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-chief of the British settlements in the Island of Ceylon could not hear with indifference the prayers of the inhabitants of five extensive provinces, constituting more than one half of the Kandyan kingdom, who, with one unanimous voice raised against the tyranny and oppression of their ruler, taking up arms in defence of their lives, or flying from his power, implored the protection of the British Government, whilst the most convincing circumstances indicated corresponding sentiments, from the same cause, in other provinces less within the reach of direct communication.

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2 Neither could his Excellency contemplate, without the liveliest emotions of indignation and resentment, the atrocious barbarity recently perpetrated in Kandy upon ten innocent subjects of the British government — seven of whom instantly died of their sufferings, and three miserable victims were

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sent in defiance, with their mutilated limbs, across the limits to relate the distressing tale, and exhibit the horrid spectacles to the eyes of an insulted government, and an indignant people in the capital of the British settlements.

3. In the perpetrator of these acts, His Excellency convincingly recognises the true author of that implacable animosity which has constantly been opposed to every approach of friendly intercourse so often attempted on the part of his Majesty's government.

4. No shadow of doubt now remains that the rejection of all relations of amity originated and continues with the king alone, and that the people are not otherwise parties to such a policy, than as they are compelled to become so by a coercion alike hostile to the British interests, and intolerable to themselves.

5. To him and his advisers is imputable the impossibility, proved by repeated trials, of terminating, by any just or defined conditions, a state of relations unsettled and precarious beyond all precedent — which bears no essential character of a peace, nor has any title to that appellation — which yields no solid tranquility or safe intercourse, but perpetuates the alarms of war without its remedies — and which to continue any longer after a public unequivocal act of hostility, would be to sanction injury and encourage insult.

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6. By the irresistible influence of these feelings and considerations, his Excellency had become convinced of the unavoidable necessity of resolving to carry his Majesty's arms into the Kandyan country. In this, however, he has been anticipated by the irruption of an armed Kandyan force into the British territory; who having pursued the fugitive
124B inhabitants across the boundary river of Sitawaka, fired
124B upon the from the opposite bank, and, finally, crossing that river in arms into the Hewagam Kole, proceeded to commit depredation on His majesty's subjects.

7. This measure, therefore, supersedes every deliberative consideration, and leaves no choice but that of repelling the hostile forces from the British frontier.

8. But it is not against the Kandyan nation that the arms of his Majesty are directed; his Excellency proclaims hostility against that tyrannical power alone, which has provoked, by aggravated outrages and indignities, the just resentment of the British nation, which has cut off the most noble and ancient families in his kingdom, deluged the blood of his subjects, and, by the violation of every religious and moral law ~~law~~, become an object of abhorrence to mankind.

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9. For securing the permanent ~~and~~ tranquility of these settlements, and in vindication of the honour of the British name; for the deliverance of the Kandyan people from their oppressions; in fine for the subversion of that Malabar dominion, which, during three generations, has tyrannized over the country, his Excellency has resolved to employ the powerful resources placed at his disposal.

10. His Excellency hereby profers to every individual of the Kandyan nation the benign protection of the British government; exhorts them to remain without fear in their dwellings, to regard the armed who pass through their villages as protectors and friends, and to co-operate with them for the accomplishment of these beneficial objects.

11. In their march through the country, the most rigorous discipline will be observed by the British troops; and peacable inhabitants will be protected from all injury in their persons and property, and payment will be scrupulously ~~to~~ made for every article of provisions which they furnish. Their religion shall be held sacred, and their temples respected. The power of His Majesty's arms will be

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exerted only against those who, deserting the cause of their country, oppose the progress of his Majesty's troops, and of their own countrymen united in arms for their deliverance.

12. Lastly, His Excellency promises, in the name of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, to the chiefs, the continuance of their respective ranks and dignities; to the people, relief from all arbitrary severities and oppressions; and to all classes, the inviolate maintenance of their religion, and the preservation of their ancient laws and institutions with the extension of the blessings resulting from the establishment of justice, security and peace which are enjoyed by the most favoured nations living under the safeguard of the British Crown.

By order of the Council,

(Signed) JAMES GAY,

Sec. to Council.

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44 ~~45~~ ?Comments on Proclamation of 12/13 Jan. 1815 author's divisions 1 and 2

Section 38 ?Proclamation of 12/13 Jan 1815 analysed. 125A

This is an important document. But, like the facts stated in the preamble of a statute, the allegations contained in it are not conclusive. Nor are they entitled to any attention, except so far as they are borne out by evidence, — evidence which we deem necessary for the proof of any historical fact.

i. The first reason stated in this Manifesto is, that an application had been made by the Kandians, craving the protection of the British government against the tyranny and oppression of their Ruler. This application is stated an entreaty of five Kandian provinces, constituting more than one half of the Kandian population, and made with 'one unanimous voice.' That an earnest ~~an earnest~~ application was made by Ehelapole we have already recorded; and that he did so 'for himself, and on behalf of the Kandians,' was also true. But his representation, as well as his authority to make the application was no more correct, or

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true than that of the three tailors of Tooley street, who represented the public of England.' But the reader must not be led away, by even this qualified admission, with the belief that Ehelapole, or any one else intended to cede the Kandian territories absolutely to the English government. All that he desired was, — what his perfidious uncle had exactly intended, — to remove Sri Wikrama; and to have himself raised to the Throne, surrendering to the British government certain privileges for this assistance which might be rendered to effectuate his object. Irrefragable evidence of this will follow hereafter. In the meantime we may return to the author and the nature of the application. Except through Ehelapole the Kandians had no communication with General Brownrigg; and those who did so communicate were a few relations of the ex-minister. The real number of Kandians who were with Ehelapole in Colombo, were 'twenty.' (1) So that the actual number 'who

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fled from Sri Wikrama's power', and 'imploed the protection of the British Government' may be restricted to that 'number.' It is indeed probable that Ehelapole mentioned to the Governor that the people of "five provinces," over which he had control, and who at one time he believed would stand by him, were disaffected. But the reader need not be reminded of the reaction that took place in their feelings and affections at the very moment Ehelapole had been supplanted by Molligoda. That mind must be very obtuse indeed which did not perceive, that, with such unanimity as the Manifesto represents, there was no necessity for an appeal to the British government for help. The Kandians had not yet forgotten the blackest desolation of 1803, which left behind it a trail of blood and tears. The memory of their burnt villages, scorched fields, and depopulated hamlets was still fresh in their minds. Their evil effects still endured along with the hate which a contemplation of them had produced. The alleged 'unanimity' of the

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people is moreover disproved by a variety of circumstances, among which we may mention the very fact stated in §5 of the Manifesto, — 'the irruption of an armed Kandian force into British territory' referring to the civil war of this period, between the Ehelapolites and the loyalists. Though, as we shall hereafter shew, this was an act hostile to the English government, yet it sufficiently proves ~~of~~ the absence of that anxiety for a change of government, which the Article under notice would have us believe.

Such being the reliable facts as regards this 'application' of the 'five provinces,' 'the most convincing circumstances which,' it is stated, 'indicated a corresponding sentiment in other provinces, not within the reach of communication,' may be passed over in silence. The real sentiments, too, of the people and of the chiefs will soon transpire in the course of these notes. In the meantime we shall proceed to the next reason for hostile operations.

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ii. 'The atrocious barbarity upon ten innocent pedlars, subjects of the British government, seven of whom died of their sufferings, and the remainder were sent down to Colombo to insult the English Government.'

There was no evidence before General Brownrigg in support of the statement, that the ten unhappy men were "innocent pedlars." On the contrary, abundant came to light soon afterwards to prove that they were not. Sri Wikrama stated the fact, that they 'had come as spies, and suffered as such; that there was sufficient evidence to prove that they intended harm, and that they were consequently punished, the Kandian law being clear on the subject.' (2) The English Governor himself subsequently learnt, that it had been 'the general opinion of the Kandians, that they were spies, and that such opinion, in addition to the positive evidence which the king had, was fortified by the fact, that Ehelapole, the ally of the English Government was actively exciting rebellion against the king.

