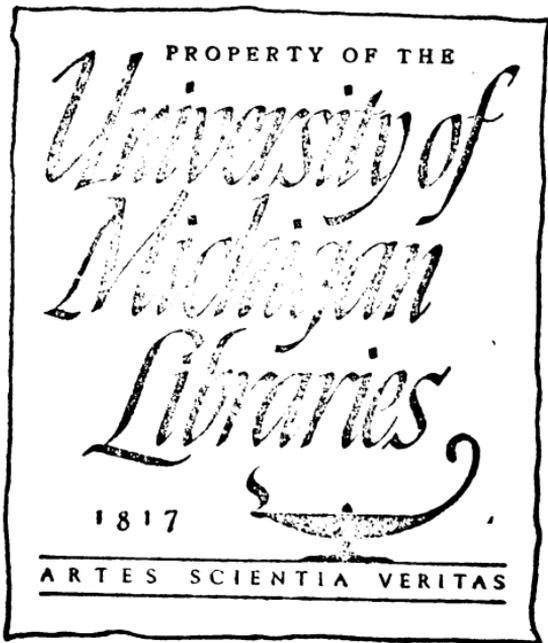


Ceylon in 1883

John Ferguson



1876

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*The Honourable Sir Arthur Gordon G. C. M. G.
Governor of Ceylon.*

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CEYLON IN 1883:
THE LEADING CROWN COLONY OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS MADE SINCE
1803 UNDER SUCCESSIVE BRITISH GOVERNORS,
AND OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF ITS
AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL
ENTERPRISES;

THE RESOURCES AWAITING DEVELOPMENT BY
CAPITALISTS;

AND THE UNEQUALLED ATTRACTIONS OF HILL CLIMATE AND
SCENERY OFFERED TO VISITORS.

WITH MUCH USEFUL STATISTICAL INFORMATION, A SPECIALLY PREPARED MAP,
AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY

JOHN FERGUSON,

*Co-Editor of "Ceylon Observer," "Tropical Agriculturist," "Ceylon Handbook," &c.
Life Member of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society;
Honorary Corresponding Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute.*

"Embassies from regions far remote:

From India and the Golden Chersonese,
And utmost Indian Isle TAPROBANES."

Milton.

London :

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TO
THE HONOURABLE
SIR ARTHUR GORDON, G.C.M.G.,
GOVERNOR OF THE ISLAND OF CEYLON AND THE
DEPENDENCIES THEREOF,

THIS LITTLE VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY

Dedicated,

WITH THE EARNEST HOPE THAT HIS ADMINISTRATION MAY, IN AS
GREAT A DEGREE AS ANY REFERRED TO IN THESE PAGES,
CONDUCE TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF CEYLON AND
THE WELL-BEING OF THE DIFFERENT
CLASSES AND RACES REPRESENTED IN ITS VARIED
POPULATION,
BY HIS OBEDIENT AND HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

It is necessary to explain that the following account of Ceylon (with the accompanying Map) was prepared in April last, as a Paper to be read before the members of the Royal Colonial Institute. Not arriving in London before the day fixed for its reading, the manuscript had to be laid aside for another session. But the author and his friends, being convinced that the early publication of much of the information was calculated to benefit his adopted country, and to meet a felt want, its issue in book form was determined on.

The fact that the author has had no opportunity of revising or correcting pages which, in the first instance, were written amidst the pressing duties of a busy newspaper office, will, it is hoped, prove sufficient apology for any errors of omission or commission which may be noted.

The author would express his thanks to his friends, Messrs. A. C. Folkard and G. J. A. Skeen, for valuable assistance rendered by them in England in arranging for its publication and in passing it through the press.

COLOMBO, CEYLON, *27th August, 1883.*

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Sir Hercules G. R. Robinson.



Lieut.-General S. J. Hodgson.



Rt. Hon. Sir W. H. Gregory.



Sir J. R. Longden.



Sir John Douglas.

CEYLON IN 1883.

CHAPTER I.

PAST HISTORY.

The Ophir and Tarshish of Solomon—Northern and Southern Indian dynasties—Chinese invasion—Portuguese and Dutch rule—British annexation.

I TAKE it for granted that the readers of this work will have some general acquaintance with the position, history, and condition of Ceylon—the largest, most populous, and most important of the dependencies, the affairs of which are administered under the direct control of the Colonial Office, and which are therefore known as Crown colonies.

Ceylon has long been

“Confess'd the best and brightest gem
In Britain's orient diadem.”

There can be no danger now-a-days of a member of Parliament getting up in his place to protest against British troops being stationed in Ceylon on account of the deadly

climate of "this part of West Africa," the utmost Indian isle having been confounded in bygone days with *Sierra Leone*!

Known to ancient voyagers as far back as the time of King Solomon (of whose Ophir and Tarshish many believe Ceylon to form a part), the story of its beauty, its jewels, and its spicy breezes was very familiar to the Greeks and Romans, who called it "Taprobane," and to the Arab traders who first introduced the coffee plant into this island, and who placed in *Serendib* the scene of many of Sindbad's adventures, as also to the Mohammedan world at large, who to this day regard the island as the elysium provided for Adam and Eve to console them for the loss of Paradise, a tradition used as a solatium by Arabi and his co-Egyptian exiles a short time ago, when deported from their native land. To the people of India, to the Burmese, Siamese, and Chinese, Lanká, "the resplendent," was equally an object of interest and admiration, so that it has been well said that no island in the world, Great Britain itself not excepted, has attracted the attention of authors in so many different countries as Ceylon.

There is no land, either, which can tell so

much of its past history, not merely in songs and legends, but in records which have been verified by monuments, inscriptions, and coins, some of the structures in and around the ancient capitals of the Sinhalese being more than 2,000 years old, and only second to those of Egypt in vastness of extent and architectural interest. Between 543 B.C., when Wijaya, a prince from Northern India, is said to have invaded Ceylon, conquered its native rulers, and made himself king, down to the end of the year 1815, when the last king of Kandy, a cruel monster, was deposed and banished by the British, the Sinhalese chronicles present us with a list of well-nigh 170 kings and queens, the history of whose administrations is of the most varied and interesting character, indicating the attainment of a degree of civilization and material progress very unusual in the East at that remote age. Long, peaceful, and prosperous reigns were interspersed with others chiefly distinguished for civil dissensions and foreign invasions. The kings of Ceylon, however, had given sufficient provocation to foreign rulers when in the zenith of their power. In the twelfth century the celebrated king Prákrama Báhu not only defeated the rulers

of Southern Indian states, but sent an army against the king of Cambodia, which, proving victorious, made the distant land tributary to Ceylon. On the other hand, a Chinese army early in the fifteenth century penetrated to the heart of the hill-country, and, defeating the Sinhalese forces, captured the king, and took him away to China; and the island had for some time to pay an annual tribute to that country. At that time the Chinese exported from Ceylon a large quantity of the *kaolin* for pottery which still abounds in the island.

Ceylon was, however, chiefly exposed to incursions of Malabar princes and adventurers with their followers from Southern India, who waged a constant and generally successful contest with the Sinhalese. The northern portion of the island at length became permanently occupied by the Tamils, and so far had the ancient power of the kingdom declined, that when the Portuguese first appeared in Ceylon in 1505, the island was divided under no less than seven separate rulers.

For 150 years the Portuguese occupied and controlled the maritime districts of Ceylon, but it was more of a military occupation than

a regular government, and martial law chiefly prevailed. The army of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics introduced under their auspices alone made any permanent impression on a people who were only too ready to embrace a religion which gave them high-sounding honorific baptismal names, and interfered seldom, if at all, with their continued observance of Buddhistic feasts and ceremonies.

The Dutch, who by 1656 had finally expelled the Portuguese rulers from the island, which the Lisbon authorities had said "they had rather lose all India than imperil," pursued a far more enlightened administrative policy; though, as regards commerce, it was selfish and oppressive. Still confined to the low-country (the king of Kandy defying the new as he had done the old European invaders), the Dutch did much to develop cultivation and to improve the means of communication—more especially by canals in their own territory—while establishing a lucrative trade with the interior. The education of the people occupied a good deal of official attention, as also their christianization through a staff of Dutch chaplains, but the system of requiring a profession of the Protestant religion before giving employment to any

native speedily confirmed their love of dissimulation, and created a nation of hypocrites, so that the term "Government Christian" or "Buddhist Christian" is common in some districts to this day.

The first care of the Dutch, however, was to establish a lucrative commerce with Holland, and their vessels were sent not only to Europe, but also to Russia, India, and the Far East ports. *Cinnamon* was the great staple of export, next came *pearls* (in the years which gave successful pearl-oyster fisheries in the Gulf of Mannár); then followed elephants, pepper, areca or betel nuts, jaggery-sugar, sapan-wood and timber generally, arrack spirit, choya-roots (a substitute for madder), cardamoms, cinnamon oil, &c. The cultivation of coffee, indigo, and some tea was begun, but not carried on to such an extent as to benefit the exports.

Agriculture was promoted by the Dutch for an essentially selfish purpose, but nevertheless good resulted to the people from the system of forced labour, as in the case of the planting of cocoa-nut palms along the western coast, which, so late as 1740, was described by Governor Van Imhoff as waste-

land to be surveyed and divided among the people, who were bound to plant it up. At the end of last century, when the British superseded the Dutch in the possession of the maritime provinces of Ceylon, the whole of the south-western coast presented the unbroken grove of palms which is seen to this day.

From 1797 to 1802 Ceylon was placed under the East India Company; but in the latter year it was made a Crown colony, and it soon became evident there could be no settled peace until the tyrant king on the Kandyan throne—hated by his own chiefs and people—was deposed, and the whole island brought into subjection to the British Crown. This was accomplished in 1815, when, at the instigation of the Kandyans themselves, Wikkrama Sinha, the last king, was captured, deposed, and exiled.

So great was the value attached to Ceylon as the “*key* of India,” as well as on account of the supposed fabulous wealth in precious stones and produce of its interior, that at the general peace Britain preferred giving up Java to the Dutch, and retaining this little island, so inferior in area, population, and natural wealth.

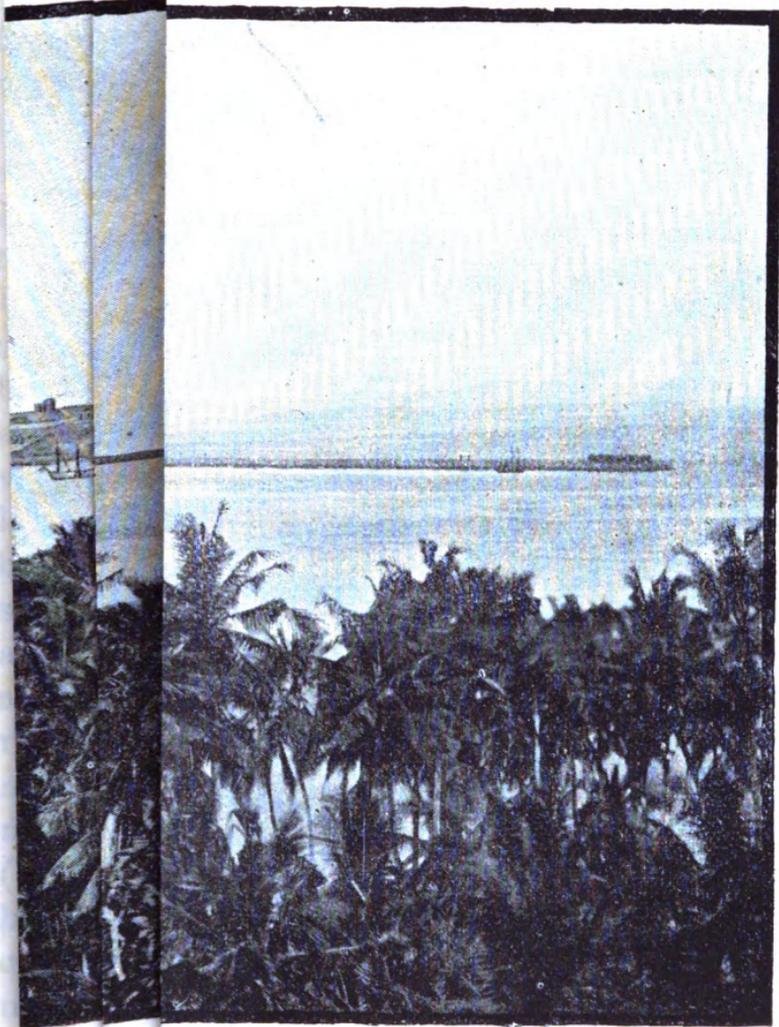
CHAPTER II.

THE ISLAND IN 1803—1815.

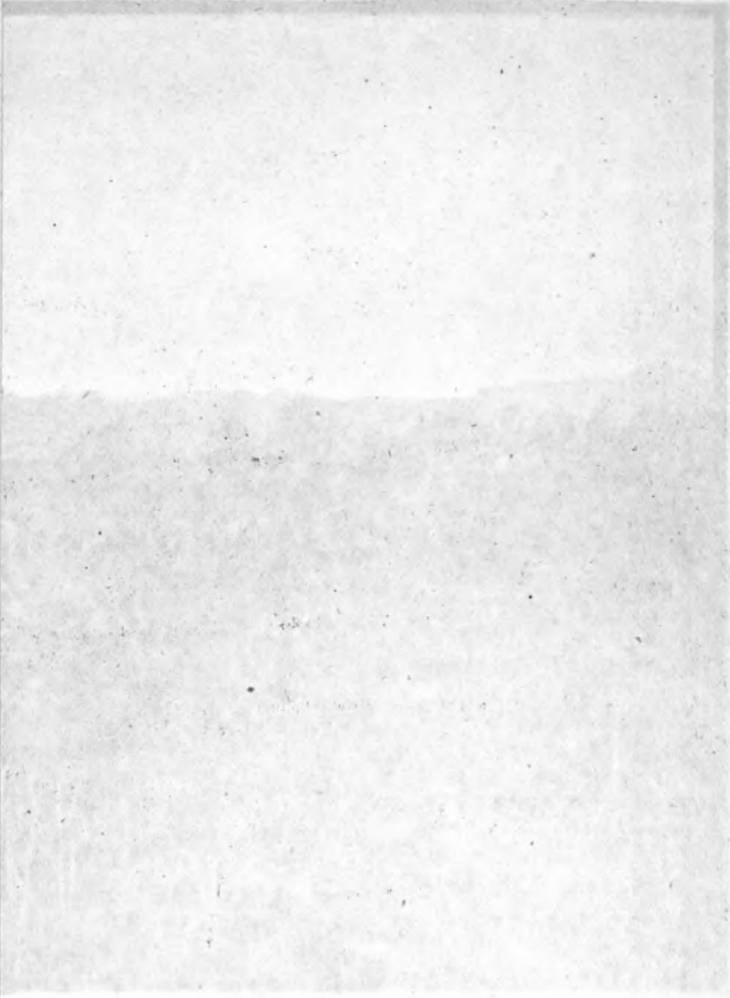
Extent and topographical features—Condition of the island previous to and after seventy years of British rule contrasted.

HAVING now arrived at the British period, it may be well to give some idea of the condition of Ceylon and its people in the early part of this century, and to compare the same with what is realized after British government has been established for nearly seventy years throughout the whole island.

The position of Ceylon as a “pearl-drop on the brow of India,” with which continent it is almost connected by the island of Ramisseram and the coral reef called Adam’s Bridge, is familiar to all who have ever glanced at a map of Asia. To that continent it is related as Great Britain is to Europe, or Madagascar to Africa. In extent it comprises nearly sixteen million acres, or 24,702 square miles, or, including certain



[Page 8.]



dependent islands, such as the Maldives and Cocos Islands (south-west of Sumatra), the area becomes 25,742 square miles, one-sixth less than that of Ireland, and nearly thirty-seven times the superficial extent of the island of Mauritius, which sometimes contests with it the title of the "Gem of the Indian Ocean." One-sixth of this area, or about 4,000 square miles, is comprised in the hilly and mountainous zone which is situated about the centre of the south of the island, while the maritime districts are generally level, and the northern end of the island is broken up into a flat, narrow peninsula and small islets. Within the central zone there are 150 mountains or ranges between 3,000 and 7,000 feet in altitude, with ten peaks rising over the latter limit. The highest mountain is Pídurutalágala, 8,296 feet, or nearly 1,000 feet higher than Adam's Peak (7,353 feet), which was long considered the highest, because to voyagers approaching the coast it was always the most conspicuous mountain of Ceylon.

The longest river, the Mahaveliganga (the Ganges of Ptolemy's maps), has a course of nearly 150 miles, draining about one-sixth of the area of the island, before it reaches the

sea at Trincomalee on the east coast. There are five other large rivers running to the west and south, besides numerous tributaries and smaller streams. The rivers are not favourable for navigation, save near the sea, where they expand into backwaters, which were taken advantage of by the Dutch for the construction of a system of canals all round the western and southern coasts.

There are no natural inland lakes, save what remain of magnificent artificial tanks in the north and east of the island, and the backwaters referred to on the coast. The lakes which add to the beauty of Colombo and Kandy are artificial or partly so.

All this was true of Ceylon at the beginning of the century even as it is now; but in other respects how altered! It is impossible to get exact information as to the condition in which the British found the island and its people in the early years, and up to the subjugation of the Kandyan division in 1815; but from the best authorities at our command we have compiled the following tabular statement to show at a glance a few of the salient points in which the change is most striking:—

CEYLON

	In 1796—1815.	In 1883.
Population	From $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 million	2,850,000
No. of houses	20,000 (tiled)	477,917
Population of the capital, Colombo	28,000	120,000
Military force	6,000	1,250
Cost of ditto	£160,000	£116,000
Imperial share	£80,000	nil
Volunteer Corps	nil	680 efficient
Cost	—	£4,000
Police	nil	1,650
Cost	—	£60,000
Revenue	£226,000	£1,280,000
Expenditure	£320,000	£1,260,000
Trade :—		
Imports—value	£266,790	£4,700,000
Exports „	£206,583	£3,700,000
		(local Customs' value, really worth much more)
Roads	Sand and gravel tracks	Metalled, 1,301 miles Gravelled, 885 miles Natural, 622 miles
Bridges	none	Too numerous to mention
Railways	none	178 miles
Canals	120 miles	167 miles
Tonnage of shipping entered and cleared	75,000 tons	3,100,000 tons
Government Savings Bank :—		
Deposits	nil	£210,000
No. of depositors	nil	9,330
Educational expenditure	£3,000 (for schools and clergy)	£48,000
No. of schools	170	2,200
No. of scholars	2,000	105,000
The Press	Govt. Gazette only	32 newspapers and periodicals.
Medical expenditure	£1,000	£60,000
No. of civil hospitals and dispensaries	nil	111

CEYLON		
	In 1796—1815.	In 1883.
Charitable allowances from general revenue	£3,000 No Poor Law	£8,000 Friend in Need Society for Voluntary Relief, (£2,000) No Poor Law
Post-offices	4	128
Telegraph wires . .	nil	1,092 miles
Area cultivated (exclusive of the natural pasture)	400,000 acres	2,750,000 acres
Live stock :—		
Horses, ¹ cattle, sheep, goats, swine, &c.	250,000	1,500,000
Carts and carriages .	50	20,000

There is of course an immense amount of improvement which cannot be tabulated, even if we extended our comparison in this form to much greater length. The greatest material change from the Ceylon of pre-British days to the Ceylon of the present time is most certainly in respect of means of internal communication. If, according to Charles Kingsley, the first and most potent means of extending civilization is found in roads—the second in roads—the third again in roads, Sir Edward Barnes, when Governor

Of 10,700 horses imported between 1862 and 1882, the greater portion have been bought by native gentlemen, traders, coach-owners, &c.

of Ceylon (1824 to 1831), was a ruler after Kingsley's own heart, and he was followed at intervals by worthy successors.²

When the English landed in Ceylon in 1796, there was not in the whole island a single practicable road, and troops in their toilsome marches between the fortresses on the coast dragged their cannon through deep sand along the shore. Before Sir Edward Barnes resigned his government in 1831, every town of importance was approached by a carriage-road. He had carried a first-class macadamized road from Colombo to Kandy, throwing a bridge of boats which exists to this day over the wide Kelani river near Colombo, constructing other bridges and culverts too numerous to mention *en route*, and throwing, through the genius of General Fraser, a beautiful satin-wood bridge of a single span across the Mahaveliganga (the largest river in Ceylon) near Kandy. On this road (72 miles in length) on the 1st of February, 1832, the Colombo and Kandy mail-coach—the first mail-coach in Asia—was started; and it

² This dictum is erroneously assigned: it is due to Sir Arthur Gordon. See "At Last," vol. ii. p. 50.—[EDITOR.]

continued to run successfully till the road was superseded by railway in 1867.

There can be no doubt that the permanent conquest of the Kandyan country and people, which had baffled the Portuguese and Dutch for 300 years, was effected through Sir Edward Barnes's military roads. A Kandyan tradition, that their conquerors were to be a people who should make a road through a rocky hill, was shrewdly availed of, and the tunnels formed features on two of the cart-routes into the previously almost impenetrable hill-country. The spirit of the Highland chiefs of Ceylon, as of Scotland seventy years earlier, was effectually broken by this means; and although the military garrison of Ceylon has gone down from about 6,000 troops to 1,200, and, indeed, although for months together the island has been left with not more than a couple of hundred artillerymen, no trouble has been given during sixty years by the previously warlike Kandyans or the Ceylonese generally.

So much for the value of opening up the country from a military point of view. Governor Barnes, however, left an immense deal to do in bridging the rivers in the interior, and in extending roads, of which not much was done until the arrival of his

worthiest successor, Sir Henry Ward. This governor, with but limited means, did a great deal to open up remote districts, and to bridge rivers which in the wet season were well-nigh impassable. For the restoration and construction of irrigation works to benefit the rice cultivation of the Sinhalese and Tamils, Sir Henry Ward did more than any of his predecessors. He also began the railway to Kandy, which was successfully completed in the time of his successors, Sir Charles MacCarthy and Sir Hercules Robinson. In the latter, Ceylon was fortunate enough to secure one of the most active and energetic governors that ever ruled a Crown colony.

Sir Hercules Robinson left his mark in every province and nearly every district of the country, in new roads, bridges, public buildings, and especially in the repair of irrigation tanks and channels, and the provision of sluices. He extended the railway some seventeen miles, and he laid the foundation of the scheme through which, under his successor, Sir William Gregory, the Colombo Breakwater was begun; and under Sir John Coode this has ensured for the capital of Ceylon one of the safest, most convenient,

and commodious artificial harbours in the world.

To Sir William Gregory belongs the distinction of having spent more revenue on reproductive public works than any other governor of Ceylon. The roads in the north and east of the island, which were chiefly gravel and sand tracks, were completed in a permanent form, and every river was bridged. The North-Central Province, a purely Sinhalese rice-growing division of the country, was called into existence, and large amounts were invested in tanks and roads; planting roads were extended; about fifty miles added to the railway system, and arrangements made for a further extension of some sixty-seven miles, forty-two of which are now under construction. When Governor Gregory left in 1877 there was no river of any importance left unbridged, a large extent of previously unoccupied country was opened up for cultivation, and an impetus given to both the natives and European colonists in the extension of cultivation, which alone has saved the island from a serious collapse in the five years of commercial depression and blight on the coffee which have followed. Since 1877 only a few

miles of new road have been added, and little money otherwise has been expended; but it is something to say that, whereas the Rev. James Cordiner, chaplain to the Governor of Ceylon in 1807, could write, "Strictly speaking there are no roads in Ceylon," now, after seventy years of British rule, some 1,300 miles of first-class metalled roads, equal to any in the world, have been constructed, besides about 900 miles of gravelled roads for light traffic, supplemented by 600 miles of natural tracks available in dry weather to traverse districts where as yet there is little or no traffic. The main roads are those from Colombo to Batticaloa *viâ* Ratnapura, Haputalé, and Badulla, right across the island; from Colombo to Trincomalee *viâ* Kandy, and another branch *viâ* Kurunégala, also right across the breadth of the island, but north instead of south of the Central Province; from Jaffna southwards through the centre of the island to Kandy; and thence to Nuwara Eliya and Badulla, and by a less frequented route to Hambantota on the south coast; from Kandy to Mannár on the north-west coast—the great immigration route; and the main roads on the coast, Colombo to Galle and Hambantota, and north to Mannár

and almost to Jaffna. Subsidiary first-class roads, especially in the Central Province, are too numerous to mention.

The benefit which this network of roads has conferred on the people it is impossible to over-estimate. Secluded districts have been opened up, and markets afforded for produce which previously was too often left to waste; settlements, villages, and even large towns, have sprung up within the last thirty years alongside roads where previously all was jungle and desolation, and means of employment afforded to a people who had scarcely ever seen a coin.

As in India, so on a smaller scale in Ceylon, it is a recognized fact that there is no more effectual preventive of famine than internal means of communication, whether by road, rail, canal, or navigable river. There has probably never been a year in which India did not produce enough food to supply all its population; but unfortunately there has been no means of getting the superabundance of one district transferred to the famine area in another part of the continent. So in Ceylon, in years gone by, there has been great scarcity and mortality in remote districts without the central Government at

Colombo being made properly aware of the fact, or being able to supply prompt relief. The mortality from fever and food scarcity in some parts of the country must thus have been very great before British times.

Roads, again, are great educators, but in this they are surpassed by railways in an Oriental land. The railways in India and Ceylon are doing more to level caste and destroy superstition than all the force of missionaries and schoolmasters, much as these latter aid in this good work.

The railway between Colombo and Kandy, projected originally about forty years ago, was not seriously taken in hand till the time of Sir Henry Ward; after many mistakes and alterations of plans, it was successfully completed under the skilful engineering guidance of Mr. G. L. Molesworth (now consulting engineer to the Government of India), Mr. W. F. Faviell being the successful contractor. The total length is $74\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and, including a good deal of money unavoidably wasted in dissolving and paying off a company, it cost the colony, from first to last, as much as 1,738,413*l.*; but the line (on the broad Indian gauge of 5ft. 6in.) is most substantially constructed, including iron-

girder bridges, viaducts, a series of tunnels, and an incline rising one in forty-five for 12 miles into the mountain zone which gives this railway a prominent place among the remarkable lines hitherto constructed.

Since 1867 the line has been extended on the same gauge for 17 miles from Pérádeniya to Gampola and Náwalapitiya, rising towns in the Central Province; and by Sir William Gregory from Kandy to Mátalé, a town on the borders of the Central Province, for $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles; while in the low-country the same governor constructed a seaside line from Colombo, through a very populous district, to Kalutara, $27\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and some $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Wharf and Breakwater branches.

To Governor Gregory's time also belongs the inception and practical commencement of the extension from Náwalapitiya to the principality of Uva, 67 miles, of which $42\frac{1}{2}$ are now under construction, and are likely to be finished by the beginning of 1885, the then terminus at Nánu-oya being 5,600 feet above sea-level, close to the sanatorium and town of Nuwara Eliya, and on the borders of Uva, which rich country, however, cannot properly be served until a further extension of $24\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Haputalé is carried out, as

it is earnestly hoped that it may be in the time of Governor Longden's successor.

In all there are 178 miles of railway open in Ceylon, or under construction; but only 91 have been working long enough to afford a fair test of the traffic and the benefit to colonists, natives, and the country generally. The main line to Kandy has more than repaid its cost in direct profit, apart from the immense benefits it has conferred. It is sometimes said that this railway and other lines in Ceylon chiefly serve the planting enterprise, which appertains to Europeans far more than to natives, and that, therefore, the Ceylonese do not gain in the same proportion. An answer to this statement, and an evidence of the immense educating power of our railways, is found in the fact that during the past seventeen years no less than seventeen and a half millions of passengers have been carried over the lines, of whom all but an infinitesimal proportion were natives (Sinhalese and Tamils chiefly). On the Kandy line alone, it would have taken the old coach, travelling both ways twice daily, and filled each time, several hundred years to carry the passengers who have passed between the ancient capitals and

provinces in the past seventeen years. There was scarcely a Kandyan chief or priest who had ever seen, or at least stood by, the sea until the railway was opened in 1867, whereas for some time after the opening the interesting sight was often presented to Colombo residents of groups of Kandyans standing by the sea-shore in silent awe and admiration of the vast ocean stretched out before them and the wonderful vessels of all descriptions in Colombo harbour.

In pointing out that the Dutch (equally with the Portuguese) constructed no roads, we must not forget that the former, true to their home experience, constructed and utilized a system of canals through their maritime provinces along the western and south-western coast. In this they were greatly aided by the back-water or lagoons which are a feature on the Ceylon coast, formed through the mouths of the rivers becoming blocked up and the waters finding an outlet to the sea at different points, often miles away from the line of the main stream. The canals handed over by the Dutch at first fell into comparative disuse, but within the last thirty years they have been fully repaired and utilized, and

there are now about 167 miles of canals in the island.

With the construction of roads wheeled traffic became possible, and a large number of the Sinhalese speedily found very profitable employment as owners and drivers of bullock carts, of which there must be from 15,000 to 20,000 in the island, besides single bullock-hackeries for passenger traffic. In nothing is the increase of wealth among the natives more seen, in the Western, Central, and Southern Provinces, than in the number of horses and carriages now owned by them. Thirty or forty years ago, to see a Ceylonese with a horse and conveyance of his own was rare indeed; *now*, the number of Burghers, Sinhalese, and Tamils driving their own carriages, in the towns especially, is very remarkable. The greater number of the horses imported during the last year have certainly passed to the people of the country.

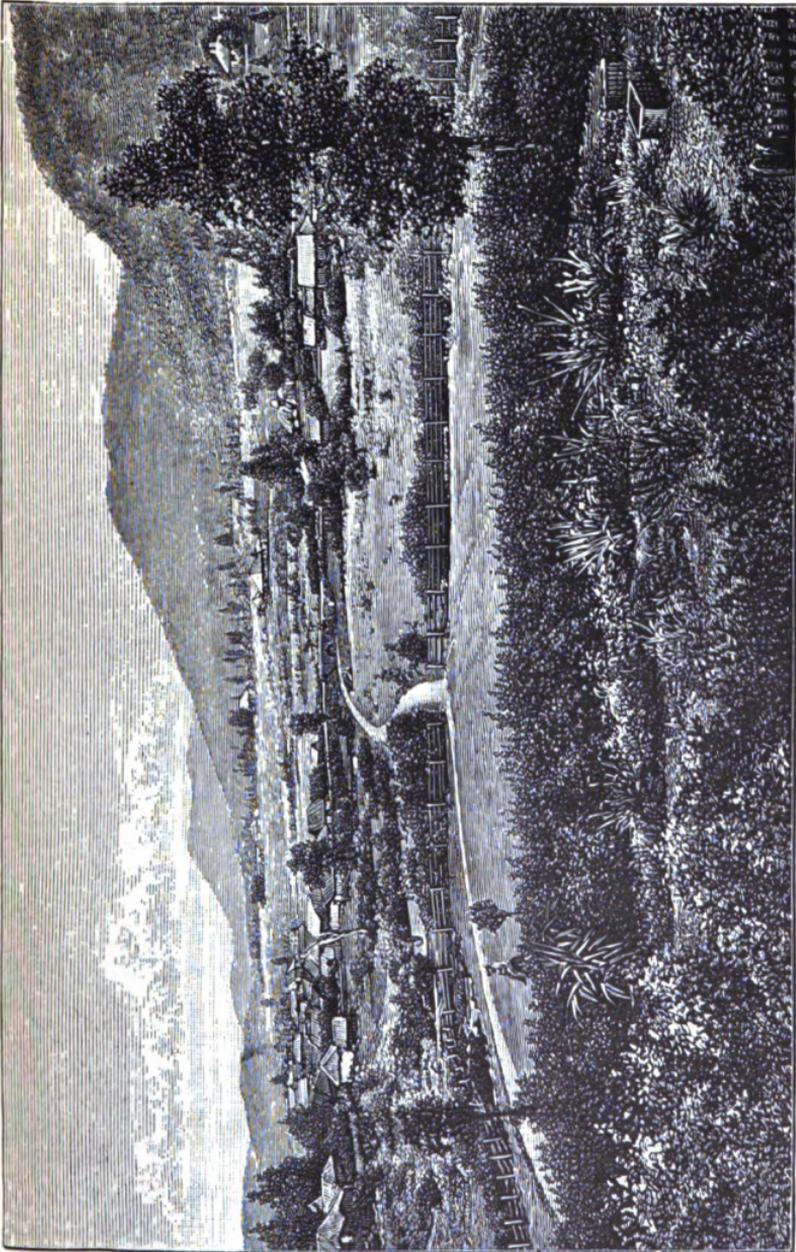
CHAPTER III.

THE PROGRESS IN SEVENTY YEARS.

Population—Buildings—Postal and Telegraphic services
—Savings-banks—Military defence—Medical and Educational achievements.

HAVING thus described more particularly the vast change effected in British times by the construction of communications all over the island, we must touch briefly on the evidences of progress given in our table.

The increase in population speaks for itself. It is very difficult, however, to arrive at a correct estimate of what it was at the beginning of the century, as the Dutch could have no reliable returns, not having any control over the Kandyan provinces. The first attempt at reliable numbering was in 1824 by Governor Barnes, and the result was a total of 851,440, or, making allowance for omissions due to the hiding of people through fear of taxation, &c., say about a million of both sexes and all ages. As



NUWARA ELIYA, THE MOUNTAIN SANATORIUM.

(6200 feet above sea-level.)

From a Photograph by Messrs. W. L. H. Skeen & Co., of Colombo.

[Page 24.]

regards the large estimate of the ancient population of Ceylon located in the northern, north-central, and eastern districts now almost entirely deserted, we are by no means inclined, with the recollection of the famous essay on the "Populousness of Ancient Nations" before us, to accept the estimates of Sir Emerson Tennent and other enthusiastic writers. There can be no doubt, however, that a very considerable population found means of existence in and around the ancient capitals of Ceylon, and the great Tank region of the north and east, a region which affords scope for a great though gradual extension in the settlement of both Sinhalese and Tamils in the island. At present it must be remembered that fully two-thirds of the population are found in the Western, Southern, and Central Provinces, occupying a good deal less than half the area of the island, and that there are large districts, once the best-cultivated with rice, with *now* perhaps only half-a-dozen souls to the square mile.

As regards the number of inhabited houses, in 1824 there were not more than 20,000 with tiled roofs in the island; that

number has multiplied manifold, but the 477,817 now given refer to all descriptions of inhabited houses, most of these being huts roofed with cocoanut leaves. The improvement of the residences of a large proportion of the people is, however, very marked: in one class the contrast has been well described as being as great as between a begrimed native chatty (clay vessel) and a bright English tea-kettle.

In the town of Kandy, which has now about 4,000 dwelling-houses—the large majority substantially built, many of two stories—seventy years ago no one but the tyrant-king was allowed to have a tiled roof, or any residence better than a hut. In all the towns and many of the villages of the island substantial public buildings have been erected: revenue offices, court-houses, hospitals and dispensaries, prisons, schools, and post and telegraph offices. A great change for the better in respect of these was effected by Governors Robinson and Gregory.

Further evidences of the good done through a liberal and enlightened administration we find in an admirable internal postal service, made possible by the roads

through which every town and village of any consequence are served, the total number of post-offices being 111, supplemented by 16 telegraph stations, there being 1,100 miles of telegraph wire in the island; while, in addition, the Postal Telegraph Department is about to open savings-banks in all the towns and important villages. Hitherto there has been one central Government savings-bank, with 9,330 depositors, owning deposits to the amount of 2,100,000 rupees.

We need scarcely say that at the beginning of British rule there was no post-office, and for many years after the service was of the most primitive and expensive kind; nor were there police or volunteer corps in those days; but there was an army corps kept up for many years out of all proportion to the necessities of the case. The Home Government had the idea seventy years ago that the hidden wealth of Ceylon would enable a handsome annual subsidy to be paid to the treasury of the mother-country after defraying all local expenses of government. In place of that, so long as the government remained a mere military dependency, it was a dead loss to and drain on the imperial treasury. By degrees, however, it was seen

that four British and as many native (Malay, Tamil, and Kaffir) regiments were not required, and, the force being cut down, it was finally decided by a commission appointed by the Secretary of State in 1865, that Ceylon should bear all the military expenditure within its bounds, the local force being fixed at one regiment of British infantry, one of native (the Ceylon Rifles), and one brigade of artillery, with a major-general and staff.

The country has therefore cost the Home Government nothing for the last twenty-five years: on the other hand, the force in Ceylon has been utilized very frequently for imperial and inter-colonial purposes. This will be alluded to later on.

In no direction has more satisfactory work been done in Ceylon by the British Government than through its Medical and Educational Departments. Here are branches which give the natives a vivid idea of the superiority of English over Portuguese or Dutch rule, and the Sinhalese and Tamils value their privileges accordingly.

Of civil, lying-in, contagious diseases, and other hospitals, with lunatic and leper asylums, and out-door dispensaries, there are now 111 in the island, in or at which some 150,000

persons are treated annually, more than two-thirds being, of course, for trifling ailments at the dispensaries.