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"There was some appearance of probability, says Sawers, that the men were in reality agents of Ehelapole, and employed with the sanction of the local government." (3)

It is indeed often impossible to obtain direct evidence of conspiracies. They are hatched in the dark; and, when they take place, as in this instance, in the interest of a Government, the facts do not come to light until long afterwards and after nearly all the persons directly concerned in the plots have passed away with the objects for which such conspiracies were organized. Accordingly, it was only in after times that it was broadly stated in Colombo by some of those who had known the fact, "that the ten pedlars had been sent by Ehelapole, fully knowing the consequences of such an act." The imprecations of the relatives of the mutilated "pedlars" against the Adigar, had a very great significance; and pointed him out as the cause of their misfortune, and as the author of their mission into the Three Korles. The tradition is very general

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as to Ehelapolas being the instigator of that movement; and the first person in Colombo, from whom we inquired, if he had known the reason why the ~~pedlars~~ so called pedlars had been mutilated, asked us in return to know, which set of pedlars we meant for there were two; — (4) and that inquiry, couched in the words, "Do you mean the ten men whom Ehelapole Mahanilame sent up as spies?" sufficiently gave us the explanation which we desired.

But supposing there was no evidence of Ehelapole's complicity before Brownrigg there was also nothing to justify the statement that the men were "innocent." On the contrary they were regularly tried and convicted before two Chiefs. If the evidence was false, the verdict was nevertheless binding, and entitled to respect. There was nought in that verdict to suspect the unbending equity required of an impartial and independent Judge. If the charge was unfounded, the positive evidence of men who detailed circumstantially certain 'overt acts' of the prisoners, supported as that evidence ~~of~~ was by the probabilities of the case, must exonerate the Judges from all moral turpitude, and the Sinhalese Government

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from all blame. In the circumstances of this period, and the conduct of the English government, to which we have already adverted, will the reader have ample evidence to arrive at a right conclusion. The people of the maritime provinces, who heard [of ED] the events at Kandy. We have already alluded to the uneasiness of even the coolies who were required to accompany a British force. Many native headmen had positively refused to do so. It was with some difficulty that one or two were induced to accompany the forces. It is then incredible that, amidst the political troubles of the times, when even those whom the British Government employed to carry provisions dreaded the consequences of the expedition, — (5) ten Sinhalese men of Mahara, in the Sina Korle, would have voluntarily ventured to enter into the Three Korles: and it is still more incredible that they do so for purposes of trade.

No reflecting mind can any longer be free from the conviction, which circumstances as we have detailed, force upon it, — that Ehelapola was the author, or instigator of this transaction.

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But it is said that the punishment on the convicts involved an act of "atrocious barbarity." That is, however, a matter of opinion, Tot homines tot sententiæ. Different nations had different modes of punishment. Even in modern times, when certain crimes are on the increase, punishments are severer than at other times. Sheep stealing was some time ago punished capitally in England; and coffee-stealing is ~~visited~~ nowadays ~~is~~ visited in Ceylon with a punishment that is rarely awarded in cases of homicide. Where a knife has been used in assault cases, some Judges deem it necessary to use the cat-of-nine-tails; whilst in some cases, the use of firearms renders the culprit only liable to simple imprisonment, or a fine. The Minutes of our Courts reveal an incongruity in punishments which we can not reconcile.

Now the reader is aware of the great necessity which existed during the period under notice for severely punishing rebels, and those who in any way abetted them. 'Mutilation' or 'dismemberment' had been a punishment prescribed for such offences from antiquity. Not to mention Kings of the Malabar dynasty, ancient Sinhalese Kings inflicted

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the same punishments. The case of Mogalána, who on the deposition of his parricidal brother ~~Mogallána~~ Kassapa, A.D. 495, cut off the ears and noses of the late King's Ministers, before driving them into exile, (6) is one of the instances. When Sri Wikrama was spoken to on the subject, (7) he cited his authority from the Primeval Law, which guided the conduct of all Eastern Potentates,— "Punishment governs all mankind. Punishment alone preserves them. Punishment wakes while their guards are asleep." "The wise consider punishments as the perfection of justice." (8) The same authority in cap. viii. § 125. authorizes dismemberment. Since we may hereafter return to the subject, it is here unnecessary to multiply examples, or to travel over other parts of the world in search of farther precedents. Suffice it to say that "mutilation" was known as a punishment not only to Africans and Asiatics, but to Europeans. Englishmen need not be told that disturbances in a Court of Justice ~~in England~~ were formerly punished in England by chopping off the delinquent's right hand. We have the

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authority of Justice Blackstone for 'dismemberment' having been a punishment prescribed by the laws of Britons.

It is thus simply idle to talk of the punishment awarded to the ten spies, as 'a daring instance of unprovoked and atrocious barbarity.' (9) O.R.

iii. The next ground on which the hostilities of 1815 are justified, – is stated to be 'the implacable animosity' of Sri Wikrama to the English Government, as demonstrated by his constant ~~animosity~~ opposition to every approach of friendly intercourse so often attempted on the part of the English Government.'

This statement, if well-founded, was probably a grievance of which Englishmen might, in their ardent love of territory, complain, 'whose position as masters of the maritime provinces, was one of extreme weakness, extending for eight hundred miles in a narrow belt all round the circumference of the island,' (10) whilst the interior was held by a neutral Power. But the real grievance and inconvenience of such a situation were those of the Kandians who were hemmed in on all sides by a foreign nation, (11) that preserved "a sullen peace",

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as Sir Emerson Tennent characteriges the attitude of the English government for ten years preceding "the Conquest." In these relations it was doubtless a matter for regret that the two states had been for that long period in a state of quiescence. But, Englishmen had no more right to complain of this state of things than Sinhalesemen have to ~~complain~~ quarrel with them for that "systematic exclusion of the natives generally from European association," of which Sir Emerson Tennent deplored when giving his evidence before the House of Commons in 1850. (12) 127A
Clearly this was not a justifiable cause for declaring war.

Let us however examine how far Brownrigg was correct in his facts. During the ten years last mentioned, none were more to blame for this state of things, than the English themselves. Cordiner says that soon after the illness of the king in 1805 "indirect advances were made by the Kandians for a tacit cessation of hostilities, which has been acted upon ever since;" (13) and which, adds Philalethes, "was in unison with the

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wishes of the British government." (14). Though the Kandians deny that these overtures originated from them, we may yet, if true, adduce that circumstance as a proof against "the implacable animosity" stated in §3. The real fact was that during this period, as remarked by Davy, "there was a mutual suspension of hostilities, and a mutual and gloomy forbearance on either side" (15) "As regards the British and Kandians," says Forbes, this was a long season of distrust and inactivity." (16) The reason for this is explained by the same writer: "From the time that we commenced war with the Kandians, our troops were grievously harassed and uselessly sacrificed. We neither conciliated our own subjects, nor gained respect from our enemies. Our negotiations were despicable, and our policy cruel and unsuccessful." And yet, it is alleged as a ground for the commencement of hostilities in 1815, that Sri Wikrama was 'opposed to every approach of friendly intercourse' with the ~~part~~ English.