In this connexion, the Ceylon Medical College, founded by Sir Hercules Robinson in 1870, most heartily supported by his successor, Governor Gregory, and liberally endowed and extended by two wealthy Sinbalese gentlemen, Messrs. De Soyza and Rajepakse, is worthy of mention. Out of some 200 Ceylonese students entered, about fifty have qualified and obtained licences to practise medicine and surgery; about as many more are hospital assistants and dispensers; some have taken service under the Straits' Government; while others have gone home to qualify for degrees at British Universities. The college has a principal and seven lecturers; and the Ceylonese have already shown a peculiar aptitude for the profession, surgeons of special, even of European eminence, having come from their ranks.

In education, generally, although there is still an immense deal to do, Ceylon is far in advance as compared with India. This has been chiefly through the agency of the several Christian Missions at work in the island; but Sir Hercules Robinson gave an immense

impetus to education by the establishment of an admirable grant-in-aid system, while Sir W. Gregory extended the work, multiplying especially Government vernacular schools. At present the proportion in Ceylon is 1 pupil to every 28 of population; in India it is 1 to every 160, while in Great Britain it is, we suppose, 1 to every 7 or 8.

Visitors always remark on the large number of the people in Ceylon, the domestic servants especially, who understand and speak English, as compared with India. In ancient times each Buddhist temple had its pansala or school; but although this is still kept up in some low-country districts, in the Kandyan country for many years the priests have neglected their duty in this and other respects, being entirely independent of the people through the endowments in land left them by the Kandyan kings, which have in this case proved a curse instead of a blessing to the priests themselves as well as to the people. In the low-country there are no endowments.

Educated Ceylonese are now in many cases finding it difficult to secure openings in life suited to their taste: the legal profession has hitherto been the most popular,

it being occupied almost entirely by them as notaries, attorneys or solicitors, advocates, barristers, and even judges. In this way Sir Richard Morgan, born and educated in Ceylon, rose to be attorney-general, chief justice, and knight. At this moment a Sinhalese gentleman is judge of the Supreme Court; others are county judges, leading barristers, and solicitors.

The Sinhalese fondness for litigation is proverbial; their cases in court abound even to disputing about the fractional part of a cocoanut-tree. Crime generally is represented by a daily average of about 1,800 convicted prisoners in the gaols of the island, a large number being for petty thefts and assaults. The cost of the administration of justice for the criminal class—police, courts, gaols, &c.—cannot be less than Rs. 1,000,000, or about 85,000*l.*, per annum.

CHAPTER IV.

LEGISLATIVE AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS BY
SUCCESSIVE BRITISH GOVERNORS.¹

AMONG the social and political reforms introduced by the British during the present century into Ceylon may be mentioned the abolition by the first governor, the Hon. F. North, of torture and other barbarous punishments so abhorrent to English feeling, and the relaxation during the time of his successor of the severe laws against Romanists twenty years before Catholic emancipation in England. Trial by jury was first introduced by a new charter of justice in 1811; but it was not till 1844 that all caste and clan distinction in the jury-box and all slavery were finally abolished.

¹ Lists of the British governors of the island, chief justices, commanders of the troops, and executive councillors, together with the names of some non-officials who deserve to be specially mentioned as public benefactors, are given in Appendix III.

A new and much improved charter of justice, the establishment of a Legislative Council with unofficial members, an order in Council abolishing compulsory labour, the establishment of a free press, the relinquishment of the cinnamon monopoly, the institution of a Government savings-bank and the Colombo Academy, all served to mark the years between 1830 and 1840.

During the next decade a tax on fishermen of one-tithe of all the fish taken was abolished; the bonds of slavery were finally removed; great efforts were made to extend education and medical relief to the masses, and the important planting industry took its first start; a wise and most useful law for the improvement of roads, exacting six days' labour per annum, or its value, from all able-bodied males between eighteen and fifty-five years of age, was passed; the last national disturbance of the Kandians was quickly suppressed without the loss of a single life; the colony passed through a commercial and financial crisis, and on the ruins of the Bank of Ceylon the Oriental Bank Corporation arose.

In 1850 there was commenced in Ceylon the most successful service with carrier-pigeons ever known in connexion with the

press. The *Ceylon Observer* carrier-pigeons travelled regularly between Galle (the mail port) and Colombo with budgets of news till 1857, when they were superseded by the telegraph. All official connexion between the British Government and Buddhism was closed in 1855, the year in which Sir Henry Ward commenced to rule, and a new impetus was given to Native and European industry by useful legislation. The restoration of irrigation works, the construction of roads, the commencement of a railway, the reorganization of the public service, the introduction of penny postage (with a halfpenny rate for newspapers), the establishment of steam navigation round the island and of telegraph communication between the principal towns, the reform of the Kandyan marriage laws, and the abolition of polyandry, also marked this period.

The following decade, 1860—1870, is chiefly distinguished for Governor Sir Hercules Robinson's energetic and most useful administration, with measures for the civil registration of marriages, births, and deaths, and of titles to land; the opening of the railway to Kandy; the publication by the people of Sinhalese and Tamil newspapers; the forma-

tion of the towns of Colombo, Kandy, and Galle into municipalities, with Boards composed of elected and official members; the revival of gansabháwa, or village councils; the adoption of a grant-in-aid scheme for promoting the education of the people; the abolition of export duties; the founding of the Ceylon Medical School; and the visit in 1870 of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh.

The latest decade in the history of Ceylon has its interest in the most prosperous, busy, and successful government of Sir William Gregory. The first systematic census of the population was taken in 1871. Measures were adopted for the conservation of forests and for preventing the extinction of elk, deer, elephants, &c.; the registration of titles was provided for; Colombo, Kandy, and Galle were much improved, arrangements for a good water-supply to each town being made; while for the sanatorium (Nuwara Eliya) and other minor towns a bill was passed establishing local boards on the elective principle; the gansabháwa, or village councils, were improved and encouraged; an immense impetus was given to rice cultivation, 100 village tanks being repaired every year, besides larger works; the North-Central

Province, in purely native interests, was formed, and the great lines of communication between the north and east permanently opened; Anurádhapura, the ancient capital, was cleared of jungle, and rendered a healthy revenue station; gaols, hospitals, and schools were greatly improved, gaol discipline being put on a new footing; pilgrimages on a large scale injuriously affecting public health were discouraged and practically stopped; scientific education was provided for; temperance was promoted by the reduction of the number of licences granted to grog-shops; gas lighting was introduced into Colombo; the stoppage of all payments from the revenue in aid of religion was arranged for; the industry in the growth of new products—tea, cinchona, and chocolate—took its first systematic start; an enactment dealing with service tenures in connexion with temples was passed; road and railway extension were actively taken in hand; a public museum was erected and well filled at Colombo; and in 1875 H.R.H. the Prince of Wales visited the island, and laid the first stone of the Colombo Breakwater, designed and completed by Sir John Coode.

Since 1879 the colony has suffered from financial depression, due chiefly to the falling off **in** the coffee crops. A volunteer corps has **been** established under Sir James Longden's patronage; but the only work of importance is an extensive lunatic asylum, deemed rather beyond the wants of the colony, being built on a scale likely rather to **astonish** than benefit poor rural Sinhalese lunatics taken from jungle huts to be lodged in **brick** and mortar palaces.

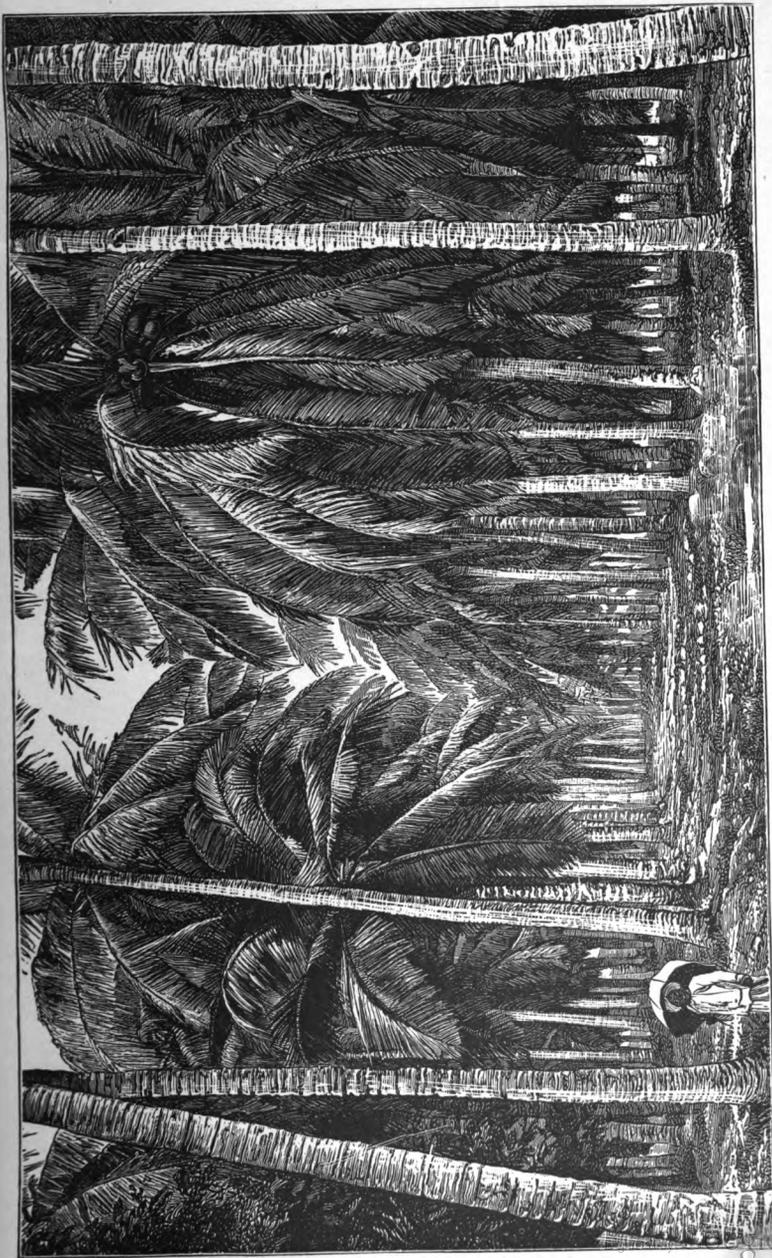
CHAPTER V.

NATIVE AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

Paddy (rice) cultivation—Cinnamon—Cocoanut, Palmyra, Kitul, Arecanut, and other Palms—Essential oils—Tobacco—Cotton—Sugar-cane—Natural pasture.

WHETHER or not Ceylon was in ancient times the granary of South-Eastern Asia, certain it is that long before the Portuguese or Dutch, not to speak of the British era, that condition had lapsed, and so far from the island having a surplus of food products, the British, like their European predecessors, had to import a certain quantity of rice from Southern India to feed their troops and the new population of the capital generally. There can be no doubt as to the large quantity of rice which could be grown around the network of tanks in the north and east, which have been lying for centuries broken and unused in the midst of unoccupied territory.

Driven from the northern plains by the



A COCOANUT PLANTATION.

conquering Tamils, the Sinhalese, taking refuge in the mountain zone more to the south and west, found a country in many respects less suited for rice than for fruit and root culture; but yet under British, as under native rule, *rice- or paddy-growing* continues to be the one most general and favourite occupation of the Sinhalese people, as indeed it is of the Ceylon Tamils in the north and east of the island. Agriculture, in their opinion, is the most honourable of callings, and although in many districts fruit and root—that is, garden—culture would prove more profitable, yet the paddy field is far more popular.

Nowhere in Ceylon are there extensive tracts of alluvial lands such as mark the banks and deltas of rivers in India, and the average return of rice per acre in Ceylon, under the most favourable circumstances, is considerably below the Indian average. It was the opinion of one of the most experienced of Ceylon civil servants—who served in the island from 1829 to 1879—that the “cultivation of paddy is now the least profitable pursuit to which a native can apply himself; it is persevered in from habit, and because the value of time and labour

never enters into his calculations." On the principle of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, it would certainly appear that the people of Ceylon (with but few exceptions in the drier districts of the east and north) could more profitably turn their attention to plantation and garden products, such as cocoanuts, areca or betel nuts, pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, cocoa, tea, cardamoms, and fruits of all tropical kinds (even putting coffee on one side for the present), and, selling the produce to advantage, buy rice from southern and northern India and Burmah for a cheaper rate than they can produce it. But it is impossible, even if it were politic—which we doubt—to revolutionize the habits of a very conservative people in this way; and therefore, so soon as the sale of forest land to planters, and the introduction of capital for the planting enterprise, put the Government in possession of surplus revenue, Sir Henry Ward acted wisely in turning his attention to the restoration and repair of such irrigation works in the neighbourhood of population as he felt would at once be utilized for the increased production of grain. In this way he changed a large extent of waste

land into an expanse of perennial rice culture for the benefit of the industrious Mohammedans and Hindus of the Batticaloa district in the Eastern Province. Similarly, he spent large sums for the benefit of the Sinhalese rice cultivators in the southern districts.

Sir Hercules Robinson conceived a statesmanlike law by which expenditure on irrigation works, chiefly village tanks, on terms far more liberal to the people than any offered in India, formed a part of the annual budget. Most cordially was this policy supported by his successor, Sir William Gregory, who, moreover, entered on an undertaking of greater magnitude than any previously recorded in British times : namely, the formation of a new province around the ancient capital of Ceylon, and the restoration of tanks and completion of roads and bridges within its bounds, sufficient to give the sparse Sinhalese population every advantage in making a start in the race of prosperity. At a considerable expenditure, spread over four or five years, this was accomplished, and a population of some 60,000 Sinhalese thereby more directly benefited than they had been before by any of their rulers, native or European, for several centuries.

Governor Gregory also introduced a measure for substituting compulsory commutation for the renting of the grain-tithes on a scale so liberal as to amount to a considerable lessening of taxation (as shown by the decrease of the land revenue of recent years), although it is well known that the rice cultivators, unlike their planting brethren, have had favourable seasons and good crops. The effect of the liberal policy described has undoubtedly been to bring a far larger area under grain cultivation now than was the case at the beginning of the century; but it is impossible, in the absence of a cadastral survey, to give the exact extent.

The accepted estimate is that there are now 650,000 acres under rice or paddy, and about 150,000 under dry grain, Indian corn, and other cereals. And the striking fact is, that so far from the import of grain decreasing as the local production extended, the reverse has been the case. In this, however, is seen the influence of the expanding planting enterprise: fifty years ago, when coffee-planting was just beginning in Ceylon, the total quantity of grain required from India was an import of 650,000 bushels; now, it is as high as five and six million

bushels. The import in 1877, the year of the Madras famine, when Ceylon planters had 170,000 fugitives from Southern India, besides their usual cooly labour force, amounted to no less than 6,800,000 bushels.

The disposal of the increasing local production simultaneously with these imports is explained by the rapidly increasing population in the rural districts, and the much larger quantity of food consumed in a time of prosperity. In the early part of the century, the average Sinhalese countryman consumed, probably, only half the quantity of rice (supplemented by fruit and vegetables) which he is now able to afford.

Turning from the main staple of native agriculture to garden produce, we have to note that while the Dutch monopolies in cinnamon, pepper, &c., were probably worked at a loss to the Government, even with forced labour at their command, the export of the cinnamon spice was insignificant as compared with what it has risen to by the free system adopted under British rule. There can be no doubt that Ceylon cinnamon is the finest in the world, celebrated from the middle of the fourteenth century according to authentic records, and one of the few pro-

ducts of importance indigenous to the island. It was known through Arab caravans to the Romans, who paid in Rome the equivalent of 8*l.* sterling per pound for the fragrant spice. Ceylon has, therefore, well-earned the name "Cinnamon Isle," whatever may be said of its spicy breezes. The maximum export of the Dutch was in 1738, when 600,000 lbs., valued at from 8*s.* 4*d.* to 17*s.* 8*d.* per lb., was sent to India, Persia, and Europe, from Ceylon. In the commercial season 1881-82, Ceylon has sent into the markets of the world, almost entirely through London, as many as 1,600,000 lbs. of cinnamon quill bark, and nearly 400,000 lbs. of chips, the finest bark being purchasable at the London sales for from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* per lb. This quantity is yielded by an area of about 35,000 acres, cultivated entirely, and almost entirely owned, by the people of Ceylon.

Of far greater importance now to the people, as well as to the export trade of the island, is its *Palm cultivation*, which has enormously extended since the time of the Dutch, especially in the maritime districts. European capital has done much in turning waste land into cocoanut plantations; but there is, also, no more favourite mode

of investment for the native, mercantile, trading, and industrial classes of the people (Sinhalese and Tamils), who have greatly increased in wealth during the past fifty years, than in gardens and estates of cocoanuts, arecas, palmyras, and other palms and fruit trees. Within the Dutch and British periods a great portion of the coast-line of Ceylon, for a breadth varying from a quarter of a mile to one of several miles, has been planted with cocoanut palms, while in the Jaffna peninsula the natives have chiefly planted the equally useful palmyra. These palms, together with a little rice and a piece of cotton cloth, supply most of the wants of the people.

It has been commonly remarked that the uses of the cocoanut palm are as numerous as the days of the year. Food, drink, domestic utensils, materials for building and thatching, wine, sugar, and oil are amongst the many gifts to man of this munificent tree. Unlike the other trade staples, coffee and cinnamon, by far the largest proportion of the products of the cocoanut palm—nuts, oil, arrack, leaves for thatch, fences, mats and baskets, timber, &c.—are locally utilized.

Arrack (in varying quantities, according to

the demand in the Madras Presidency) is exported, but the export is not to be compared with the large local consumption, which unfortunately increases with the increasing wealth of the people. The British are blamed for regulating and protecting the arrack and liquor traffic, but the consumption was pretty general before the British came to Ceylon. It may be a question whether taverns have not been too widely multiplied, and whether we should not take a leaf out of the Dutch policy in Java, where the consumption of intoxicating liquors among natives is very rigidly restricted.

A good many millions of cocoanuts are exported, but the chief trade is in coir fibre from the husk, and in the expressed oil from the nut, used in Europe as a lubricator, for soap-making, and dressing cloths, and (partially) for candle-making and lighting purposes, African palm oil and petroleum being its great rivals. The average value of the products of the cocoanut-palm exported may be taken at about the following figures: oil, 250,000*l.*; coir, 48,000*l.*; arrack, 15,000*l.*; koppara (the dried kernel sent to India for native food), 36,000*l.*; nuts, 8,000*l.*; miscel-

laneous products, 5,000*l.*; making a total of 362,000*l.*; while the value of the produce locally consumed must be at least two millions sterling per annum, and the market value of the area covered with cocoanuts over rather than under twenty millions sterling. The local use of cocoanuts is sure to increase with railway extension and the development of the interior of the island. There are perhaps twenty-six millions of cocoa-nut palms cultivated in Ceylon, covering over 300,000 acres, all but about 20,000 acres being owned by natives themselves. There are nearly 20,000 native oil-crushers driven by bullocks, apart from steam establishments in Colombo; while the preparation of the fibre affords occupation to a large number of the people.

After the cocoanut tree, the palmyra has been regarded as the richest plant in the East. Both require from eight to twelve years to come into bearing, but they are supposed to live from 150 to 300 years. By many the palmyra is thought a richer tree than the cocoanut, and it is especially adapted to the drier regions of the north and east of the island. It is estimated there are eight

millions of palmyras owned by the people in the Jaffna peninsula, the edible products of which supply one-fourth of the food of 280,000 inhabitants. The Tamil poets describe 800 different purposes to which the palmyra can be applied. The timber is prized for house-building purposes, especially for rafters, being hard and durable. Besides there being a large local consumption, as much as 10,000*l.* worth is still annually exported from Ceylon, while of jaggery sugar about 20,000 cwts. are made from this palm, the cultivation of which covers 50,000 acres.

The kitul or jaggery palm (*Caryota ureus*), known also as the bastard sago, is another very valuable tree common in Ceylon. Jaggery sugar and toddy wine are prepared from the sap, the best trees yielding 100 pints of sap in twenty-four hours. Sago is manufactured from the pith, and fibre from the leaves for fishing-lines and bowstrings, the fibre from the leaf-stalks being made into rope for tying wild elephants. Of the fibre, from 4,000*l.* to 8,000*l.* value is exported annually; of the jaggery sugar, 2,000*l.* worth. The quantity made in the country is very great. This palm is found round every Kandyan's

hut. The area covered is, perhaps, equal to 30,000 acres. The trunk timber is used for rafters, being hard and durable.

The cultivation of the *Areca catechu* (which is compared to "an arrow shot from heaven" by the Hindu poets) was always one of the chief sources of the Ceylon trade in ante-British times. In the Portuguese era great quantities of the nuts were exported, and these formed the chief medium of exchange for the proportion of grain which the natives of Ceylon have for centuries drawn from Southern India. The Dutch esteemed the arecanut as a very great source of revenue, and they made an exclusive trade of it. They exported yearly about 55,000 cwts. About the same quantity was annually shipped between 1806 and 1813. The export is almost entirely to Southern India. An arecanut tree requires five years to come into bearing. It grows all over the low-country and in the hills up to an elevation above sea-level of between 2,000 and 3,000 feet. Some coffee estate proprietors around Kandy in the early days planted arecanuts along their boundaries, thereby forming a capital division line. The home consumption is very large, and the area covered by the palm must be

equal to 40,000 acres. The annual value of the exports of arecanut produce now is about 120,000*l.*

There are numerous other palms, more especially the magnificent talipot, which flowers once (a grand crown of blossom, twenty feet high) after sixty or eighty years, and then dies, and which is freely used for native huts, umbrellas, books, &c., the heart also being, like that of the sago palm, good for human food.

The bread-fruit tree, the jak, orange, and mango, as well as gardens of plantains and pine-apples, might be mentioned among products cultivated and of great use to the people of Ceylon; in fact, there is not a native land-owner or cultivator in the country who does not possess a garden of palms or other fruit trees, besides paddy fields. The total area cultivated with palms and fruit trees cannot be less than from 500,000 to 600,000 acres (in addition to 100,000 acres under garden vegetables, roots, cassava, &c.), and although by far the major portion, perhaps four-fifths, of the produce is consumed by the people, yet the annual value of the export trade in its various forms, from this source, is in excess of half a million sterling,

against less than 90,000*l.* at the beginning of the century.

Besides cocoanut oil, there is an export of essential oils expressed from citronella and lemon grass, from cinnamon and cinnamon leaf, which, valued at 50,000*l.* to 60,000*l.*, is of some importance to a section of the community.

Of more importance to the people is their tobacco, of which about 25,000 acres are cultivated, the greater part of the crop being consumed locally, though as much as 40,000 cwt. of manufactured leaf, valued at 90,000*l.*, are exported to India.

The natives have always grown a little cotton in certain districts, and at one time a good deal of cotton cloth was manufactured at Batticaloa, but the industry has almost entirely ceased, being driven out by the cheapness of Manchester goods.

Sugar-cane is largely grown in native gardens for use as a vegetable, the cane being sold in the bazaars and the pith eaten as the stalk of a cabbage would be. At one time the eastern and southern districts of the island were thought to be admirably adapted for systematic sugar cultivation, but after plantations on an exten-

sive scale had been opened by experienced colonists and a large amount of capital sunk, it was found that, while the cane grew luxuriantly, the moist climate and soil did not permit of the sap crystallizing or yielding a sufficiency of crystallizable material. There is, however, still one plantation and manufactory of sugar and molasses in European hands near Galle.

Before leaving these branches of agriculture more particularly in native hands, we may refer to the large expanse of patana grass and natural pasturage, especially in the Uva and eastern districts, which is availed of by the Sinhalese for their cattle, a certain number of which supply the meat consumed in the Central Province. By far the greater portion, however, of the beef and mutton required in the large towns of the island is (like rice, flour, potatoes, and other food requisites) imported in the shape of cattle and sheep, to the value of 80,000*l.*, from India. In some years the return has been over 120,000*l.*, but that was chiefly through the demand for Indian bullocks for draught purposes. There is no doubt much scope for the people of Ceylon to do more to meet the local demand for such food supplies, although

the natural pasturage is rather poor as a rule. In Guinea and Mauritius grass, which grow freely with a little attention, two of the best fodder grasses in the world might be made available.

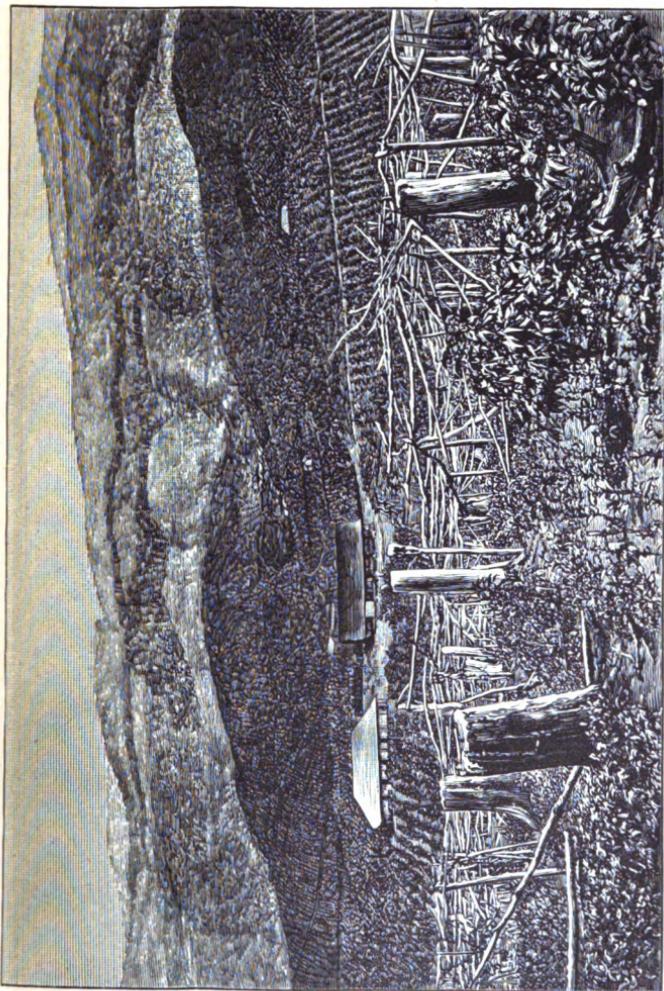
CHAPTER VI.

THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF THE PLANTING
INDUSTRY.

Coffee introduced by Arabs—First systematically cultivated by the Dutch in 1740—Extensive development in 1837—Highest level of prosperity reached in 1868-70—Appearance of Leaf Disease in 1869—Its disastrous results.

WE now turn to the great planting industry in coffee and the later additions in tea, cocoa, (the chocolate or cocoa plant, not to be confounded with the cocoanut palm), cinchona, rubber trees, cardamoms, &c., to which the past rapid development and prosperity of the island are mainly due, and on which its future position as a leading colony must still chiefly depend.

The Arabs first introduced coffee into India and Ceylon, and the shrub was grown here before the arrival of the Portuguese or Dutch; but the preparation of a beverage from its berries was totally unknown



GENERAL VIEW OF A YOUNG DIMBULA PLANTATION (ABBOTSFORD).

Tea and Cinchona Nurseries in foreground ; rows of Coffee around buildings in centre ; felled and standing Forest beyond .

From a Photograph by Messrs. W. L. H. Skeen & Co., of Colombo.

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to the Sinhalese, who only used the young coffee leaves for their curries and the delicate jasmine-like coffee flowers for ornamenting their shrines of Buddha.

The first attempt at systematic cultivation was made by the Dutch in 1740, but, being confined to the low-country, it did not succeed, and they seem never to have exported more than 1,000 cwts. in a year. The Moormen (Arab) traders and Sinhalese, having once discovered the use of coffee, kept up the cultivation and trade, but when the British took Ceylon and up to 1812, the annual export had never exceeded 3,000 cwts. So it continued until the master-mind of Sir Edward Barnes opened communication between the hill-country and the coast, and began to consider how the industry could be extended and the revenues of the country developed. The governor himself led the way in opening a coffee plantation near Kandy in 1825, just one year after the first systematic coffee estate was formed by Mr. George Bird near Gampola. These examples were speedily followed, but still the progress was slow, for in 1837, twelve years after, the total export of coffee did not exceed 30,000 cwts.

It is usual to date the rise of the planting enterprise from this year, which witnessed a great rush of investments and the introduction of the West India system of cultivation by Robert Boyd Tytler, usually regarded as the "father" of Ceylon planters. Immense extension of cultivation took place up to 1845, by which time the trade had developed to an export of close on 200,000 cwts. Then came a financial explosion in Great Britain, which speedily extended its destructive influence to Ceylon, and led to a stoppage of the supplies required to plant and cultivate young plantations. Much land opened was abandoned, and for three years the enterprise was paralyzed; but nevertheless the export continued to increase, and by the time Governor Sir Henry Ward appeared in 1854 confidence had been restored, and all was ready for the immense impetus his energetic administration gave to an enterprise which in twenty years had come to be regarded as the backbone of the agricultural industry of the island and the mainstay of the revenue. The Sinhalese soon followed the example set them by the European planters, and so widely and rapidly developed their coffee gardens throughout

the hill-country, that between 1849 and 1869, from one-half to one-fourth of the total shipped year by year was "native coffee."

The highest level of prosperity was reached in 1868, 1869, and 1870, in each of which years the total exports slightly exceeded a million cwts., of a value in European markets of not less than four millions sterling, against 34,000 cwts., valued at 120,000*l.*, exported in 1837: a marvellous development in thirty years of a tropical industry!

In 1869 the total extent cultivated on plantations (apart from native gardens) was 176,000 acres, and the return from the land in full bearing averaged over 5 cwts. an acre, a return which should give a profit of from 5*l.* to 8*l.* an acre, or from twenty to twenty-five per cent. on the capital invested under favourable circumstances. Nothing could be brighter than the prospects of the colony and its main enterprise in 1869: Sir Hercules Robinson's administration, then in mid-course, was most beneficial; the railway between Colombo and Kandy, two years open, was a grand success; and, with an unfailing supply of cheap free labour from Southern India, remarkable facilities for transport, and a splendid climate, the stability of the

great coffee enterprise seemed to be assured.

Its importance was fully realized by statistics of the actual extent cultivated being for the first time compiled, and although it began to be felt that the good land at the most suitable altitude had all been taken up, and most of it brought under cultivation, yet no one doubted the comparative permanency of such plantations under a liberal scientific system of cultivation. But in this same year there first appeared an enemy, most insignificant in appearance, which in less than a dozen years was fated to bring down the export of the great staple to one-fifth of its then dimensions, and that notwithstanding a wide extension of new cultivation. This enemy was a minute fungus on the leaf, new to science, and named by the greatest fungoid authorities *Hemileia vastatrix*, from its destructive powers, now popularly known as "coffee-leaf disease."

First appearing in one of the youngest districts at a remote corner, it rapidly spread all over the coffee zone, being easily distinguished by the appearance of bright orange spots on the leaves which subsequently wither and drop off. At first it was treated as a matter of little

moment by all but the late Dr. Thwaites, F.R.S., the Director of the Ceylon Botanic Gardens, and for several years it apparently did little harm, crops being only slightly affected, and any decrease being attributed to seasonal influence rather than to a minute pest, which, it was supposed, only served to remind the planter of the necessity of more liberal cultivation. Another cause, moreover, served most effectually to blind the eyes of all concerned to the insidious progress of the pest and the gradual but sure falling off of crops, namely, a sudden and unprecedented rise in the value of coffee in Europe and America—a rise equivalent, in a few years, to more than fifty per cent. This great access of value to his returns more than sufficed to compensate the Ceylon planter for any diminution of crop. It did more: it stimulated a vast extension of cultivation into the only large reserve, known as the Wilderness of the Peak, extending from Nuwara Eliya through a succession of upland valleys in Dimbula, Dikoya, and Maskeliya, to the Adam's Peak range, an area of forest covering some 400 square miles, having the most delightful climate in the world, but until then regarded as too

high and wet for coffee, and only utilized as a hunting-ground by an occasional party of Europeans or Kandyans, the pilgrim's paths to Adam's Peak, winding their way through the dense jungle, and intercepted by a succession of large unbridged rivers, being the only lines of communication. The rush into this El Dorado had begun in the time of Sir Hercules Robinson, who energetically aided the development by extending roads and bridging rivers, thus utilizing some of the large surpluses which the sale of the lands and the increased customs and railway revenues afforded him.

A cycle of favourable—that is comparatively dry—seasons still further contributed to the success of the young high districts, so that coffee (which had previously been supposed to find its suitable limit at 4,000 or 4,500 feet), was planted and cultivated profitably up to 5,000 and even 5,500 feet. All through Governor Gregory's administration the high price of coffee and the active extension of the cultivated area continued, the competition becoming so keen that forest-land, which ten or twenty years before could not fetch as much as 1*l.* an acre, was sold as high as 15*l.*, 20*l.*, and even 28*l.* an acre.

Even at this price planters calculated on profitable results ; but there can be no doubt that speculation, rather than the teachings of experience, guided their calculations.

Between 1869 and 1879 over 400,000 acres of Crown land were sold by the Ceylon Government, bringing in more than a million sterling to the revenue, and of this 100,000 acres were brought into cultivation with coffee at an outlay of not less than from two to two and a half millions sterling, almost entirely in the upland districts referred to.

Meantime, the insidious leaf-fungus pest had been working deadly mischief. High cultivation, with manure of various descriptions, failing to arrest its progress, the aid of science was called in, special investigations took place, its life-history was written ; but the practical result was no more satisfactory to the coffee planter than have similar investigations proved to the potato cultivator, the wheat farmer fighting with rust, or the vine-grower who is baffled by the fatal *phylloxera*. Less deadly than the *phylloxera*, the leaf-fungus had nevertheless so affected the Ceylon coffee enterprise that in the ten years during which cultivation had extended more than fifty per cent., the annual export

had fallen to three-fourths of the million cwts. The same fungus had extended to the coffee districts of India and Java, with similar results in devastated crops, but in the greatest coffee country of all—Brazil—the impetus to an extension of cultivation which the high prices from 1873 onwards had given, was not checked by this fungoid disease, and from thence soon began to pour into the markets of the world such crops as speedily brought prices to their old level, reacting disastrously on the Ceylon enterprise, which had at the same time to encounter the monetary depression caused by the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank and other financial failures in Britain. Misfortunes never come singly, and accordingly a series of wet seasons crowned the evils befalling the planters in the young high districts, while the older coffee lower down began to be neglected, so enfeebled had it become in many places under the repeated visits of the fungus. The result is that in the present season (1882-3) in place of the million cwts. exported thirteen years ago, the total shipments of coffee from Ceylon will not exceed one-fourth of that quantity, and although with a more favourable blossoming

time just closed, it may be nearly doubled in the succeeding season, yet there is no escape from the serious drawbacks which beset the coffee-planter in Ceylon. The mitigations and silver lining to the dark cloud will be alluded to later on.

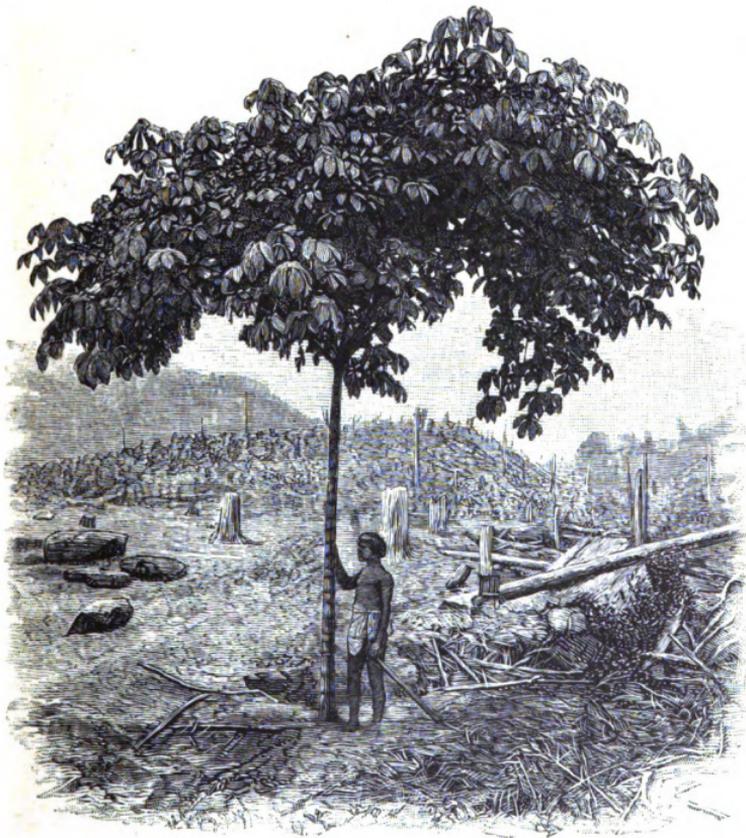
At an early stage in the appearance of the leaf disease, one and perhaps the chief cause of its appearance had become apparent in the limitation of the cultivation to one plant, and one only, over hundreds of square miles of country which had previously been covered with the most varied vegetation. Nature had revenged herself, just as she had done in Ireland when potatoes threatened to become the universal crop, on extensive wheat fields elsewhere, and on the French vineyards. It could not be said that the fungus had emanated in Ceylon because of coffee being worn out or badly cultivated, for it first appeared in a young district upon vigorous coffee, and it has attacked old and young, vigorous and weak trees, with absolute impartiality. The true remedy, then, for the loss occasioned by this pest—apart from the wisdom of the old adage not to have all one's eggs in one basket—lay in the introduction of *New Products*.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW PRODUCTS.