Having thus disposed of the ten years

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immediately preceding this Manifesto, we may now briefly review the proceedings between 1796 and 1805, to see if Brownrigg had any authority for his statements in Article three. This we are able to do in the words of Sir Emerson Tennent, who with the invaluable help of authentic official documents in the British Museum has given us the details of the proceedings of this period, and also the secret springs of North's action. He says:

"Although the late King (Rajadi) had died without ratifying the treaty negotiated in 1796, the most amicable relations subsisted between his successor, (Sri Wikrama) and the English; and Mr. North was preparing to do honor to the new Sovereign by an embassy of unusual magnificence, when communications of a most confidential nature were opened with him by the Adigar." We have referred to them all, and shown how from this period North, whilst he disclaimed participation in projects to assassinate the King," discerned in

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the designs of the Adigar an opportunity for establishing a military Protectorate in Kandy;" and how that nobleman "lent himself to intrigues inconsistent with the dignity and honor of his high office." "It is impossible, adds Sir Emerson, to read without pain the letters which Mr. North communicates confidentially the progress of this discreditable intrigue." It appears clearly from that correspondence 127B that the British force, which he declared was simply to accompany an Embassy for the sake of show and pageantry, was in point of fact, to 'effectuate the objects of the proposed treaty, and to subdue by its own strength any opposition which it might experience." This view, we suppose, was the "approach of friendly intercourse" which, it is said, "was frequently attempted on the part of His Majesty's Government." Although, again, North expressed great solicitude for the king's safety, his heartless and flippant language to the Earl of Mornington was, "I shall never conspire to take Sri Wickrama's dignity away; but if he loses it I shall give myself as little concern as when he usurped it." "It is

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obvious," says Sir Emerson Tennent, "the sentiments thus privately expressed to the Marquis of Wellesley are at variance with the simultaneous declarations of Mr. North to the Adigar, as stated on his authority by Lord Valentia." (17)

Still, we are told by Brownrigg, that such conduct on the part of the English Government was an attempt to establish "friendly intercourse;" and that all such attempts had been "constantly opposed." Brownrigg is also at fault in his other facts. The King never opposed these treacherous attempts, for the simple reason that there had been none of the kind to his knowledge, until the Embessy of Macdowal. That diplomatic movement was a manœuvre, as acknowledged by North himself in the communication of his "discreditable intrigues" to Lord Wellesley. We have seen how even then the King, in his ignorance of the real state of things, desired to cultivate friendship with the English. He treated North's ambassador, better and more courteously than his predecessors had done other diplomatic

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bodies. He even "waived his prerogative," as Percival tells us, on the ground that "the General came from his brother, the King of Great Britain, whose great power and strength he acknowledged to be far above the Dutch, or the East-India Company." (18) The particular Article by which an annual Embassy to each Court was required, was put in at the King's special desire. Of course the negotiations for a Treaty fell through, not from any want of a desire to cultivate terms of friendship, but, simply because the Government of North, whilst aiming at the utter annihilation of the Kandian kingdom, refused to the Kandians those advantages which even his predecessors had agreed to grant.

The conduct of the English Government, soon after the Embassy of Macdowal was unmistakeably of a hostile character. All the facts which we have carefully and faithfully recorded, can leave no doubt in any candid mind, that it was utterly impossible for Sri Wikrama, however willing, with a foe as treacherous and insincere as North proved himself to be. Yet, all the hostilities which ensued, were not provoked by Sri

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Wikrama, however willing, to live on peacable terms with a foe as treacherous and insincere as North proved himself to be. Yet, all the hostilities which ensued, were not provoked by Sri Wikrama, but by North's intriguing ally. The plunder of the Putlam merchants, was "the sufficient aggression" which, as Sir Emerson calls it, the Adigar himself had so long meditated; (19) and the "Davie massacre" was solely at the instance of that minister.

128A

When the English had been foiled in their many attempts both by intrigue, and an appeal to arms to take Kandy, North confined for two long years his operations to the chastisement of the Sinhalese districts which opposed his measures: and he laid waste the outlying districts of Kandy, burned the villages and temples, and destroyed the harvests and fruit trees. (20) Still Sri Wikrama was not roused except once; nor did he exhibit a disclination to forget and forgive. Doubtless he rejected with indignation the

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proposal of the Buddhist priest, whom the English Government employed, that Sri Wickrama should ask North's "pardon", as a satisfaction for the Davie massacre. (21) He did so very properly for the reasons which we have already given; but he did not thereby oppose any attempts of the English Government to live on amicable terms. On the contrary he expressed his perfect willingness for peace: and, though he was not the first to make any direct, or "indirect advances" for peace, as stated by Cordiner; yet when he did find that such was the undoubted desire of the English Government, he yielded to it by his silence; and never once exhibited the slightest inclination to depart from such a 'tacit understanding' until Ehelepole, like his perfidious uncle furnished to the English Government "the sufficient aggression", by the introduction of ten spies into Three Korles, the province which had been under his government.

Here we may allude to a statement in Bennett's Ceylon, that 'an explanation was immediately demanded from the Court of Kandy.' This is neither

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confirmed by tradition, nor by Davy or Marshall, the historians of the period; nor by the Manifesto, which has not glossed over any fact that could be urged against Sri Wikrama: and it is disproved by the very facts which Mr. Bennett himself records. For, he adds, that without awaiting the result, the inhabitants of the British territories were cautioned not to enter the dominions of the Kandian despot; and that at the same time," the Proclamation under notice was issued. (22) Sri Wikrama himself has subsequently complained of this neglect. (22a)

Thus it is more than doubtful that any person entered Kandy, even for the explanation said to have been "demanded." It is also clear that the circumstance, even if founded on fact, did not justify the commencement of hostilities.

4X5 Section 39. Further Analysis of Browrigg's Proclamation

iii[a] Passing over Arts. 4th and 5th, which contain simply an asseveration of the facts already stated in the previous articles, – "the unsettled ~~state~~ and precarious state of relations"

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between the Kandians and the English — the Manifesto proceeds in Art. 6 to state the unavoidable necessity for resorting to arms; and alleges as a further act of aggression on the part of Sri Wikrama, "the irruption of an armed Kandyan force into the British territory."

This clearly has reference to "the loyalists," who were posted on a point of land at the confluence of the Kalani Ganga and the Maha Oya. They were there to attack the Ehelapolites, but not to fight the English. That they had a hostile rencontre with the adherents of Ehelapole is true enough. That in the engagement on the tenth of January, ten or twelve individuals pursued the insurgents across the boundary river is also true. But, as remarked by Marshall, who was present, "the irruption of the Kandyan people into our territory had, it may be presumed, very little influence in occasioning the war — all the requisite preparations having been made long before it took place. Besides, the irruption in question was obviously so unpremeditated and accidental, and really of so contemptible a character, that it deserved no consideration. Major Hook, who saw

O.N.

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the king's people wade the river after the fugitives did not think it necessary to move a single man to repulse them." (1)

If, therefore, this was not an hostile act against the English, neither the irruption into British territory of ten or twelve men, who in hot pursuit of their own countrymen, crossed the boundary line, nor the firing of a few jingals at the fugitives, could render this an act of aggression. The Art. under notice further states that this mighty armed Kandian force of ten or twelve proceeded to commit depredations on English subjects. This is as erroneous as it is exaggerated, for the only "depredation," if any, was the burning of an Iluk-thatched hut; and Marshal, an eye-witness, says that it was not only "quite accidental," but that the dozen who pursued the fugitives within sight of Major Hook's camp, immediately retraced their steps into their own country. (2)

Such are the facts, which the Manifesto in Art. 7, declares, "superseded every deliberative consideration and left no choice of repelling the

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hostile force."

iv. On proceeding to Art. 8, we find a declaration that the arms of His Britannic Majesty were not directed against the Kandians, but against Sri Wikrama, whose 'aggravated outrages and indignities had provoked the just indignation of the British nation.' It then proceeds to state these outrages; and they are the destruction of the most ancient families in the kingdom; the deluging the land with the blood of ~~the~~ Kandians, and the violation of every religious and moral law, so that he became an object of abhorence to mankind. In other words, 'Tyranny and oppression' are stated as the cause of this war; or in the words of a writer in the Edinburg Review (2a) "Sri Wikrama was to be dethroned for misgovernment, cashiered for offences committed against his subjects, called to account for his actions, and punished for abuse of power."

Opinions are not quite agreed as to the acts complained of having been a justification for hostilities on the part of a neighbouring state.