Cinchona—Tea—Cocoa—India-rubber—Liberian Coffee,
&c.

FORTY years ago the Messrs. Worms (cousins of the Rothschilds, who did an immense deal in developing Ceylon) proved that tea would grow well in the island. Attention had frequently been called to this product, and in 1867 a Ceylon planter was commissioned to report on the tea-planting industry in India. In that same year the planter's attention also first turned to the cinchona plant, which had been introduced six years earlier to India and Ceylon by Mr. Clements Markham. The Director of the Botanic Garden, Dr. Thwaites, however, found great difficulty in getting any planter to care about cultivating a "medicine plant," and when the great rise in prices for coffee came all thought of tea and cinchona was cast to the winds, and the one old profitable product, which everybody



THE CEARA RUBBER TREE.

A specimen of rapid growth in Ceylon (Sembawattie Estate); 17 ft. high, 10 in. in circumference, and only nine months old.

From a Photograph by Messrs. W. L. H. Skeen & Co., of Colombo.

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—planters and coolies alike—understood, was alone planted.

Very early in his administration Sir William Gregory, to his credit be it said, saw the necessity for new products, and he used all his personal and official influence for their development, introducing a new feature into the Governor's annual speech to the Legislative Council in special notices of the progress of tea, cinchona, cocoa, Liberian coffee, and rubber cultivation. The influence of the principal journal in the colony (the *Ceylon Observer*) was cast into the same scale, and practical information to aid the planter of new products was collected for it from all quarters, more especially from the tropical belt of the earth's surface.

When Governor Gregory arrived in 1872 only 500 acres of cinchona had been planted, but before he left in 1877 not only had these increased to 6,000 acres, but the planters had begun thoroughly to appreciate the value of the new product, its suitability for the hill-country and climate of Ceylon, and the profits to be made from judicious cultivation. Now, the area under cinchona, making allowance for what is planted throughout the coffee plantations, cannot be

less than 40,000 acres, the export of bark which was 11,547 lbs. in 1872, having risen to 3,000,000 lbs. the last season, while it is expected to be at least 6,000,000 lbs. during the present year. Very great mistakes have been made in cinchona-planting in the use of immature seed in unsuitable soil and by the choice of unsuitable species ; but every year the Ceylon planters are qualifying more thoroughly to be successful cinchona growers, and are finding how much may be done to supplement coffee by this product.

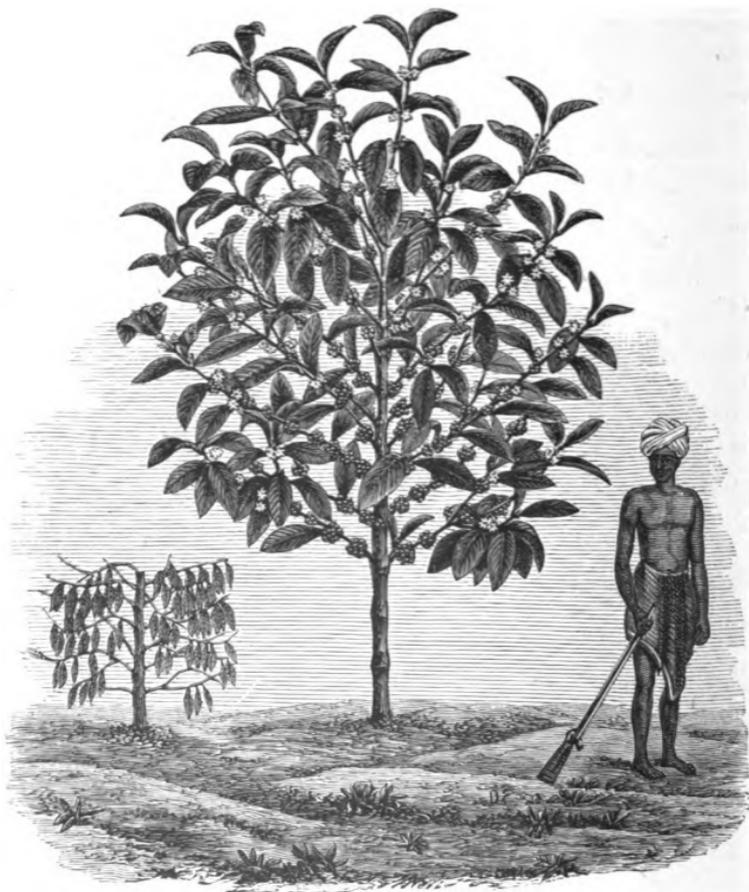
It has been the conviction of very many who have studied the climate and the character of Ceylon soils, that the colony is far more fitted to become a great tea producer than ever it was to grow coffee. It is felt, too, that a large proportion of the area opened with the latter product—apart from the appearance of leaf-fungus altogether—would have done much better under tea. Unlike India, there is never in the western, south-western, and central (the hilly) portions of Ceylon, a month of the year without rain, the annual fall in this region ranging from 80 to 200 inches, while the alternate tropical sunshine and rain form the perfection of climate for the tea shrub. Untimely

showers, which so often wreck the blossoms and the hopes of the coffee planter, do no harm to the leaf crop of the tea planter; and the tea shrub is found to be hardier and more suitable to the comparatively poor soil of Ceylon than coffee. Nevertheless it has taken many years to convince Ceylon planters of the wisdom of looking to tea; and far less progress has been made than in the case of cinchona. There are good reasons for this in the greater cost of tea seed, and the much greater trouble entailed in the preparation of the produce for the market. Beginning from 1873 with 250 acres, in the ten years this area has increased to about 20,000 acres, and now that seed is cheaper and the manufacture of the leaf is no longer a mystery, Ceylon is on the highway to become a rival to the most important of the Indian districts in the production of tea. The export from Ceylon of 23 lbs. in 1876 has risen to 600,000 lbs. last year, and this year it is expected to be 1,500,000 lbs. There are large reserves of Crown land suitable for tea, for it is found to flourish and produce profitable crops on land a few hundred feet above sea-level, as well as at all altitudes up to

6,000 feet in the neighbourhood of Nuwara Eliya.

Another most promising product is *cocoa*, producing the cocoa or chocolate of commerce. This can never be cultivated in Ceylon to the same extent as coffee, tea, or cinchona, for it requires a depth of good soil and shelter from wind, and these are only to be found in very limited areas. Nevertheless, where these exist cocoa promises to be a most lasting and profitable cultivation. To the late R. B. Tytler belongs the credit of introducing this cultivation, and in his hands Ceylon cocoa speedily realized the highest price in the London market, experienced brokers remarking that there must be something in the soil and climate of the districts where it is cultivated in Ceylon peculiarly suited to cocoa. There are several thousand acres now planted, and it is quite expected that ten years hence an area exceeding 20,000 acres under this plant will enable Ceylon to send 100,000 cwts. of its product into European markets.

The *Caoutchouc* or India-rubber trees of commerce, from South America and Eastern Africa, are of more recent introduction, but their cultivation and growth in the coffee



COFFEE.

A. The ARABIAN, or East African; B. The LIBERIAN, or West African; with Cooly attendant employed to shoot squirrels, rats, or hares on plantation.

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districts of Ceylon have so far given most satisfactory results. Some millions of young Cearà rubber trees are now growing, and the effect on commerce must ere long be visible.

Among minor new products, Liberian coffee was introduced from the West African Republic of that name in the hope that its large size and strong habit would enable it at the low elevation in which it grows to resist the leaf fungus; but this hope has not been realized, and although the acreage planted is giving fair crops, there is no attempt to extend this area for the present.

Cardamoms, pepper, African palm-oil nut, and nutmegs are among the other products to which, by reason of the reverse in coffee, planters in the hill- and low-country of Ceylon are turning their attention; and in the variety of all these industries, which give a fair prospect of success, it is felt there is sufficient guarantee to warrant the belief that the coffee leaf fungus will prove eventually a blessing in disguise to the island, its colonists and native people. The latter have suffered with their European brethren, not only through the disease affecting their coffee gardens, but much more through the absence

of employment in so many branches which the prosperous coffee enterprise opened out to them. Now, many of them, led by their chiefs and intelligent headmen and villagers, are planting new products—cinchona, cocoa, and rubber—like the planters themselves.

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Total Quantities of the following

Total Exports from			Coffee.		
			Planta- tion.	Native.	Total.
			cwt.	cwt.	cwt.
1 Oct. 1891 to 30 Sept. 1892		1892	522,949	41,897	564,846
do. 1980	do.	1881	415,456	38,302	453,758
do. 1879	do.	1880	622,306	47,308	669,614
do. 1878	do.	1879	767,293	57,216	824,509
do. 1877	do.	1878	551,046	69,246	620,292
do. 1876	do.	1877	351,201	91,846	443,047
do. 1875	do.	1876	626,636	93,791	720,427
do. 1874	do.	1875	855,661	113,033	968,694
do. 1873	do.	1874	521,103	96,149	617,252
do. 1872	do.	1873	861,575	133,918	995,493

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CHAPTER VIII.

PRESENT POSITION OF AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE
AND LOCAL INDUSTRIES.

Exports of last decade—The plumbago trade—Gold and Iron—Native industries generally flourishing—Cinchona and Tea will make up for the deficiency in Coffee.

To sum up and show at a glance the present position of our agricultural enterprise and local industry, we here insert a statement of the *staple exports* for the past ten commercial seasons. [See Table.]

These figures differ slightly from those already quoted for the calendar years, the *commercial* season closing on 30th September, so as to separate as fairly as possible each coffee crop.

There is one heading in this table that we have not touched on yet—*plumbago*, or graphite. This is the only mineral of commercial importance exported from Ceylon. The mining industry is entirely in the hands of the Sinhalese; mines of from 100 to 200 and even 300 ft. depth are worked in a primitive fashion, and the finest plumbago in

the world for crucible purposes is obtained. The industry has taken a great start of recent years, the average export increasing fully 50 per cent. in a decade; the value of the trade is now 350,000*l.* per annum, and this has sprung up entirely within the last forty years.

Gold is freely distributed in the primary rocks of Ceylon, but it has not been found in paying quantities. Rich iron ore is very abundant, but there is no coal.

It will be observed that the branches of trade more particularly in the hands of the natives—cocoanut oil, cinnamon, and minor exports—are in a sound, flourishing and progressive condition. The case is very different with coffee, and the table does not reveal the full extent of the decline, for in the current season (1882-3) the total export cannot exceed 200,000 cwts. of plantation and 40,000 of native kinds; while for next season (1883-4) the total out-turn is not likely to exceed 440,000 cwts. The significance of these figures will be understood when it is remembered that between 1865 and 1878 the average export of coffee shipped was equal in value to more than double of all the other exports put together. In other words,

instead of four or five millions of pounds' worth of coffee, we are now reduced to a value of from one and a quarter to one and a half millions sterling. But here come in the new headings in our export table of tea, cinchona, and cocoa, which henceforth divide with coffee the honour of representing our planting enterprise *par excellence*.

It will be observed how rapidly the trade in cinchona and tea has developed, and during this season and next the export of both will be represented by millions of pounds. Cocoa or chocolate beans show slower progress, because all the seed has been required locally to extend the cultivated area.

Taking the worst possible view of the future in respect of coffee, we think that an average export of one million pounds' sterling worth (200,000 to 250,000 cwts.) may be calculated on; to make up the deficiency of three millions we may look to a steady export of cinchona bark at least worth from six to seven hundred thousand pounds per annum; while cocoa, which is expected to rise rapidly to an export of 100,000 cwts., should be worth half a million more. But the main dependence must be on *tea*; and, considering

the rapid way in which this is now being planted, we see no reason to doubt that the area cultivated will suffice a few years hence to produce a quantity, say thirty million pounds' worth a sum nearer two than one million pounds sterling. Some experienced authorities calculate that there is no reason why Ceylon, with 150,000 acres planted with tea, should not supply between sixty and seventy million pounds of tea of the best qualities for the markets of the world.

It will be seen, then, that not counting rubber-trees or other minor products, there is good reason to believe that tea, cocoa, and cinchona will fully make up the deficiency in coffee, even if no revival of that product should take place. But it is still quite possible that, like farmers' pests elsewhere, the malignant fungus may disappear; indeed thirty years ago coffee was affected by a bug which many said would never leave it, but which later on entirely disappeared.



THE BANYAN TREE (*Ficus Indica*).

CHAPTER IX.

WHAT THE PLANTING INDUSTRY HAS DONE FOR
THE MOTHER-COUNTRY.

The existing depression considered—Planting profits absorbed by Home capitalists—Absence of reserves of local wealth—The accumulated profits of past years estimated.

THE present financial depression and scarcity of capital in Ceylon can readily be understood when a succession of four bad seasons, involving a deficiency in the planters' harvests equal to five million pounds sterling, are taken into consideration. There have been periods of depression before in the history of the Ceylon planting enterprise, and these, curiously enough, have been noted to come round in cycles of eleven years. Thus, in 1845 wild speculation in opening plantations, followed by a great fall in the price of coffee and a collapse of credit, arrested progress for a time; in 1856-7 a sharp financial shock affected the course of prosperity which had set in; and, again, in 1866-7 the fortunes of coffee fell to so low

an ebb that a London capitalist, who visited the island, said the most striking picture of woe-begone misery he saw was the typical "man who owned a coffee estate." Yet this was followed by good seasons and bounteous coffee harvests.

The depression which set in during 1879 has, however, been the most prolonged and trying. True, agriculture nearly all over the world has been suffering from a succession of bad harvests, more particularly in the mother-country; but there are certain grave distinctions between the conditions of a tropical colony and lands in a temperate zone. In Ceylon a generation among European colonists is usually considered not to exceed ten years—not at all on account of mortality, for the hills of Ceylon have the perfection of a healthy climate, but from the constant changes in the elements of the European community—the coming and going which make such a distinct change in the broad elements of society every ten, or certainly every fifteen years.

The colonists who make fortunes in the island do not think of making it their permanent home. The capitalist who sends out his money for investment gets it back as

soon as possible. The "accumulated profits" made during the time of prosperity, which at home form a reserve fund of local wealth to enable the sufferer from present adversity to benefit by past earnings, are utterly wanting in Ceylon. We have no reserve fund of past profits to fall back upon, no class of wealthy Europeans enriched by former times of prosperity living amongst us and circulating the liquidated products of former industry.

Ceylon, in fact, is a sort of "incubator" to which capitalists send their eggs to be hatched, and whence they receive from time to time an abundant brood, leaving us but the shells for our local portion. Money has been sent here to fell our forests and plant them with coffee, and it has been returned in the shape of copious harvests to the home capitalist, leaving us in some cases the bare hill-sides from whence these rich harvests were drawn. Had the profits from our abundant coffee crops in the past been located here and invested in the country and its soil, what a fund of local wealth would now exist, what manufactures might now have been flourishing, what numbers of wealthy citizens of European origin might

have been living in affluence, and what resources should we not have possessed to help us over the time of our adversity and depression !

The total amount of coffee raised on the plantations of Ceylon since 1849 is about 18,000,000 cwts., and there were produced previously (excluding native coffee in both cases) about 1,000,000 cwts. at the least, making a grand total of coffee of 19,000,000 cwts. as the produce of imported capital. Including interest and all items of local cost, we may safely say that this coffee has been produced for 2*l.* 2*s.* per cwt., and has realized at the least 3*l.* net on an average ; it has therefore earned a net profit of 17,000,000*l.* The coffee so produced has been yielded by plantations of not more than 320,000 acres in the aggregate, after including a due allowance for lands abandoned ; and the average cost of the estates, including the purchase of the land, has certainly not exceeded 25*l.* per acre, involving a total capital of 8,000,000*l.* There has therefore been a sum of 9,000,000*l.* of liquidated profit returned to the capitalist, besides the refund of his principal, and there remains still the existing plant of say 250,000 acres of land

under cultivation by means of the said capital, worth at least 12*l.* 10*s.* per acre, or altogether 3,000,000*l.*—thus showing a total profit of 12,000,000*l.* Looking at some tracts of land which have been relegated to weeds and waste—tracts which for many long years poured forth rich harvests for their owners—the question forces itself upon us: What would now have been the condition of these lands if their owners had been settled on them, and their families; homesteads, and accumulated profits had remained to enrich the island?

Most likely the lands now waste would have been flourishing farms, whose natural fertility would have been maintained, or probably increased, by fostering care and scientific treatment, and they would have been covered with other tropical products wherever the old “King Coffee” had been dethroned by age or sickness.

Where is now the fruit of these wasted lands? Are they not, we may ask, absorbed in the splendid mansions and still more magnificent institutions of the mother-country, swelling its plethora of wealth and luxury? Hence comes it that, though coffee can show many outward and visible signs of

material wealth since the establishment of the planting enterprise, in a greatly-increased revenue, great public works, railways, roads, harbour works, tanks, irrigation canals, and public buildings, yet there is not a wealthy European in the island. Riches have been heaped up elsewhere—that is, in the mother-country—out of Ceylon; while there are no large local incomes to meet the era of short crops and the financial disasters which began in 1879.

Of course, we are now looking at the Ceylon planting enterprise from the colonist's point of view. When a financial crisis comes, and home capitalists find they cannot realize and sell their property through the absence of local purchasers, they are apt to speak disparagingly of the colony which has done so much for their brethren, if not for themselves, in years gone by, and which will yet do as much in the future.

As regards the native cultivation of exportable articles, the profits from six or seven million cwts. of native-grown coffee shipped, and from cinnamon, coir, coconut oil, plumbago, &c., have of course come back and enriched the people in a way which is visible on all sides, and is

more particularly striking to old colonists. There are a considerable number of wealthy native gentlemen enriched by trade and agriculture within British times, and nearly all the property in the large towns, as well as extensive planted areas, belongs to them.

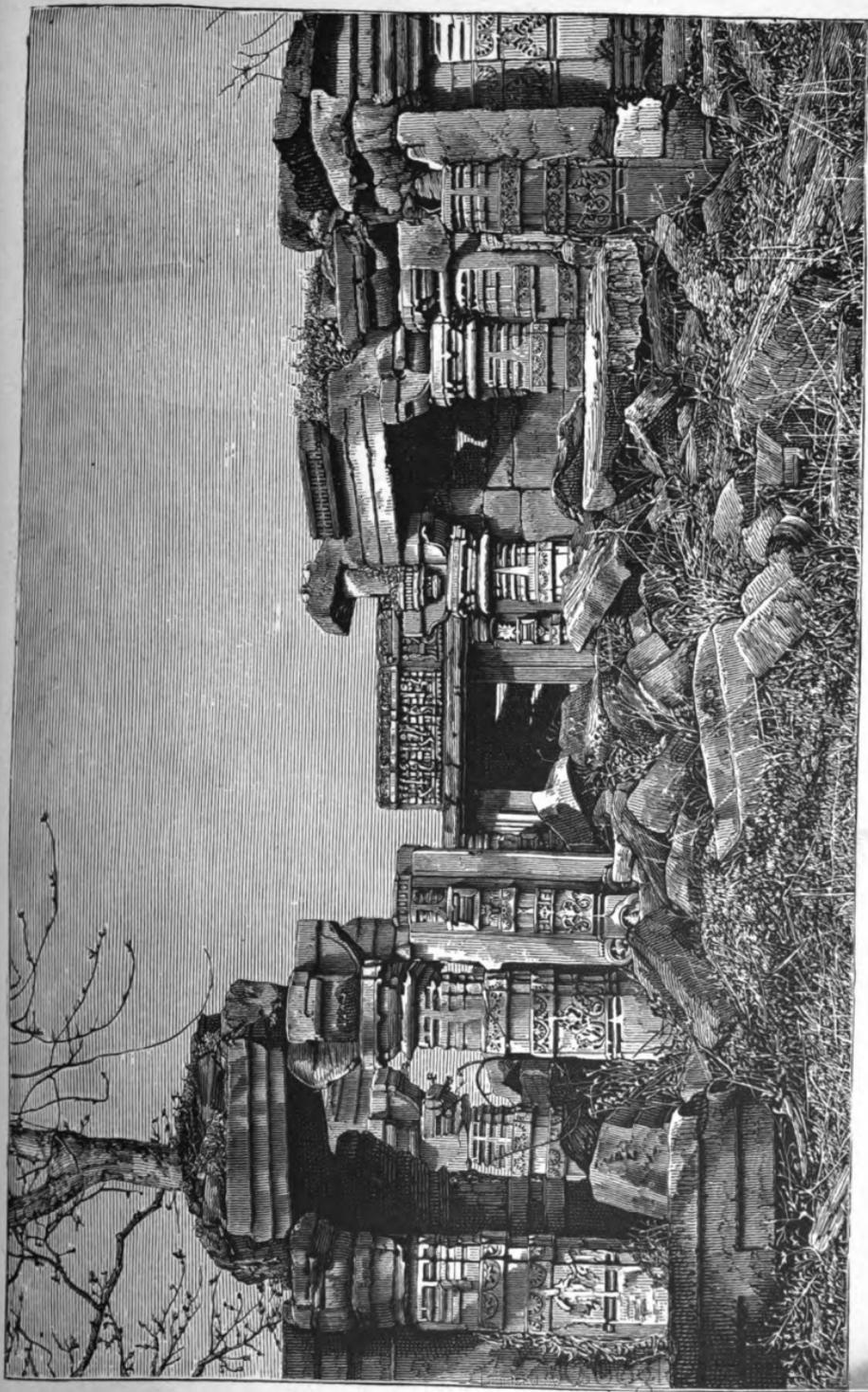
CHAPTER X.

WHAT THE PLANTING INDUSTRY HAS DONE FOR
CEYLON.

Population nearly doubled—Revenue quadrupled—Trade expanded sixteen to twenty fold—Employment afforded to natives—An El Dorado for the Indian immigrant—Coffee hitherto the mainstay of the island—The material progress in the Planting districts.

WHAT British capital and the planting enterprise have done for Ceylon would require an essay in itself to describe adequately. In 1837, when the pioneer coffee planters began work, Ceylon was a mere military dependency, with a revenue amounting to 372,000*l.*, or less than the expenditure, costing the mother-country a good round sum every year, the total population not exceeding one and a half million, but requiring well-nigh 6,000 British and native troops to keep the peace.

Now we have the population increased to two and three-quarter millions, with only 1,200 troops, all paid for out of a revenue



A SCENE AMONG THE RUINS OF ANURÁDHAPURA, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF CEYLON.

exceeding 1,300,000*l.*, a people far better fed, better educated and cared for in every way. The total import and export trade since planting began has expanded from half a million sterling in value to from eight to ten millions sterling, according to the harvests. During the forty-five years referred to some thirty to forty millions sterling have been paid away in wages earned in connexion with plantations to Kandyan axemen, Tamil coolies, Sinhalese carpenters, domestic servants, and carters. A great proportion of this has gone to benefit Southern India, the home of the Tamil coolies, of whom 200,000 over and above the usual labour supply were saved from starvation in Ceylon during the Madras famine of 1877-8. In fact, Ceylon at that time, mainly through its planters, contributed nearly as much aid to her big neighbour as the total of the "Mansion House Fund" subscribed in the United Kingdom.

According to official papers there are sixteen millions of people in Southern India whose annual earnings, taking grain, &c., at its full value, do not average per family of five more than 3*l.* 12*s.*, or 1*s.* 6*d.* per month—equal to ½*d.* per head per day. Incredible

as this may appear, it is true, although with better times now perhaps *1d.* would be a safe rate *per caput*. No wonder that to such a people the planting country of Ceylon, when all was prosperous, was an El Dorado, for each family could there earn from 9s. to 12s. per week, and save from half to three-quarters the amount. The immigrant cooly labourers have suffered of late years from the short crops and depression like their masters, but, with medical care provided, cheap food, comfortable huts, and vegetable gardens, few labouring classes in the world are better off. Nor ought we to forget the Tamil Cooly Mission which is doing a good work in educating and Christianizing many amongst the coolies, mainly supported as it is by the planters.

Our calculation is that from each acre of coffee or tea land kept in full cultivation in Ceylon five natives (men, women, and children) directly or indirectly derive their means of subsistence. It is no wonder then that, with a population increased in the planting era by seventy to eighty per cent., four to five times the quantity of cotton cloth is consumed, and ten times the quantity of food-stuffs imported.

The British governors of Ceylon have repeatedly acknowledged that the planting enterprise has been the mainstay of the island. None have more forcibly shown this than Sir William Gregory, who, in answer to a charge that the general revenue of the colony was being burdened with charges for railway extension and harbour works, benefiting chiefly the planting industry, said: "What, I would ask, is the basis of the whole prosperity of Ceylon but the coffee enterprise? What gave me the surplus revenues, by which I was able to make roads and bridges all over the island, causeways at Mannár and Jaffna, to make grants for education and to take measures to educate the masses—in short, to promote the general industry and enterprise of the island from Jaffna to Galle—but the results of the capital and energy engaged in the cultivation of coffee? It follows therefore that, in encouraging the great coffee enterprise, I shall be furthering the general interests of the colony." Sir William Gregory was able to create a new province in Ceylon, entirely occupied by the poorest and previously most-neglected class of natives—namely, the North-Central Province—with roads, bridges, build-

ings, forest clearings, and irrigation works, solely by the surplus revenues obtained from the planting enterprise.

The pioneer planter introduces into regions all but unknown to man a host of contractors, who in their turn bring in a train of pedlars, tavern-keepers and others, eager to profit by the expenditure about to take place. To the contractors succeed the Malabar coolies, the working bees of the colony, who plant and cultivate the coffee, and at a subsequent period reap the crop. Each of these coolies consumes monthly a bushel of rice, a quantity of salt and other condiments, and occasionally cloth, arrack, &c., the import, transport, and purchase of which find employment for the merchant, the retail dealer, the carrier, and their servants; and, again, the wants of these functionaries raise around them a race of shopkeepers, domestics, and others, who, but for the success of coffee planting, would have been unable to find equally profitable employment.

Nor are the results bounded by the limits of the colony. The import of articles consumed gives employment to hundreds of seamen and to thousands of tons of shipping

that, but for this increased trade, would never have been built. The larger demand for rice stimulates and cheers the toil of the Indian ryot; the extended use of clothing stimulates the Manchester spinners and weavers and all dependent on them; and the increased demand for the implements of labour tells on Birmingham and Sheffield. Who shall say where the links of the chain terminate, affecting as they do indirectly all the great branches of the human family?

Then again, when the estate becomes productive, how many of the foregoing agencies are again called into operation! On arrival in Colombo the parchment coffee is usually peeled, winnowed, and sized by powerful steam machinery (agency which provides employment for engineers, smiths, stokers, wood-cutters, &c.), and is afterwards picked by hand, a laborious operation which gives occupation for thousands of the industrious poor natives, and enables them to support an expenditure for food, clothing, and other necessaries, the supply of which further furnishes profitable employment to the shopkeeper, merchant, seaman, &c. In fact, it is impossible to pursue in all their ramifications the benefits derived from the

cultivation of the fragrant berry which has become the staple product of Ceylon. Other results, too, there are—moral ones—such as must sooner or later arise from the infusion of Anglo-Saxon energy and spirit among an Eastern people, from the spread of the English language, and, what is of more importance still, the extension of civilization and Christianity.

The material change in the planting districts and the Central Province of Ceylon within the last forty years has been marvellous. Villages and towns have appeared where all was barren waste or thick jungle; roads have been cut in all directions; and prosperous villages have sprung up like magic in “The Wilderness of the Peak.” Gampola, Badulla, and Mátalé, which each consisted of a rest-house and a few huts, and Náwalapitiya, which had no existence at all in 1841, are now populous towns; while Panwila, Teldeniya, Deltota, Haldummulla, Balangoda, Rakwána, &c., are more than villages.

Some of the planting grant-in-aid roads, carried through what was dense forest or waste land, are lined for miles with native houses and boutiques, as also with native cultivation in gardens or fields. The

change cannot be better described than in the words of the Rev. Spence Hardy, of the Wesleyan Mission, who after spending twenty-two years in Ceylon, between 1825 and 1847, returned to England, and revisited the island in 1862. Mr. Hardy was accustomed to travel through nearly all the Sinhalese districts.

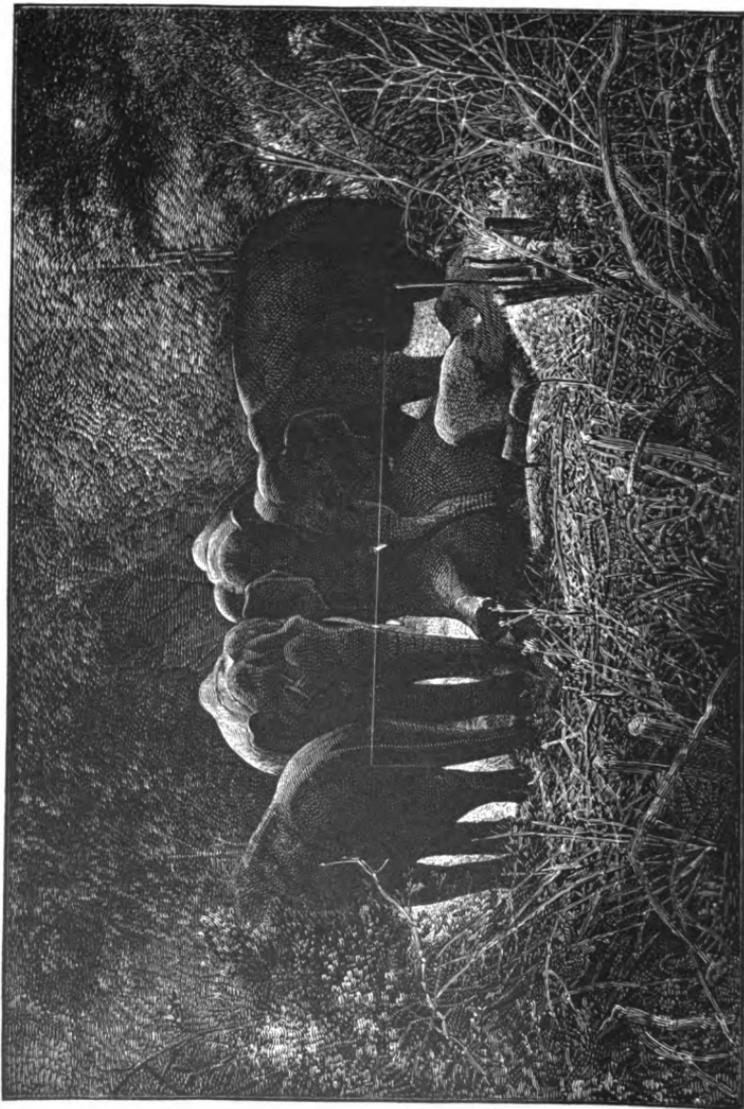
Writing in 1864, he says:—"Were some Sinhalese *appuhami* to arise, who had gone down to the grave fifty years ago, and from that time remained unconscious, he would not know his own land or people; and when told where he was he would scarcely believe his eyes, and would have some difficulty with his ears; for though there would be the old language even that would be mixed with many words that to him would be utterly unintelligible. Looking at his own countrymen, he would say that in his time both the head and the feet were uncovered, but that now they cover both; or perhaps he would think that the youths whom he saw with stockings and shoes and caps were of some other nation. He would be shocked at the heedlessness with which *appus* and *naidas* and everybody else roll along in their bullock-bandies, passing even the carriage of the white man

whenever they are able by dint of tail-pulling or hard blows ; and when he saw the horse-keepers riding by the side of their masters and sitting on the same seat, there would be some expression of strong indignation. He would listen in vain for the ho-he-vo-ho of the palanquin-bearers and their loud shouts, and would look in vain for the tomjohns and doolies, and for the old lascoreens with their talipots and formal dress. He would be surprised at seeing so many women walking in the road and laughing and talking together like men, but with no burdens on their heads and nothing in their hands, and their clothes not clean enough for them to be going to the temple. He would perhaps complain of the hard road, as we have heard a native gentleman from Kalpitiya do, and say that soft sand was much better. He would wonder where all the tiles come from for so many houses, and would think that the high-caste families must have multiplied amazingly for them to require so many stately mansions ; and the porticoes, and the round white pillars, and the trees growing in the compound, bearing nothing but long thin thorns, or with pale yellow leaves instead of green ones, would be objects of great attraction. He

would fancy that the Moormen must have increased at a great rate, as he would take the tall chimneys of the coffee stores to be the minarets of mosques, until he saw the smoke proceeding from them, and then he would be puzzled to know what they could be. In the bazaar he would stare at the policemen and the potatoes and the loaves of bread, and a hundred other things that no bazaar ever saw in his day. And the talk about planters and barbacues, cooly immigration, and the overland and penny postage, and bishops and agents of Government, and the legislative council and banks, newspapers and mail-coaches, would confuse him by the strangeness of the terms. He would listen incredulously when told that there is no rájakáriya, or forced labour, and no fish tax; and that there are no slaves, and that you can cut down a cinnamon tree in your own garden without having to pay a heavy fine. Remembering that when Governor North made the tour of the island, he was accompanied by 160 palanquin-bearers, 400 coolies, 2 elephants, and 50 lascoreens, and that when the adigar Æhælapola visited Colombo he had with him a retinue of a thousand retainers, and several elephants, he would think

it impossible that the governor could go on a tour of inspection, or a judge on circuit, without white olas lining the roadside, and triumphal arches, and javelin men, and tomtoms, and a vast array of attendants. He would ask, perhaps, what king now reigns in Kandy, and whether he had mutilated any more of the subjects of Britain. From these supposed surprises, we may learn something of the changes that have taken place in the island, but we cannot tell a tithe of the whole."

As to the comparative freedom from poverty and suffering which distinguishes the lower classes, the vast masses of the natives of Ceylon, it must be remembered that they live as a rule in the most genial of climates, where the pangs of hunger are almost unknown, little more than a few plantains a day being sufficient to support life in idleness, if so chosen. Sir Edward Creasy, in his "History of England," says: "I have seen more human misery in a single winter's day in London, than I have seen during my nine years' stay in Ceylon."



WILD ELEPHANTS IN THE LABUGAMA (YOUNG PRINCES) KRAAL, OF 1882, MOURNING OVER THEIR DEAD COMPANION.— *Vide* Appendix I, page 177.

From a Photograph by Messrs. W. L. H. Skeen & Co., of Colombo.

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CHAPTER XI.

PRESENT PROSPECTS FOR CAPITALISTS IN CEYLON.

Ceylon still a good field for investment—Its freedom from atmospheric disturbances—Shipping conveniences at the new harbour of Colombo—Low freights—Cheap and unrivalled means of transport—Large tracts available for Tea and other tropical culture—Openings for young men with capital—High position taken by the Ceylon planter—Facilities for personal inspection of investments.

So much for the value of the planting enterprise to the settled inhabitants and to the government of Ceylon. We have also pointed out the immense advantages gained in commerce and profits by the mother-country. Let us endeavour to show the British Capitalist, who at this period of deficient coffee crops is fast losing confidence in Ceylon, how many reasons there are for him to forbear condemnation, and for his still looking on this colony as one of the best of British dependencies for the judicious investment of capital.

The situation of Ceylon in the Eastern World is peculiarly favoured in certain re-

spects. The atmospheric disturbances which periodically agitate the Bay of Bengal, and carry, in hurricanes and cyclones, destruction to the shipping on the exposed Madras roadstead and the devoted Hooghly, seldom or never approach the north-eastern shores of this island. If Java and the rest of the Eastern Archipelago boast of a far richer soil than is to be found in Ceylon, it is owing to the volcanic agency which makes itself known at frequent intervals by eruptions and earthquakes, the utmost verge of whose waves just touches the eastern coast of the island at Batticaloa and Trincomalee in scarcely perceptible undulations. On the west, again, Ceylon is equally beyond the region of the hurricanes which, extending from the Mozambique Channel, visit so often and so disastrously the coasts of Madagascar, Mauritius, and Zanzibar. The wind and rain-storms which usher in periodically the south-west and north-east monsoons, sometimes inflict slight damage on the coffee and rice crops, but there is no comparison between the risks attaching to cultivation in Ceylon, and those experienced by planters in Java and Mauritius.

The same holds good with reference to the hitherto open roadstead of Colombo, and the

island shipping trade, which has for years been nearly all centred there.

Except for an occasional gale from the south-west, there was no special danger to be guarded against, and the risks to vessels lying at Colombo were infinitely less than to those at Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay. But the delay in the transaction of shipping business, owing to the prevalence of a heavy surf and stiff breeze during monsoon months, was more than sufficient to justify the very substantial breakwater and allied harbour works which, under the direction of Sir John Coode, and his representative, Mr. Kyle, have just been successfully completed at Colombo. The capital of Ceylon is now the great central mail and commercial steamer port of the East. All the large steamers of the P. and O. Company, the British India, Star, Ducal, and most of the Messageries, the Clan, Glen, and other lines for Europe, India, China, the Straits, and Australia, call at Colombo regularly. One consequence of this, valuable to the merchant and planter, is the regular and cheap freight offered to the world's markets. Freights now do not average one-half of the rates prevalent some years ago.