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Milton, who in a long article laboured to prove this right, in the abstract, has only succeeded in shewing that it was a right on the part of the people, in failure of the duty which existed in the Sovereign. The whole of his argument is based upon the relations which exist between a king and his subjects; and the right of the latter to depose the former, on failure of his duty. (3) Such action, though opposed to the jurisprudence of Europe, (4) and our own notions of justice, 129A can only be defended upon the principles on which Monarchical Government was established in the East. Those principles too are based upon the relative duties of the King and his subjects. (5) There is however no such relationship between one state and another.

In considering this question it is difficult to separate a king from his people. If we do so, the right of deposing a king must fall upon a different principle. In viewing therefore the "tyranny" of Sri Wikrama, which alone affected his people, we must consider the right of one State

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to interfere with the actions of another. Though ancient writers may be quoted in support of the affirmative side of this proposition; others take a negative view of the question, and hold, that to render a war just on the ground of punishing tyranny, either 'he who undertakes the war must be injured in himself, or his state; or 'he must have jurisdiction over the persons against whom the war is made.'(6) This appears to be consonant with reason; and Vattel says, 'a Nation is the mistress of her own actions, so long as they do not affect the rights of other nations.' Sic utere tuo ut alienam non ledas. 'If she makes an ill use of her liberty,' adds the same writer, 'she is guilty of a breach of duty, but other nations are bound to acquiesce in her conduct, since they have no right to dictate to her.' Even where some writers have attempted to stretch the law, and to give one power a jurisdiction over another, they have insisted upon 'the existence of a cause which affected the safety of the human race, and, consequently, of the state which desired to exact punishment.' Now of the acts of Sri Wickrama

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which we have more closely reviewed elsewhere, it cannot by any ingenuity of reasoning be alleged, — for, as observed by Grotius, such a case would scarcely happen, — that they affected the neighbouring state, much less than the human race.

We have already reviewed the case of the ten pedlars; and that did not legally affect the English Government, any more than the case of an Italian or a Frenchman, who committed a crime on English soil, and was punished by an English tribunal, would justly affect the state to which the malefactor belonged. Again the ancients, such as Hercules, who 'are extolled for having freed the earth of tyrants,' are so held up to esteem, as Seneca says, because "they passed over, not with an ambitous design of gaining them for themselves, but for the sake of vindicating the cause of the oppressed." If therefore the Kandyan war of 1815 was undertaken with such a laudable object; or, as the Manifesto led Ehelapole and others to believe, 'it was not directed against the Kandyan people, but against Sri Wickrama'; and that it was to resent the injuries of his own people; we might pass over this act of great mercy, and disinterested generosity in silence. But,

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when we find that, though clothed in ambiguous terms, the intention was not such as it was stated, we must give our assent to the shrewd of opinion of Mithridates, who said of the Romans, Quippe non delicta Regum illos, etc. 'It was not the crimes of Princes, but their power and majesty that they persecuted.' (8) Grotius sums up the entire subject in the following words: 'Lastly, this must be added, which I shall mention once for all, that these wars which are undertaken for the exacting of punishment, are suspected to be unjust, unless the crimes are "very heinous and manifest" ~~have yet to be noticed. They are perhaps those which~~ or there be at the same time a concurence of some other cause." (9) We have disposed of the 'concurrent causes;' and those which may be alleged to be "very heinous and manifest" have yet to be noticed. They are perhaps those which are stated to have been 'abhorent to mankind.' Mankind is as large an expression as 'the human race', and what may be abhorent to us, or to one nation, may not be so to others. Yet, admitting Sri Wikrama's acts, like those of some English Princes were so, they must not only be 'manifest crimes,' but according to our authority, they must disclose an enmity to the whole nation. Now, it is pretty clear that Sri

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Wikrama had no enmity against the Kandians. He did not desire their utter destruction with a view to colonize his kingdom with Malabars. He did not, like Caligula, 'wish the whole people had but one head, so that he might dispatch them at one stroke.' Nor did his deeds shew "a manifest tendency that way." 'His quarrels,' says Marshall, 'were with the Chiefs and the Chiefs alone.' 'He was unpopular among the chiefs, but not among the middle and lower classes of his subjects.' (10) He certainly executed several chiefs of "ancient families." So did many a European Prince, especially one between whom and Sri Wikrama there was a resemblance as stated by an English historian. (ante p. 186 D) "A single suspicion in the dark bosom of Henry the seventh, a single cloud of wayward humour in his son, would have been sufficient to send the proudest peer of England to the dungeon and the scaffold." (11) But such conduct, however, did not furnish a just ground to declare war, against Sri Wickrama, as it did not against Henry the Eighth. It is said that the former "deluged the country with blood." The most pettifogging lawyer in our Courts, would scarcely venture to state the case of his client in such extravagant language, or with

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such hyperbolical energy', as that for which this Manifesto is greatly distinguished.

Severity or leniency in punishment is a relative term. It is to be judged of according to the notions or usages of a people — their sentiments, their tastes, inclination, education, or condition of enlightenment. If not for these causes punishment can have no grades, nor the word a qualification. It would continue the same all over the world; and cease to effectuate the object for which it is designed. If however one thing is more clear than another, it is, that Englishmen had no right to comment severely on the barbarity of Sri Wikrama's punishments; or on such a ground, to take up arms against Sri Wikrama. They cannot easily forget the bloody deeds of a Jeffries during one solitary assize, and under the inspiration of James the Second. The number that fell victim to his most fearful vengeance (12) far exceeded the number that were ever killed by Sri Wikrama. If the just decrees of Sri Wikrama were followed by severe tortures, to the reflecting mind they are less destitute of that bitterness, than is seen in 'the striking instances of sanguinary injustice' which cast a gloom over the lives of some of England's monarchs. If, like the fierce temper of Henry the Eighth, after the fall of Wolsey, that

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of Sri Wikrama, after the desertion of his prime minister 'demanded more constant supplies of blood,' the victims of revenge who unjustly suffered in the scaffolds of Henry the Eighth are more numerous than those who fell to the fury of the Sinhalese King in the worst period of his reign. (13) In the trials which followed the rebellion of Saffragam, there was no indecent haste, no culpable neglect of judicial forms, no undue pressure to bring about a forgone conclusion, or a predetermined result, as was the case, in many instances, during the government of Henry the Eighth. The constitutional Historian of Ceylon can not produce one tithe of the violation of ancient laws and usages which disgraced the Star Chamber of England.

Pilimatalawe was not refused, as was Seymour, a hearing in his defence. Even Ehelapola was sent for to stand his trial, and make his defence. We have the assurance of an eye witness that the trial of the former lasted three days. He was, unlike Somerset, confronted with his witnesses. He was not convicted, as the Duke was, upon evidence that was legally insufficient; nor was his conviction based, as in numerous English cases for High Treason, upon the evidence of one man, or the private deposition of a perjured and suborned witness. (14) 'The impression left on my mind,' said the late Diwanilame of Kandy,

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as to the views of the King in subjecting Pilimmatalawe to a protracted trial, is, that the King wished to be thoroughly satisfied of the Minister's guilt.' The 'impression' of our informant is perfectly consistent with the whole tenor of Sri Wikrama's conduct to his old benefactor, and his subsequent foe.

It is also important to notice that no torture before the trial ever disgraced the conduct of Sri Wikrama, whilst many similar acts for extracting evidence distinguished the odious reign of the English Mary.

The gravamen however of the charge against Sri Wikrama — that indeed which does not distinguish his conduct from that of Nearchus who pounded Zeno in a mortar (144) is that he mangled the corpses of the dead. Though an act of Sri Wikrama might have been agonizing to the feelings of a mother, one solitary individual; the conduct of James the second in 1685 was heartrending to thousands in a more civilized country, where, as Macaulay describes, "At every spot where two roads met, on every market place, on the green of every large village which had furnished Monmouth with soldiers, ironed corpses clattered in the wind, or heads or quarters stuck on poles, poisoned the air, and made the traveller sick with horror. In many parishes the peasantry could not

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assemble in the house of God without seeing the ghastly face of a neighbour grinning at them over the porch.' (15)

Upon a careful consideration of the circumstances connected with the execution, all that could be urged against Sri Wikrama was, that shortly before his fall, he brought many people to account, – people whose transgressions had been for a long time screened by his perfidious minister; and that he punished the family of an avowed traitor, who were deemed by the usages of his country, as 'pledges for the loyalty of their chief.' The punishment was indeed one that was legally sanctioned in such cases. Undoubtedly, after life had been extinct in the body of the offenders, the mockery of 'pounding' their remains in a 'mortar' was order. This was shocking, and taken in connection with the relation of the party who was selected to carry the order into execution, was repugnant to the best feelings of our nature. So likewise the execution of the innocent boy as related by us in a previous section. But it must be borne in mind, as remarked by Marshall, that "however revolting the barbarous punishments of some countries in the East may be, they are as much established by laws, customs and immemorial usage, and are as constitutional, and as much authorized by the royal prerogative, as the milder forms of misgovernment are in the West." (16) It must also be

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remembered that the two cases just before mentioned, did not warrant the intervention of a neighbouring state, just as, in private life, a neighbour's meddlesome interference is not desirable upon any derilection of domestic duty. At all events there was nothing in the cases which we have reviewed, from which it may be concluded that the executions proceeded from a general contempt of justice. Lord Brougham, in referring to a similar charge of tyranny and oppression laid to Napoleon Bonaparte, had the following observations which forcibly indicate our own feelings as to the merits of the war of 1815. He says; "the death of Enghien, the cruel sufferings of Wright, the mysterious end of Pichegru, the punishment of Palm, the tortures of Toussaint, have all been dwelt upon as spots on his fame; because the fortunes of individuals, presenting a more definite object to the mind, strike our imagination, and rouse our feelings more than wretchedness in larger masses, less distinctly perceived. But to the eye of calm reflection, the declaration of an unjustifiable war, or the persisting in it a day longer than is necessary, presents a more grievous object of contemplation, implies a disposition more pernicious to the world, and calls down a reprobation far more severe." (17)

It is clearly not, and can not be the duty of any state to interfere with the internal government, much

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less with the infringement of interests of individuals, of a neighbouring or foreign country. The only case which, we apprehend, can justify the former to assume a hostile attitude is an actual or threatened invasion by the latter of its rights, — not assumed, not imaginary but real and acknowledged by treaties or by long sufferance and acquiescence. If one Power had threatened the world with a domination which as in the case of Napoleon, would be fatal to public peace and opposed to divers interests, the real acquired interests, of nations at large, it could not be contended that hostilities by a state should be unjustifiable. But the love of conquest, the desire of self aggrandisement so affected alone can no more warrant the invasion of a foreign state, than the appropriation of another's house or the disposition of his dwelling property. These are views for which authority may be found in the works of Constitutional lawyers, and they are views such as accommodate themselves to the common sense of all unprejudiced right thinking men.

Apart from the foregoing considerations, in order to justify the war of 1815 on the ground of punishment, it must be shewn that Sri Wikrama was guilty of crimes — not deeds which are

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abhorent to mankind, or contrary to the notions of this nation or that, but acts which are both cruel and contrary to law — not "every religious or moral law" 131A
as stated in the Manifesto, but — the law of the country which Sri Wikrama governed. It is an undoubted Rule of jurisprudence that the laws of every state have not only force within the limits of that state, but bind all persons within it. The test, too, by which the conduct of the sovereign, or that of the subject may be impeached is the law of the land. We have carefully examined all the recorded cases. We have made special inquiries regarding others; but we fail to notice any which was not sanctioned, such as it was known, except the execution of the frightened Babe: and here too the particulars which we have already recorded show that it proceeded from an error of judgment, induced by extraordinary mental excitement. Even if it were otherwise, this solitary instance did not furnish a just cause for war by an independent foreign nation, as, according to the adage, 'one swallow did not make a Summer.' If indeed Sri Wikrama was to be condemned on a different principle, we fear, there were few European Princes of old against whom the Buddhist Sovereigns of Lanka could not have justly declared war, on the ground assigned by Brownrigg. The prince, who, after

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killing his fifth wife, passed the law to reach in the case of a woman, who had not revealed a failing that disqualified her for the service of Diana; (18) as well as the King who treated his dying malefactors to music, and hanged them twice before they were dead, (19) would have had but little chance.

Section 40 – Comments [illegible] British, inter Kandy

18 v. In Art. 9. we are treated to several other reasons for this war — 'permanent tranquility in vindication of the honor of the British name; the deliverance of the Kandians from oppression; and in fine for the subversion of the Malabar dominion which during three generations had tyrannized over the country.'

This sermon of affected mercy to the Kandians was too pharisaical to be accepted as sincere; for, as justly remarked by Marshall, "the principle of kindness and humanity towards a people is indeed very rarely the cause of a war, professions of this kind being frequently used as a cloak to cover visions of glory, renown and grasping ambition. Much is said in this proclamation of the barbarous or uncivilized character of the king, as if we were to constitute ourselves avengers or guardians of the globe, and make the infliction of punishment different from our own a pretext for war and conquest. The desire to possess the country opened our eyes to the

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delinquencies of its ruler; and to justify aggression, it was deemed expedient to assail not only his character, but also the character of the Malabar dynasty, consisting of four sovereigns, each of whom had been freely elected by the chiefs and people. The Malabar kings were, it is believed, neither worse nor better than the general run of Asiatic princes, including the Kandyan or Singalese dynasty. Mankind are liable to be somewhat suspicious of the sincerity of the allegations of rulers, who, after having made up their minds not only to conquer but to seize a country, professed to be impressed with a strong feeling of sympathy for the subjects of those termed by them oppressors, whose place they are anxious to occupy." (1) Under the circumstances which we have already detailed we cannot but express our belief that Brownrigg was much more concerned to unseat Sri Wikrama from his throne than those who had lost their wives and children; that his zeal was more greedy to kill the bear for his skin, than for any harm he had done; that his professions of friendship, and humanity to the Kandians, if not sincere, were not borne out by the events and results which followed; and that in language of an ancient Philosopher, "such kind words, accompanied with smiles, and spoken by one,

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whose interests led him in quite an opposite direction, excited our alarm, like flowers out of season."(2)

vi. Before we proceed to the next ground, it may be here convenient to notice the last, — 'the subversion of the Malabar dynasty.' This is clearly proposed as a punishment for offences during 'three generations' — not only for the delinquencies of the living, but for the misdeeds of the dead, committed long, long before the English ever set their foot on Ceylon. 'To subvert a dominion,' says Marshell, in commenting upon this Article, 'or to extirpate a dynasty, is rarely, I believe, assigned as an object for making war: in the present case, it was punishing Kannesamy for the imputed sins of his predecessors. Authors are not agreed in regard to the policy which should guide us in respect to the monarchs of India. Mr. Mill seems to think that the British government has no right to assert, in its negotiations, a superiority over the native powers, but that we are bound to deal with the sovereigns of India on the same terms of equality, as we should with any of the established monarchs of Europe. Other authors maintain that in the counsels of Divine Providence, England stands, in India, as an ascendant power, invested with supremacy in virtue of European civilization, which is destined

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to supersede and supplant oriental systems. Those who adopt the latter opinion, seem to assume that we may try the conduct of a community by a different code of morality from that which regulates individuals." (3)

That opinion, though conveyed under the haze of a fence of words, amounts to this, — 'The success of ~~the~~ British arms is traceable to the counsels of Divine providence, and therefore England is predestined, rightly or wrongly, to subjugate all pagan nations.' Such an opinion is as unsound, as it is mischievous. Action, in accordance with it, would be subversive of every right principle of government — opposed to the clearest doctrine of freedom of action — and wholly unauthorized by the word of God. This notion of 'counsels of providence' reminds us of Lord Chatham's vehement invective against the statement of Lord Suffolk, that, in the employment of Red Indians in the American war of 1777, the English only availed themselves of "the means which God had put into their hands." What Chatham then said of "God and Nature", applies to "the counsels of Divine Providence" here referred to; and we may truly exclaim in his own language slightly altered — "We know not what the Lord, or this

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writer, may entertain of God and nature, or of His counsels, but we know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity."(4)

He 'who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will,'(5) has no where constrained man to do anything except according to the natural power of free agency. To act, therefore, under the belief of a decree which has never been revealed, and the existence of which we have no valid reason to assume, is to arrogate to ourselves a power of divination. We think it is perfectly consistent with the doctrines of the Book to say, that 'events depend on the human will, which God himself has chosen to place at the free disposal of man;' that 'the counsels of Divine providence can be said to depend on nothing,' and that they have not imposed on us the necessity of acting in any definite way. Unquestionably, wrong as well as right paths lead to worldly success. Like the gamester in the Nalodaya,(6) who

—"quick resolved the dice again to try,
And hoped by them again to win the game;
So mortals are deceived, and think the means
Successful once, will always be the same!"