There is no tropical land—indeed there are few countries anywhere—so thoroughly served by railway and roads, canals and navigable streams, as Ceylon at the present day. The means of cheap transport between the interior and the coast (a few remote districts only excepted) are unequalled in the tropics. Indian tea-planters confess that their Ceylon brethren have an increasing pull over them in this respect, and still more so in the abundant supply of good, steady, cheap labour, trained now by long experience to plantation work. A more forcing climate, too, than that of Ceylon does not exist under the sun, while now that the country is fully opened, the risks to health are infinitesimal compared with those of pioneers in new countries or of the tea-planters of the Terai of India. Whatever may be said of the inimical effects of bad seasons on coffee—too much rain at blossoming time—there can be no doubt of the advantage of abundance of moisture and heat for *tea*, and it is in respect of the fitness of large tracts of undeveloped country for tea production that we would especially ask for the attention of British capitalists.

Indian tea-planters, who have come to see

how tea is growing in Ceylon, confess that we are bound to beat Northern India. Tea, of as good quality as that from Assam, can be placed on board ship at Colombo for two-pence to threepence per pound less than Indian tea on board ship at Calcutta. This has been proved, although Ceylon planters are only beginning the systematic cultivation and preparation of tea. But tea (although the principal), is only one among a list of valuable tropical products which Ceylon is well fitted to grow.

As a body, Ceylon planters are among the most intelligent, gentlemanly, and hospitable of any colonists in British dependencies. The rough work of pioneering in the early days before there were district roads, villages, supplies, doctors, or other comforts of civilization, was chiefly done by hard-headed Scots : men bivouacked in the trackless jungle with the scantiest accommodation under tropical rains lasting for weeks together, with rivers swollen to flood-level and impassable, while food supplies often ran short, as none could be got across the wide torrents. All these and many other similar experiences are of the past in the settled planting districts of Ceylon, although there are outlying parts

where pioneers can still rough it to their heart's content. In the hill-country the pioneers about twenty years ago began to be succeeded by quite a different class of men. Younger sons with a capital, present or prospective, of a few thousand pounds, educated at public schools, and many of them University men, found an opening in life on Ceylon plantations far more congenial than that of the Australian bush or the backwoods of Canada. Of course some of these did not succeed as planters, as they probably would not succeed at anything in the colonies ; but for well-inclined young men of the right stamp, not afraid of fatigue, Ceylon still presents an opening as planters of tea, cinchona, chocolate, &c., provided the indispensable capital is available. The usual mode, and the safe one, is to send the young man fresh from home, through the introduction of some London or Colombo firm, to study his business as a planter, and to learn the colloquial Tamil spoken by the coolies, under an experienced planter for two or three years.

In prosperous times such young assistants were taught and boarded free in return for their help, and began to earn a salary after a

year or so. Now, a fee for board and teaching (50*l.*, or at most 100*l.* a year) may be needful. Nowhere in the whole wide world can young men learn so thoroughly the mysteries of coffee, tea, cinchona planting, &c., or be so thoroughly equipped as *tropical* agriculturists as in Ceylon. Ceylon planters and machinists have taught the rest of the tropics how to grow and prepare coffee properly; more is known in it about the mysteries of cinchona bark culture than anywhere else; the Ceylon tea-planter is likely, ere long, to beat both India and China in the race for fine teas. Ceylon cocoa beans have already sold highest in the London market, just as she sends thither the finest cinnamon, coconut-oil, coir, &c. It may truly be said that the *Press* of Ceylon has greatly aided the planters in acquiring this pre-eminence. The *Ceylon Observer* has sent special correspondents to report on the tea regions of Assam and Darjeeling, on the Cinchona Gardens of the Nilgeries, and of Java; to West Africa to learn all about Liberian coffee, and to South and Central America to ascertain the progress of coffee; while its manuals on coffee, tea, cinchona, cocoa, india-rubber, coconut, palm, and cinnamon planting, are

known throughout the tropics. Latterly a monthly periodical, the *Tropical Agriculturist*, published at the same office, is effectually bringing together all the information and experience available in reference to all that concerns agriculture in tropical and sub-tropical regions. This is merely mentioned, *en passant*, in part explanation of the high position taken by the Ceylon-trained planter, wherever he goes.

Since the depression of 1879 many Ceylon plantation managers and assistant superintendents have had to seek their fortunes elsewhere ; and, indeed, the planting districts of Southern India may be said to be offshoot settlements from Ceylon, while in Fiji, the Straits Settlements, and North Borneo, there are Ceylon planters now pioneering and building-up a planting enterprise.

Nevertheless, there is still ample scope for the capitalist and for the young man who can, after he has learned planting, command capital in Ceylon. There is a wide extent of forest land well suited for tea, and it can be had for 1*l.* an acre, crown title freehold. Owing to the depression, property in plantations already formed has fallen greatly in value, and may be bought cheaply,

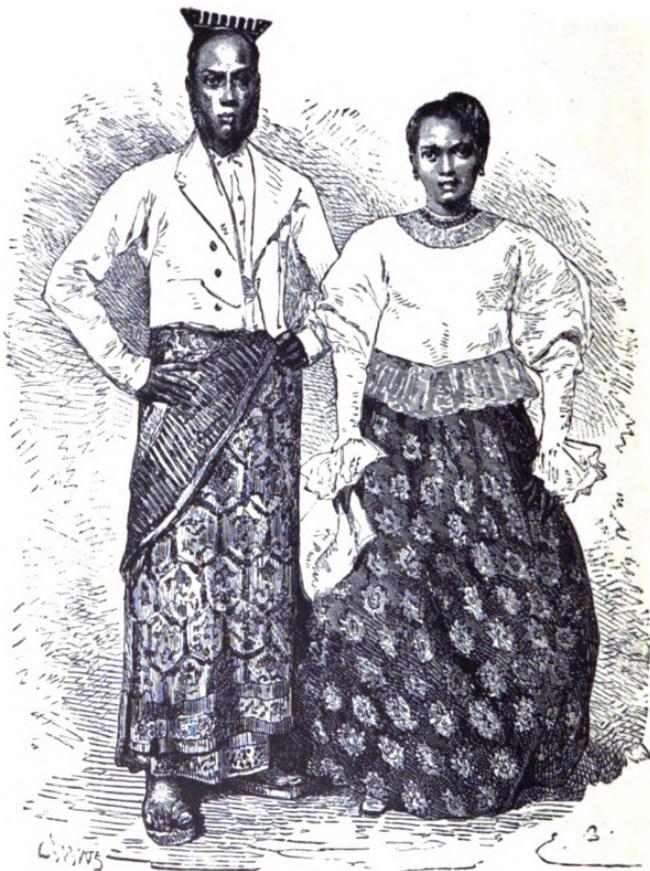
although discrimination should certainly be exercised. One beneficial result of the scarcity of capital has been to secure the utmost economy in doing work, and land is now opened and cultivated for far less than was the case some years ago.

The convenience afforded by quick passages in large steamers *viâ* the Suez Canal, and by railways and roads in Ceylon, is such that capitalists can now inspect their property in Ceylon with as much ease and pleasure as they would have in a two months' trip to the Highlands of Scotland or to the South of Europe. How different the case was twenty years ago, when we remember a Glasgow capitalist, owning a property worth 100,000*l.* in Ceylon, coming out to see it, and after getting to Nuwara Eliya, within thirty miles of the property, refusing to go further, so bad were the roads; and he, a man of sixty-eight or seventy, returned home without ever having seen the plantation, and ultimately sold his interests to a Limited Company at a considerable profit!

The carriage of produce from the estates to Colombo, from 100 to 200 miles, used often to take as much time and cost as much as the freight 15,000 miles round the Cape.

From the Uva districts still, it is true that carriage costs in time and money more than freights *viâ* the Canal; but as a whole, Ceylon is magnificently roaded, with an ample supply of cheap labour, and a particularly favourable climate.

Finally, let the capitalist know, that obnoxious *laws* connected with the Roman-Dutch system are to be reformed. Codes have just been framed, and will probably supersede antiquated laws during the present year.



LOW-COUNTRY SINGHALESE MAN AND WOMAN.

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CHAPTER XII.

ATTRACTIONS FOR THE TRAVELLER AND VISITOR.

The voyage a pleasure trip—Historical monuments, vegetation, &c.—Variety of climate—Colombo, the capital—Kandy—Nuwara Eliya, the sanatorium—The Horton Plains—Adam's Peak—Ancient cities of Anurádhapura and Polonnaruwa—Occasional Pearl fisheries—Probable expense of a visit to Ceylon—The alleged inconveniences of tropical life.

To the traveller and visitor Ceylon offers more attractions even than to the capitalist and would-be planter. It is a joke with disappointed men, that the stranger can see on the hills of Ceylon the graves of more British sovereigns than of Kandyan kings! But the latter are not wanting, and no dependency of Britain—India not excepted—presents more attractions to the intelligent visitor or traveller, to the botanist, the antiquarian or the man of science, the orientalist, or even to the politician and the sociologist. The voyage of twenty-six to twenty-eight days from London to Colombo (of nineteen to twenty-one from Brindisi or Marseilles) on

a first-class steamer of any of half-a-dozen lines competing at from 40*l.* to 65*l.* for the single, or less than double for the return passage, is, at the proper season of the year—September to March or April—a pleasure trip of the most enjoyable and instructive kind. Calling at Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said, Suez, and Aden, instruction and pleasure of a high order are obtained; while the beauty of Ceylon vegetation and scenery, the interest attaching to her people, towns, and ancient cities and monuments, amply reward even the worst sea-traveller for the unpleasantness of a voyage. Tennent well says that Ceylon, from whatever direction it may be approached, unfolds a scene of loveliness and grandeur unsurpassed, if it be rivalled, by any land in the universe. Its names—“Lanká, the resplendent” of the Brahmins, the “pearl-drop on the brow of Ind” of the Buddhists; “the island of jewels” of the Chinese; “the land of the hyacinth and ruby” of the Greeks; and “the home of Adam and Eve after losing Paradise,” according to the Mohammedans, as Arabi and his fellow-exiles said the other day—will show the high esteem in which it has been held both in the East and the West.

As for its history, as already mentioned, no region between Chaldea and China can tell so much of its past deeds as Ceylon, while the ruins of its ancient capitals in palaces, temples, dagobas, and tanks, are only second to those of Egypt; these are all now rendered accessible in a few days' trip by railway and carriage from Colombo, without risk or inconvenience, and at very little expense to the traveller.

As to vegetation, &c., Ceylon is one huge tropical garden, presenting objects of intense interest to the botanist and zoologist, from the coral reef and pearl oyster banks of its shores, the palms and creepers bending down to meet "the league long rollers thundering on its shores," to the grassy pathways running up to hills clothed to their summit with the most varied forest trees, or to the plateaus of Nuwara Eliya and the surrounding plains, where, at an elevation of over 6,000 feet, in grass and flowers and trees, a bit of

"Europe amid Asia smiles."

There, in snug cottages, wood fires and blankets are required to keep out the cold. In one day the visitor can pass from Colombo with its average temperature of 82° to the sanatorium, with its wintry comforts and

temperature falling to freezing-point occasionally, but averaging 57° .

The perfection of climate, in an average of 65° all the year round, is found at 5,000 feet among the bungalows of Dimbula, Dikoya, Maskeliya, or of Uva with its drier and at times more pleasant climate. It is no wonder, then, that parents and others, with their daughters or other relatives settled in Ceylon, should have begun to visit it in order to escape trying winter and spring months in England. Not a few who used to winter in Egypt find it about as convenient and far more interesting to come on to Ceylon. The late Mr. C. A. Cameron and his wife, Mrs. Julia Cameron (the well-known artist and friend of Tennyson), even when in advanced years, made the voyage across several times to visit and stay for considerable periods with their sons settled in the island.

Colombo, the capital, a city of 120,000 inhabitants, with its fine artificial harbour (begun by Sir Hercules Robinson, and now nearly completed), has much to interest the visitor in its beautiful drives over the smoothest of roads through the "Cinnamon Gardens;" its lake and the Kelani river, with Sir Edward Barnes's bridge of boats;

its public museum, erected by Sir William Gregory, and containing objects of interest from all parts of the island; the old Dutch church containing the tombs and monuments of Dutch governors; the bungalows and gardens of the Europeans, and, still more, the crowded native parts of the town, teeming with every variety of oriental race and costume—the effeminate light brown Sinhalese, the men as well as women wearing their hair tied behind in knots (the former patronizing combs, the latter elaborate hairpins), the darker and more manly Tamils, Hindus of every caste and dress, Moormen or Arab descendants, Afghan traders, Malay policemen, a few Parsees and Chinese, Kaffir descendants, besides the Eurasians of Dutch or Portuguese or English and native descent.

Colombo has two first-class, besides minor hotels, and the stranger is soon surrounded by native pedlars, especially jewellers with their supply of gems, from rare cat's-eyes, rubies, sapphires and pearls, to first-class Birmingham imitations.

The scene to the new-comer is bewilderingly interesting—visions of the Arabian Nights are conjured up, for, as Miss Jews-

bury sang after her visit some forty years ago :—

“Ceylon ! Ceylon ! ’tis nought to me
 How thou wert known or named of old,
 As Ophir, or Taprobane,
 By Hebrew king, or Grecian bold :—

To me thy spicy-wooded vales,
 Thy dusky sons, and jewels bright,
 But image forth the far-famed tales—
 But seem a new Arabian night.

And when engirdled figures crave
 Heed to thy bosom’s glittering store—
 I see Aladdin in his cave ;
 I follow Sinbad on the shore.”

Although the mean temperature of Colombo is higher than that of any station in the world as yet recorded, yet the climate is one of the healthiest and safest for Europeans because of the slight range between night and day, and the so-called “seasons,” of which, however, nothing is known there, it being one perpetual summer varied only by the heavy rains of the monsoon months, May, June, October, and November. But in the wettest months it rarely happens that it rains continuously even for two whole days and nights ; as a rule, it clears up for some hours each day.

Waterworks are now being constructed under the direction of Mr. Bateman, the well-known hydraulic engineer, at a cost of a quarter of a million pounds sterling, to convey water from mountain streams, distant thirty miles, to serve Colombo, some parts of which are badly off for a good supply. When the works and distribution over the city are completed, and the drainage also is thus improved, Colombo will more than ever be entitled to its reputation of being one of the healthiest cities in the tropics, or indeed in the world. A convenient system of tramways is also about to be constructed.

There are several places of interest in the neighbourhood of Colombo that are well worth a visit.

A seaside railway line runs for twenty-seven miles as far as Kalutara (the Richmond of Ceylon), the road being one continuous avenue of cocoanut trees. The enjoyment of the scene to a lover of natural beauty is indescribable: the cool shade of the palm groves, the fresh verdure of the grass, the bright tints of the flowering trees, with occasional glimpses through openings in the dense wood of the mountains of the interior, the purple zone of hills above

which the sacred mountain of Adam's Peak is sometimes seen,—all combine to form a landscape which in novelty and beauty is unsurpassed.

The mildness of the climate of Colombo, the murmur of cricket and insect life at night, and the brilliancy of the moonlight strike the stranger, although the closeness of the atmosphere then is sometimes felt to be oppressive, and the attention of mosquitoes at certain seasons is far from pleasant. But the low-country can easily be exchanged for the hills: in four hours one passes from Colombo by a splendid railway running through interesting country, surmounting an incline which is one of the greatest railway ascents (at least in the tropical world), 1,600 feet above sea-level, to the last capital of the native kings of the island—Kandy—a town of 22,000 people, unique in its situation in a valley surrounded by hills, with its artificial lake, its Buddhist and Hindu temples, including the Maligáwa, the most sacred Buddhist temple in the world, which contains the so-called relic of Buddha's tooth, and to which the kings and priests of Burmah, Siam, and Cambodia send occasional offerings, and which is had in reverence in

portions of India, Thibet, and even China and Japan.

The botanical gardens at Pérádeniya, three miles from Kandy, are well worth a visit. Between Colombo and Kandy extensive paddy or rice cultivation can be seen in the low-country; while higher up the Kandyans' terraced rice-fields and fields of Liberian coffee and the chocolate-tree may be noted.

From Kandy a visit to the Dumbara valley, five or six miles by road, or to Máatalé, twenty miles by railway, will show some of the finest cocoa (chocolate) plantations; while southward, the railway journey to Gampola and Náwalapitiya—and in 1885, when the extension should be completed, to Nánu-oya near Nuwara Eliya—will carry the visitor through long stretches of tea, coffee, and cinchona plantations, amidst enchanting mountain scenery, with rivers, forests, waterfalls, and gorges that nothing can surpass. When this line is completed—the contract time is May, 1885—the railway ride from Colombo to Nánu-oya for 130 miles, rising from sea-level to 5,600 feet, will be one of the most interesting in the world.

Nánu-oya is within five miles of Nuwara

Eliya, the sanatorium, by a fine road on which an omnibus or tramway will be started for railway travellers. There is good hotel and boarding-house accommodation; plantations of tea and cinchona, and the Hakgalla experimental gardens, are in the neighbourhood. The summit of the highest mountain in Ceylon, Pídurutalágala, 8,296 feet, or 2,000 feet above the Plains, can be easily attained in a walk before breakfast; while a trip to the top of the far more interesting Adam's Peak (sacred alike to Buddhists, Hindus, Mohammedans, and even Roman Catholics) can be readily arranged—a good road running for forty miles to a point on the mountain breast about 3,000 feet from the summit, which is 7,353 feet high. In 1885 the railway will save twenty-three miles of road between Nuwara Eliya and Adam's Peak. The climb up the latter is a stiff one, particularly the last portion, where steps are cut out, and even chains fixed in the rock, to prevent the climber from slipping or being blown down the side of the precipice in stormy seasons. The view from the top in clear weather is ample reward for all trouble, and the projection of the shadow across the low-country to the sea as the sun

ises is a sight, once seen, never to be forgotten.

From Nuwara Eliya a day's ride suffices to reach the Horton Plains, 1,000 feet higher; and there, as well as between these two points, is a large extent of upland in a delightful climate, well suited for comparative settlement by Europeans. At any rate their children could be kept here in rude health until twelve to fourteen years of age; and the soil is well fitted for small farms and vegetable gardens, as well as for growing cinchona and the finer qualities of tea. As a sanatorium for British troops, this site is unequalled, both for climate and accessibility.