If any argument could fairly be deduced from

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success, that would justify the conduct of a Napoleon Bonaparte, as that of many a warrior who had preceded him. But no interference of Divine approval, we maintain, can be drawn from the success which attends the conduct of individuals, or governments. Much less should success encourage us to pursue evil. Virtue alone has its own reward. If, from the success which has attended British arms in India, we are to infer that England stands as an ascendant power, destined to civilize Asiatic nations, and to supersede their systems, there can be no doubt that the Sinhalese, who had held their own country against foreign invasions for more than two thousand years, had as much reason to draw a similar inference. From the remarkable fact stated by Hardy, that 'there is no country either in Europe or Asia besides those that are Buddhist, in which the same religion is now professed, that was there extant at the time of the Redeemer's death,' (7) the Buddhists may upon a belief similar to that under notice, also draw an inference in favor of a system which ignores a creator or a soul, and inculcates the doctrine of a total annihilation of existence. Moreover, if the belief in this predestination be correct, England is not only right, but is bound, to strive for that supersession by means both fair and foul.

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But it must be manifest to the meanest capacity, that, if it be so considered, "the very name of liberty, as remarked by Milton, must be altogether abolished as an unmeaning sound."(8) Nay more. Such a doctrine must lead to
132B an abrogation of all the principles of civil and religious liberty. Under its influence man should not be allowed to follow the dictates of his own conscience. The Government must blot out Toleration from the 'Bible of the British Constitution.' The Buddhist who falls down and worships 'wood and stone' must be thrown into a fiery furnace. The Hindu who adores the more abominable Linga must be wholly immolated. The Legislature must at once interpose against the ceremonials connected with Astrology or Planetary or Deva worship which Europeans often confound with devil-worship. No man is eligible to fill any place in Society except he be a Christian. The Courts of Justice must be shut out against all who do not profess the religion of the dominant race.

The absurdity of a belief in this influence may thus be seen from the results to which it must inevitably lead. We may therefore properly conclude, that if success has attended wars, it does not necessarily imply an approval of divine providence. Much less does it authorize

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further hostilities for a supposed end, especially when they are undertaken contrary to all principles of justice. One clear duty we then take to be this — to do what is right; to be thankful for our success, if any; but, elated by such success, not to presume God to scan — not to commit any wrong, — and not to assign for such wrong the countenance of Divine Providence.

Though it was the desire of every Kandian who had sufficient intelligence to form an opinion, or give one thought about the subject, to get rid of the Malabar dynasty, it is difficult to conceive what right the English Government had to espouse such a cause. The reason given for such a proceeding is as unsatisfactory as that urged on behalf of Warren Hastings, — that he was justified in letting out English troops to slaughter the Rohillas, because the Rohillas were not of Indian race, but a colony from a different country.(9) We may say in language less strong than that used by Macaulay, ask, What were the English themselves? Was it for them to proclaim a Crusade for the subversion of the Malabar dynasty, when they were themselves foreigners? Did it lie in their mouths to contend that a foreign settler, who had established a throne in Ceylon, was a caput lupinum? What would they have said if Sri Wikrama's

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attack on Hanwella and Negombo had been justified on such a ground?

vii. As we have already stated we are unable to believe that any of the reasons which we have hitherto reviewed, in any way influenced General Brownrigg in undertaking the war of 1815. We must therefore seek its true object in some other cause; and in so doing we come to the remaining reason alleged in the Article under notice 'for securing the permanent tranquility of the British settlement, and in vindication of the honor of the British name.' Here again we are constrained to doubt the candour of this statement. There is evidently a mental reservation. Two propositions are here blended together, of which one alone could have existed in the mind of the sensible framer of the Manifesto. According to the natural course of things the destruction of a
133B nation's independence is the best possible barrier against permanent tranquility. We can scarcely therefore believe that the framer of this document either meant 'tranquility,' as the object of this war, or that the government desired tranquility in vindication of British honor. All the context suggests is, that the belligerent party wished the permanent occupation of Kandy in vindication of British honor – that honor which

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had been tarnished in 1803.

Such is the construction of this passage which alone is intelligible to our minds; and it does not require much shrewdness to detect the object with which a secondary object is stated as a substitute for its primary end. It was to conceal from Ehelepola, and the Kandian people the true object for which troops marched into Kandy.(10). That primary aim was its permanent occupation. This was the object which North had in 1803, and it was the same desire that was manifested in 1815. There was a feverish restlessness in the minds of Englishmen of this period for territorial acquisition. Both national resources and national spirit contributed to rouse the proud Saxon to action. From the date when the flag of England was first displayed on the Indian coasts; to the period when India became an appendage of the British Crown; from the time the small island of Ceylon was taken to the date when the invincible Napoleon fell on the Field of Waterloo, comprised a period of England's greatest military glory: and in the delirium of that unparalleled success, which in that interval attended the British arms and Englishmen sang

From Ganges source to Labrador
With conquest crowned th'English advance (10a)

They were not content to let so favorable an opportunity pass, or so insignificant a person as Sri Wikrama, to

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crow over them by any allusion, as he subsequently made, to the "two occasions when they were most anxious to cut a retreat, as they had been to enter Kandy." This then was the real object of the War of 1815, the progress of which we have already related, to the date when the troops halted at Ruanwella.

During their march from this market town to Kandy, where they intended to concentrate their forces, the English army found no real opposition. The languid and feeble resistance which some stray parties of Kandians showed at Idamalpahana, and again several times during their progress into Kandy, is scarcely worth mentioning; for not a single Englishman was either killed or wounded. As to the Sinhalese, they fared badly. Numbers fell to the fury of the English soldiers. Molligoda who commanded the Kandean forces on this line of road was after a brief recontre repulsed; and it was ascertained that he had not only left behind his favorite charger, (11) and palanqueen, but carried with him a gun-shot wound between the ankle and the tendo Achilles.

In this posture of affairs it was not long before Molligoda, and the adherents of the king perceived the utter futility of carrying on a warfare, for which they were wholly unprepared. Not having the boldness

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to advise the king, and direct his policy, they resolved 133 B
to act for themselves; and when the whole tenor of the Conduct of the British government led them to believe that it aimed at nought but Sri Wikrama's person, they were encouraged to communicate their own feelings to Major Hook. Those feelings were accordingly conveyed to that Officer both privately and openly, and amounted to this, — 'that they were willing to promote the advance of the British forces to depose the king, but not to renounce the Kandian government.' (12)

Yet, it would seem, Molligoda had no confidence in the professions of the English. He had a misgiving that they aimed at something more than the person of the king. He was unable to believe that the English were swayed by those noble sentiments which the Manifesto professed to convey. In this mood of mind, he sought an interview with Ehelapola. Very little of what passed between them has transpired, except that the wily chief encouraged the Kandian Minister to help the English, assuring him that the time was not far distant when they would by such means not only get rid of the Malabar domination, but raise a new Sinhalese dynasty. Still Molligoda hesitated. Still he refused to place any confidence in Ehelapola. Still he was uncertain how to act. He would rather

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have a personal interview with the British authorities before he finally renounced his Master. With that object Molligoda one night presented himself at the English Camp at Attapitiya in the disguise of a messenger of that chief. This was only a very short time after he had been wounded. The servant however, who attended on him exhibited from his crouching demeanour and servile deference, undoubted evidence of the high rank of the "messenger"; and it was since ascertained that Major Hook's surmise as to his identity was correct. The same misgiving led the British officer to be on his guard; and consequently Molligoda could ascertain nothing definitely whereupon he, in conjunction with a few chiefs, openly communicated with Major Hook; and assured that officer of their willingness to promote the advance of British troops, for the object stated in the Manifesto; but that they would not renounce the Kandian government. At very interview, however, for there were several meetings, – Molligoda was assured of the disinterested motives of the English; and the negotiations between Major Hook, D'Oyly and the Chiefs terminated in an understanding, that the latter would show as little active resistance as possible towards the advance of British troops into Kandy: and Molligoda left the Camp, informing the Major, that although his people

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consistently with the appearance of obeying orders might fire on the enemy, there would be no bullets in their fire locks. No sooner however did the Major's party go from Hettimulla to Yanetenna, than they not only found the Kandians firing on them, but actually saw a musket ball strike the ground close to the Major. But it is due to the memory of Molligoda to state that the ball proceeded from a party who were quite ignorant of what had transpired between the Chief Minister and Major Hook.(13) 134A

At Yanatenna where the English encamped for the night, information was received of a Kandian post at the distance of about five miles. Thither did a party of Malays proceed at once and surprise a party of about seventy five Kandians, of whom about "thirty were put to the bayonet, and three were taken prisoners," along with "twenty stand of arms". But no one knows how many perished in the flames of the fire set to the leafy house in which the Kandians had been asleep.

In their march from thence the English met with no resistance; and on the first of February found the posts at Yalagedera and Giriagama quite deserted. From this date to the sixth, when the Governor himself joined the forces, it was deemed expedient to concentrate all the advancing troops from different posts, and to make Yanetenna the

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headquarters of the British army.

Molligoda whose mind had been gradually prepared for the crisis, now sent his family into seclusion, and requested through Mr. D'Oyly permission to surrender; and the Governor having consented on the understanding that he gave up at the same time the banners and the records of the Four Korles of which he was resident Disava, he did so on the 5th of February; and Brownrigg lost not a moment to issue a Bulletin, declaring Four Korles, Saffragam, and three Korles to be integral parts of the British possessions in Ceylon. (14)

There was now no longer any doubt as to the real intention of the English. Both Ehelapole and Molligoda learnt to a certainty that they had been deceived. The long cherished delusion of the former completely vanished. Disappointment sickened the minister's heart. Grief at his own consummate folly, and hate at being thus deceived, well nigh led him to distraction. 'These and a thousand mixt emotions more' 'vexed his mind with endless storm'; and when in a vacant stare he saw Molligoda approach him a thousand memories must have awakened in an instant; for, in the paroxysm of his impotent rage Ehelapole exclaimed with tears in his eyes — "I am undone!"

These three words furnish the promised proof

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as to the real intention of the Chiefs in respect of the English government. They serve as a key to the disclosure of the views of the Kandians, the policy of their action, and the relations of amity or good feeling that existed between Ehelapole and his successor. "When the two Chiefs met," says Philalethes, "Molligoda exclaimed that 'he was a ruined man'. 'What then am I!' ejaculated Ehelapola. These words which followed, as we are informed, some preliminary conversation between them as to the real posture of political affairs, suggested the most painful recollections; and both Chiefs burst into tears." (15) 1348

It is thus manifest that no one intended to cede the Kandian government. No one until now, when it was too late, believed that Brownrigg would act the part he did to one whom he had authorized to call "father". The full import of the Manifesto was only now perceived. For the first time they now learnt that in the Dictionary of Brownrigg, 'tranquility' meant 'occupation', and that what he declared as hostilities against Sri Wikrama alone, included a desire to possess his country. Every one saw through the object of "their protectors and friends." The object was not such as the Manifesto declared. The English arms had not been exerted in their defence. They had been directed against the Kandian people, and their Kingdom.

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The last scene is fast coming to a close, and we shall not delay it by interposing any further observations on the result, or on the little dialogue of the Chiefs, which, though brief, speaks volumes.

General Brownrigg having on the 14th of February learnt at Amanapura that Sri Wikrama had left the city, a division of the English army quietly took possession of Kandy, which they found nearly deserted, together with a large treasure, and many females belonging to the King's household. (16) On the 15th the English forces pitched their tents at the Katugastota ferry, and on the 16th "they took possession of Kandy, being the nineteenth anniversary of the surrender of Colombo to the British government.

It was about this time that Thoca, to whom we have already referred, made his appearance before Marshall, the Deputy Inspector General of army Hospitals, and that Davie made his escape from Kandy. Marshall doubts the correctness of Mrs. Heber's statement as to Davie having been reconciled to his Kandian life. We have however no hesitation in believing it; for we not only gather that such was the case from what subsequently fell from Sri Wikrama himself, but have also learnt from well-informed trusty old people who knew Davie most intimately, that such was the fact, a fact which is not contradicted by the testimony of other English writers. It is said by one

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of them (17) – that when the [English] troops occupied Kandy, Davie managed to elude the strict search that was made for him. He had contrived to insinuate himself into the good graces of the Kandian monarch, by adopting the dress, religion and customs [Mrs. Heber says "dress and habits"] of the natives. He died in 1816. Like the Venetian

"Unanealed he passed away,
Without a hope from mercy/aid,
To the last a renegade!"

That Thoen himself was reconciled to his Moorish wife and his situation, and did not seek for an opportunity to escape we readily believe, although no doubt any secret communications between him and Davie were jealously watched over, and strictly prevented by the Chiefs.

47 Section 41 The Capture of Sri Wikrama Rajasinha

We now resume our narrative which we have brought down in the last section to the fifteenth of February 1815, when we left the English forces at the Katugastota ferry. On the same day information having 135A
reached of the retreat of Sri Wikrama, a detachment of troops, consisting of Lieutenant Mainwaring and 130 rank and file, under the command of Lieutenant Mylius, left for Dumbera; and whilst on their march, they fell in with a corps of Malabar Kandian soldiers commanded

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by one Mutalsami, said to be a near relation of Sri Wikrama. The result of this conflict, which took place on the sixteenth, as stated in an official bulletin,(1) was, that after sustaining a sharp fire, the English forces routed the enemy, killing and wounding several, and taking Mutalsami and his party prisoners, being altogether about twenty five, of whom five were said to be connections of the king.

About the same time another detachment of British troops, under the command of Major Kelly, proceeded to Hanguranketha with the treasure and the king's household that had been captured on the thirteenth; whilst another division of troops from Trincomali had nearly reached Kandy.

Lieutenant Mylius was not long before he reached his destination, and captured the fugitive king; for, on the 18th of February the king fell a prey to the armed Kandians, under the command of Ekneligoda Mohottala (since Disava), Naranvala Kangan, and Velijange Vidana Duraya, whom Ehelepole sent up, and who, guided by the brute instinctive scent of carnivorous beasts, made their way at once to the house of a petty headman about a mile distant from Medamahanuwara. Ehelapole himself would have been there, but for the considerate interference of Mr. D'Oyley, who prevented both his offensive presence at the capture, and the exposure of

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the king, through the city, which he had occupied, and which he had so much labored to embellish. It would seem from the accounts of different parties, that on the approach of the English troops, a few of the king's Malabar attendants shewed some feeble resistance, and even wounded one of Ehelapole's men; when, the troops having opened a fire on the house, and battered down the walls of the apartment in the king's occupation, he appeared and delivered himself up. We may here exclaim, as Byron did at this period, of another monarch, —

'Tis done, — but yesterday a king!
And now thou art a nameless thing,
So abject — yet alive!

Under the circumstances, one would have believed that the party under the command of Mylius, who was in the vicinity, would have relented; and would have, at least, abstained from a line of conduct for which we have greatly condemned Sri Wikrama. But, alas! such are the sudden impulses of human action, — that that officer, though he did not expressly direct, suffered the infliction of the highest indignity that could be shown to a fallen enemy, who had been, till then a crowned king. He permitted Ehelapole's myrmidons to wreak their vengeance on the personal foe of their Master. He suffered his own men of low rank, to lay violent hands on the king, to

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plunder whatever articles of value he had on his person, to bind him down like a pig, to revile him, to spit upon him, And to drag him like a dog to the next village, with every species of insult and indignity.(2) The insolence and malevolence of his enemies spared nothing that could heighten the misery of a fallen man – nothing that could irritate his temper already raised to the highest pitch of anger – or nothing that could hurt the tender sensibilities of one who was naturally proud and haughty.

"His life," it is stated, was "spared by the magnanimous forbearance of his enemies." We must have indeed very crooked and false notions of "magnanimity," if we accept the above treatment as such, though coupled with the fact that his life had been 'spared.' For our part, death was preferable to such infamy. Death was indeed more tolerable than those insults, and indignities, to avoid which we have already seen a ~~mother~~ Sinhalese mother had nerved herself sufficiently to raise the pestle to pound her own offspring. For ourselves, we are content if Sri Vikrama "had been hanged upon the nearest tree,"(3) rather than maltreated as he was. For, though tortures and barbarities, as already stated, present more definite objects to the eye, rouse our passions more vehemently, and strike our imagination more forcibly, than insult and indignity; yet, to the eye of calm reflection, to the feelings induced by the operations

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of the mind, and to the sensations which reason produces in us silently but surely, the hostile pillage – the ligature which bound Sri Wikrama's hands and feet – the ruthless sneer that added insult to his grief – the words of contumely and contempt with which he was reviled – the insolent triumph of the menials of an undoubted traitor – the saliva with which he was bespattered – 'his draggling clothes hung in the dirt' – and, above all, the particular relation in which the reviler stood to the reviled, "present" as stated by a great Philosopher, "more grievous objects for contemplation, excite more forcibly the refined sensibilities of our soul, and call down far more severe reprobation." The predominating feeling in the King's mind was, as we candidly confess it is in ours – "indignation at the treatment he had received from his subjects," (4) they being menials of his justly discarded Minister.

It is also said that these were the acts of 'the infuriated mob.' Not at all. There was no mob there. There were, besides the military, only a few of Ehelapola's servants, who felt strongly what had previously befallen to his wife and children. They were only 'ten people;' and, if there had been ten times that number it was possible for one English bayonet to save the king from the indignities heaped upon him. We believe we are sufficiently

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acquainted with the habits and feelings of the Sinhalese to know, that but for the imperative orders of Ehelapola the Kandians would never have dared to approach the king, much less to bind and drag him. By them 'a monarch, though a child, is not lightly esteemed, as if he were a common mortal; for he is a mighty divinity who appears in human form'. (5) Though a Malabar, Sri Wikrama was their king; and any treatment of the nature we have stated, was opposed to the genius of the people. The awe-inspiring feelings produced in the mind of the Sinhalese in the presence of Royalty, as 'the feeling that makes men quail and bow before a present divinity' were, as they are, greater in the Sinhalese than ~~they~~ in any other Asiatic nation. The royal deportment of kings, and of Sri Wikrama especially, was alone enough to produce dread in the bravest man: and it was only the vilest of the vile, whom Ehelapola employed, that were dead to all those fine feelings which actuate the Sinhalese nation. Abundant proof of this may be given from History. We shall refer to several instances in the following pages. In the mean time, we shall adduce one instance.

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Speaking of the respect evinced by people to the king, and especially by the interpreters, amongst whom there were two Sinhalese men. Granville says in his Journal of Reminiscences: "Observing the awe in which the interpreters

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stood of the king, [who was a prisoner] and the effect his presence produced upon their minds, I ceased to feel any scruples on the subject [referred to], and allowed them to go on in their own way."(6)

Sri Wikrama was not the only prisoner taken on the 18th of February. Four of his wives, of whom two were with him at the time, and several members of his family and suite, were also captured. Two of his wives, and his mother-in-law, who had been at Hanwella, a short distance from Medamahanuwara, being sent for with conveyances and an escort, were brought to Galdeniya to join the king. (7) Altogether there were about sixty persons, of whom 'thirty seven were ladies of the royal Zenanah'. (8)

"The report of the capture," says Marshall, "reached General Brownigg on the 19th, while he was at dinner with a small party of officers, [of whom Marshall was one] The intelligence being highly gratifying, and in many respects of the highest importance, His Excellency became greatly affected. He stood up at table, and while the tears rolled down his cheeks, shook hands with every one present, and thanked them for their exertions in furtherance of an object which seemed to be nearly accomplished, and which had been attempted for nearly three centuries by three European powers in succession – the conquest of the

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continued overleaf

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kingdom of Kandy." (9) Indeed it was an accomplished fact. Kandy had fallen into the hands of the English. In the language of Solon,

— 'by its own great men the city fell.
The ignorant mob becoming slaves to chiefs.' (10)

After the kind of treatment he had received from the menials in the employ of Ehelapola the king did not expect much consideration from the English; for, when 1368
D'Oyly saw him on the day after his capture, he was 'in great consternation and affliction, fearing that some great evil might harm him' and his. But, when in the course of conversation he was assured that such was not the intention of the English government, Sri Wikrama gradually became composed, and ultimately betrayed signs of emotion, introducing and presenting his wives and mother-in-law to the British Resident, and requesting his protection. We may here state it as our opinion that the treatment he received from this time at the hands of the English, was more kind just and generous than that accorded to the fallen French Emperor of this period.

In the early part of March following the state prisoners were brought down to Colombo, — not through the Kandian capital, but by some obscure path. ~~On Monday the 4th of March 1815 Major Hook, with the detachment under his command, came into Colombo,~~ —

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~~not through the Kandean capital, but by some obscure path.~~ On Monday the 4th of March 1815 Major Hook, with the detachment under his command, came into Colombo, escorting the king and his family. Every attention befitting his situation was shown to him on his journey, and no care was spared to prevent any improper conduct on the part of the people. Their curiosity of course was much excited, and the palankeens containing the king and his suite were followed by throngs of Sinhalese in their route through the suburbs.

On the return of the several regiments which had proceeded to Kandy, the greatest consternation prevailed. On leaving it on a service, which could not but be expected, from the usual casualties of war, to terminate fatally, at least, to some, very few expected to return, as they now did without a single casualty. When, however, it became known that not a single soldier had suffered, — and not a single drop of blood had been lost, Mrs. Brownrigg who was at the time in Colombo, requested that the troops should march through the portico of the Government House. But before they did so, the several regiments, being halted, had a liberal allowance of strong beer served out

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to them on that lady's direction.

The reception given to the men at their quarters, by their families presented a very gratifying spectacle. It was extremely interesting to see the wives and friends of the soldiers heartily shaking them by the hand, and pulling out their caps, the green twigs and gaudy flowers which they wore; and the mob did not disperse until the gallant forces had given three cheers, in which the public heartily joined.

Sri Wikrama was then conducted to the lodgings prepared for him at the southern extremety of King's Street. They were spacious, well ventilated, and neatly furnished. He was quite pleased with the attentions he received, and was soon reconciled to his new situation; for he said in unmistakeable language, and with those undoubted pledges of truth and sincerity which one's eyes sometimes yield, 'As I am no longer a king, I am indeed thankful to the English government for the kindness which is shown to me.'

Whilst we thus leave the king a while for his reflections in his temporary prison, we must go back to Kandy, and notice the measures which were initiated there for permanently settling the Government of the newly acquired territory. (11)

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