Already the surrounding districts, served by road and railway, and having villages, stores, churches, clergymen, and doctors, are beginning to be regarded as the comparatively permanent homes of many of the planters. Nuwara Eliya and the Horton Plains border on the Uva Principality, with its somewhat dry, upland climate; so deliciously pleasant and health-giving is the air that to breathe it has been compared to a draught of pure wine. A waterfall in one of the divisions of Uva is the highest in Ceylon,

600 feet. Civil and military officers, merchants and others, are now beginning to look to Ceylon, with its seaside boarding-establishments at Mount Lavinia, and its comfortable accommodation at Nuwara Eliya sanatorium, as more desirable than Indian hill-stations during the hot season.

From Kandy the trip to the ancient capitals of Anurádhapura and Polonnáruwa, from ninety to sixty miles to the north and east, can easily be arranged for the visitor; and from amid the ruins of Anurádhapura (2,000 years old) one can despatch a telegram to friends at home in England, or post a budget of news.¹

For sportsmen there is elephant shooting in the far south in the Hambantota district, elk hunting round Nuwara Eliya, or wild buffalo, bear, and cheetah in the forests of the north and east.²

¹ With the permission of Mr. Richard Bentley, the publisher, extracts from Major Forbes's *Eleven Years in Ceylon* (published in 1840), bearing on the ruins of Anurádhapura and the Buddhist religion, are given as Appendix II.

² Elephant kraals—a system of capturing elephants peculiar to Ceylon—are now of rare occurrence, being organized only on special occasions. A description of the kraal arranged for the entertainment of the Princes Albert Victor and George of Wales on their recent visit

In 1885, and, we trust, during successive years, the opportunity will probably be furnished of being present at a pearl-oyster fishery off the north-west coast, for which Ceylon has been famous from time immemorial. The primitive mode of diving for and gathering the oysters by a particular caste of native divers, their sale by Government auction, and the business in pearls with thousands of dealers and their followers, who collect from all parts of India in the hope of a good fishery taking place,—all this is full of novelty.

The cost of living in Ceylon at hotels ranges from 10s. per day upwards, board and comfortable accommodation by the month being available at from 7*l.* to 10*l.* per month for each adult. A lady and gentleman leaving England on the 15th of November, and returning by the 15th of May, spending four clear months in a comfortably-furnished bungalow in the hill-country of Ceylon, could do so for a total cost of from 250*l.* to 300*l.*, including cost of trips to the points of interest in the island; the greater portion of this amount being for the colony, which, though unsuccessful in its primary object, was characterized by some stirring incidents, will be found in Appendix I.

passage-money to and fro, which now ranges from 70*l.* to 100*l.* for return tickets. With further competition there can be no doubt, as the steamer's margin of profit allows of a considerable reduction, that the day is not far distant when 30*l.* should secure a first-class passage between Ceylon and England, and 50*l.* a return ticket extending over six months. Before the Suez Canal opened 100*l.* was the single rate for the overland route.

It may be averred that little has been said about the *drawbacks* to life in, or even a visit to, Ceylon. The tropical heat in the low-country must be endured; but, if found trying, a single day's journey will carry the visitor to a cool region. As to the detestable leeches described by Tennent as infesting every country pathway, and the poisonous snakes, the visitor may be months in Ceylon without ever seeing one, or being more troubled by them than by the enormous alligators in the rivers or the voracious sharks round the coast. Repulsive insects, such as centipedes, scorpions, and large spiders, are also most rare in any well-ordered bungalow; while mosquitoes are only occasionally troublesome, and that chiefly in

the low-country. The monotony of perpetual summer, and of days and nights of about the same length all the year round, affords one point of strong contrast to England, but is pleasing, rather than otherwise, to the visitor.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF CEYLON.

Chief sources of Revenue :—Grain and Customs dues, sales of CrownLand, and Railway profits.

UNTIL 1828 there was an annual excess of expenditure over revenue in Ceylon; but between 1829 and 1836 the balance was on the right side, owing chiefly to a series of successful pearl fisheries. From 1837 to 1842, and again from 1846 to 1849, expenditure once more exceeded revenue; but from that time there was a surplus, and the amount of revenue quadrupled within twenty-five years, owing to the rapid development of the planting enterprise, until in 1877 it attained a maximum of 1,702,619*l.* Since then, owing to the falling off of the crops, it has gone down to about 1,350,000*l.*

The main sources of this revenue are found in import duties on the rice imported from India for feeding the coolies and others directly or indirectly connected with the



KANDYAN (HIGHLAND) SUBORDINATE CHIEFTAIN.

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great planting enterprise of Ceylon. The Sinhalese and Tamil rice cultivators of Ceylon barely grow enough grain to support themselves ; on locally-grown grain there is also a government levy, the remains of the old tithe or rent paid to the native kings, but this has been greatly reduced of late years by the application of commutations, so that the import duty is slightly protective of local industry. The other most productive import duties are those on wines, spirits, hardware, and cotton goods. Altogether the customs bring in between a quarter and a fifth of the entire revenue. Sales of crown lands to planters have in some years been as productive as the customs, but latterly this revenue has greatly fallen off.

It is felt now that a mistake was made forty years ago in not keeping the proceeds of land sales in a separate fund as capital to be expended in reproductive public works, apart from the general revenue. The same may be said of the large railway receipts, in some years equal to another fifth of the revenue. Separately funded, the expenditure on fixed establishments would not have been allowed to increase year by year as if the general revenue from land

sales and railway profits was a permanent source of income. The railway profits were almost entirely due to the carriage of coffee from the interior to Colombo, and of rice, general goods, and manure for the plantations. Apart from the customs, the grain tax, land sales, and railway profits, the excise on the sale of spirits, &c., stamp duties, and the monopoly or tax on salt, are the main sources of revenue, with an occasional contribution of from 10,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* from a pearl fishery. The latter is one of the most acceptable, but one of the most uncertain, sources of Ceylon wealth.

ESTIMATE OF THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE COLONY OF CEYLON, FOR THE YEAR 1888.
 [In rupees and cents of a rupee : the silver rupee being equal to about 1s. 8d. English.]

REVENUE.		Rs.	c.	EXPENDITURE.		Rs.	c.	Rs.	c.
Arrears of revenue of former years		400,000	0	Civil		1,116,097	75		
Customs		2,730,000	0	Do		4,920	0		
Port and Harbour Dues		450,000	0	Judicial		606,190	0		
Land sales		250,000	0	Ecclesiastical		87,200	0		
Land revenue		875,000	0	Public Instruction		37,750	0		
Rents, exclusive of land		360,000	0	Medical		85,050	0		
Licences		1,500,000	0	Police		23,500	0		
Stamps		840,000	0	Prisons		10,650	0		
Taxes		30,000	0	Convict establishment		12,810	0		
Postage		240,000	0	Colonial Store		26,271	25		
Fines, Forfeitures, and Fees of Court		50,000	0	Interest on Breakwater Loan . . . . .		..		2,010,469	0
Government vessels		60,000	0	Contribution towards Military Expenditure . . . . .		..		208,734	0
Sale of Government property		1,050,000	0	Railway interest and Sinking Fund . . . . .		..		1,240,000	0
Reimbursements in aid of expenses incurred by Government				Charges voted by the Legislative Council in Appropriation Ordinance for 1888. (Outlay on all departments not fixed, and for schools, hospitals, police, courts of justice, surveys, railway services, roads, &c., &c.) . . . . .		..		613,530	0
Electric Telegraph		300,000	0	Surplus Revenue . . . . .		..		..
Miscellaneous receipts		65,000	0			..		..
Interest		350,000	0			..		..
Special receipts		100,000	0			..		..
Railway receipts		10,000	0			..		..
		2,750,000	0			..		..
Total		Rs. 12,410,000	0			Rs. 8,222,123	65		
								12,294,856	65
								115,143	35
				Total		Rs. 12,410,000	0		

CHAPTER XIV.

WHAT ITS GOVERNMENT CAN DO FOR CEYLON.

An active and independent Administrator required—Railway extension urgently called for—Law reform needed—Technical, industrial, and agricultural education need encouraging—Government note issue suggested—The Military grievance urgently demands settlement—The Buddhist Temporalities question—Abolition of Salt monopoly and Customs duties advocated—The Duke of Buckingham's Ceylon and Southern India railway project.

As regards the wants of Ceylon, its government being a paternal despotism—the governor and Secretary of State being to a great extent irresponsible rulers—much depends on their treatment of the island. There can be no doubt that in the past progress has been made in spite of, rather than with, the prompt, zealous co-operation of Downing-street. An active, energetic, independent governor, however, exercises an immense influence; every department of the public service, indeed almost every individual officer, feels the effect of that influence, just as the whole life machinery goes to rest and



MOORMAN "TAMBY" (HAWKER).

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rust in this tropical isle when the fountain-head of authority and honour is found to be somnolent and indifferent himself.

Statesmen bred in the free air of the House of Commons, as a rule, make the best governors of Crown Colonies; at least three or four in the Ceylon list—Governors Wilmot Horton, Stewart Mackenzie, Sir Henry Ward, and Sir William Gregory—had such a training, and stood cut pre-eminently as among her best administrators, although equally able and useful were two others—Governors Sir Edward Barnes and Sir Hercules Robinson—who had not home parliamentary experience.

Ceylon wants a governor like Sir Henry Ward, who has his whole heart in his work, ready to sympathize with all classes and races, to see provinces, districts, and public works for himself—by journeys on horseback where necessary—open to receive counsel as to proposed legislation from the most diverse quarters, while deciding for himself after giving it due consideration: one, moreover, not easily led away by officers in his councils or provinces, it may be of long experience but with special “hobbies,” and applying as far as possible the commercial principle

“ Will it pay ? ” to all proposed expenditure of any considerable amount, whether on roads, irrigation works, or railways. Such an administrator at this moment will be the best gift that Britain can offer to the natives and colonists of Ceylon.

The great public works now in hand—the Colombo harbour and waterworks, and the Nanu-oya railway extension—will be completed before many months have passed. But the extension of the last-mentioned railway for twenty-five miles to Haputalé, to serve the populous and rich Uva principality, with its numerous native gardens and European plantations, will urgently call for his attention ; for, without this extension, the forty-two miles now being constructed to Nānu-oya cannot possibly be profitable, the *additional* traffic of Uva being required to make it so. A public loan for this work and for the construction of further useful irrigation reservoirs and channels, more particularly the refitting of useful village tanks, will be about the most useful scheme a new governor can devise.

Remembering that the colony within twenty-five years has paid, mainly through its planting enterprise, the whole cost of the

grand Colombo and Kandy railway, with the seaside and Náwalapitiya branches—in all 120 miles, amounting to two and a half millions sterling, now the free property of the Ceylon Government; also that the harbour and waterworks (costing about a million) are likely to pay their own way; that the splendid network of roads and series of restored irrigation tanks and public buildings (costing six million pounds sterling) have all been paid for, there should be little hesitation in adding another half or three-quarters of a million pounds sterling to the debt of Ceylon—the whole debt even then not being equal to two years' revenue—in order to enable the above undertakings to be completed.

In legislative and social improvements there is much for a new governor to do: law reform is urgently wanted in many directions; while education, especially in the vernacular, has to be promoted.

Still more needful is a system of technical, industrial, and agricultural education. It is felt by many that Ceylon junior civil servants, like those of Java, should pass at an agricultural college and spend one or two years on arrival at Government experimental gardens or plantations. The influence of the personal

example and precept of the revenue officers of Government over the headmen and people in getting them to try new products or extend cultivation is immense; and one most beneficial reform will be the establishment of an agri-horticultural exhibition, with holidays and sports for the people, in connexion with each Kachchéri (district station) in the island.

A Government note issue, by which the Ceylon revenue, like that of India, might benefit by the profits of a currency department, is a matter worthy of thought; but the most urgent reform of grievance in the minds of intelligent tax-payers refers to the large proportion of the revenue expended for military purposes in Ceylon, apart from the cost of a large body of police and of a corps of volunteers. There are 1,200 British artillery and infantry, with a costly major-general's staff, now maintained in the island; while, so far as any local requirements are concerned, the regiment of infantry might be dispensed with, the artillery, with perhaps another battery added, being quite sufficient. The people of Ceylon are perhaps the least war-like of any nation under British rule: not a soldier has sustained a scratch here since 1837, when the Kandyan kingdom was finally

subdued. Street riots in Colombo through religious feuds or dearness of rice, at rare intervals, only require the sight of a red-coat to subside; a few artillerymen with a light field-gun would be sufficient to cope with the most formidable gathering that could possibly take place as a breach of the peace.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that for imperial purposes Ceylon is a most central and useful station for even more than one regiment of infantry with a good staff. This will be readily seen from what has happened during the past twenty-five years. Sir Henry Ward sent the 37th Regiment at a day's notice to Calcutta in 1857 to the aid of Lord Canning against the mutineers, those troops being the first to arrive; in 1863 the troopship *Himalaya* took the 50th Regiment from Ceylon to New Zealand to aid in suppressing the Maoris; later on, part of the Ceylon garrison did good service in China, the Straits, and Labuan; in 1879 the 57th Regiment was despatched at short notice to Natal; and, with equal expedition, the 102nd was sent thither in 1881, when the colony was practically denuded of infantry without the slightest inconvenience.

Ceylon is by far the most central British

military garrison in the East; its first-class port, Colombo, is distant 900 miles from Bombay, 600 from Madras, 1,400 from Calcutta, 1,600 from Singapore, 2,500 from Mauritius, a little more from Madagascar, about 4,000 from Natal, 3,000 from Hong-Kong, 3000 from Freemantle or Western Australia, and about 2,500 from Aden. Its value, therefore, as a station from whence troops can, at the shortest notice, be transferred to any one of these points, should make it the Malta of the Eastern Seas; indeed its hill station neared by railway, as already mentioned, might be the sanatorium for all the troops in Southern India; but it is not fair that the colony, especially in a time of depression, should pay the full cost of this force, which in twenty-five years has served in five or six wars in other dependencies, and not once within its own territory. It is also hard that Ceylon is charged far more *per caput* of the force than other colonies, Mauritius for instance.

A new governor will, it is hoped, use all his influence to put this military question on its proper footing. Ceylon tax-payers would also fain see the headquarters of the East India naval station removed from Trincomalee to Colombo, for the good of the port,

now that first-class harbour works have been constructed.

There are reforms urgently needed in connexion with the wide area of valuable lands with which the Kandyan Buddhist temples are endowed, and the revenues of which are now utterly wasted by priests and headmen without any benefit to the people, the majority of whom would gladly vote for their appropriation to the promotion of vernacular education in each district. In the more distant future the intelligent public of Ceylon hopefully look forward to the time when a mitigation of taxation may take place, the *salt* monopoly being the first to be abolished. This tax, though scarcely felt by the mass, debars agricultural improvement in certain directions, and occasionally affects the health of the people in remote districts.

The removal of all customs' duties and the inauguration of Colombo as a free port could not fail to increase the importance of the colony. But the time for that is still afar off, as is also, we fear, the grand scheme which the Duke of Buckingham, when Governor of Madras, propounded to Sir William Gregory, of connecting the railway systems of Ceylon and Southern India, to

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serve the very large passenger traffic in coolies and traders, as well as carry the produce of Southern India to the safe and commodious Colombo harbour, the Madras harbour works being, at all events at present, a complete failure.



DEVIL DANCER, WITH ATTENDANT TOM-TOM BEATER.

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CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION.

Relation and importance of Ceylon to India—Progress of Christianity and Education—Statistics of population—Loyalty of people to British Rule, as evinced during Royal visits.

CEYLON, in a social and political way, bears the same relation to India and the Far East that England has done to the European continent. Mr. Laing, when Finance Minister for India, confessed it was most valuable to have Ceylon under a separate form of government, and to have experiments in administrative and legislative reforms tried here, which served as an example or a warning to the big neighbouring continent, the peoples being allied in so many respects. There is no distinction between native and European judges and magistrates in Ceylon; and the acting chief justice, lately, was a Eurasian, while at present a Sinhalese barrister is judge of the Supreme Court.

The progress of Christianity and education among the people is greater than in any other Eastern state, and should Buddhism, the religion of one and three-quarters of a million of Sinhalese, fall here, it will have a great effect on the millions of Burmah, Siam, and even China, who look to Ceylon as the sacred home of Buddhism. Roman Catholicism has been propagated since the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century; while English Protestant missions have worked in Ceylon since 1811.¹ The Roman Catholics number about 220,000, the Protestants 50,000, against 1,700,000 Buddhists, 600,000 Hindus, and nearly 200,000 Mohammedans. The population at the census of 1881 included 6,300 Buddhist, 1,250 Hindu, and 574 Mohammedan priests, 465 Christian ministers and missionaries, 2,210 schoolmasters, 759 lawyers and notaries public, and 3,321 physicians and medical practitioners of all grades.

Other occupations of the people comprised such novelties as 1,532 devil-dancers, 36 jugglers and monkey-dancers, 121 snake-charmers, 240 astrologers and fortune-tellers, 32 actors and puppet-showmen, 640 tom-tom

¹ For illustrations of the progress of modern Protestant Christian Missions, see Appendix III.

beaters, 160 comedians and nautch dancers, 16,357 dhobies or washermen, nearly 2,000 barbers, 50 elephant-keepers and huntsmen, about 5,000 fakirs and devotee-beggars, 1,500 grave-diggers, 200 lapidaries, 400 workers in ivory and tortoise-shell, and 3,000 in jewellery, &c.²

Ceylon was honoured with a visit from H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh in 1870, from H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in 1875, and from the young Princes Albert and George of Wales in 1881. On each occasion the loyalty and devotion of the people to the British Crown, and their warm personal interest in the happiness and welfare of their sovereign, were very conspicuous, and we feel convinced that nowhere in the British Empire are there more loyal or contented subjects of her Most Gracious Majesty than in "Lanká," "the pearl-drop on the brow of India."

² The main results of the census will be found tabulated in Appendix V.

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APPENDIX I.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ELEPHANT KRAAL HELD AT LABUGAMA FOR THE ENTERTAINMENT OF THE PRINCES ALBERT VICTOR AND GEORGE OF WALES IN 1882.

(From an account by Mr. J. Ferguson in the *Ceylon Observer*.)

AT THE KRAAL.

KRAALTOWN, MONDAY EVENING, Jan. 30th, 1882.

ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCES.

The Princes arrived at the kraal at 5 p.m. Prince George was mounted on a spirited steed and cleared the stream which runs between the official and unofficial portions of Kraaltown in magnificent style, showing that he knows how to ride. Large crowds of planters and others cheered him vociferously. Prince Albert Victor arrived on foot, walking with his Excellency the Governor alongside of Lady Longden, who was carried in a chair. There are two herds of elephants within a mile of the kraal, seven in one herd and fifteen in the other. A successful drive is expected early to-morrow morning.

TUESDAY FORENOON, Jan. 31st, 1882.

THE ELEPHANTS INDISPOSED TO CARRY OUT THE OFFICIAL PROGRAMME.

The little programme sketched out by the government agent, and which the energetic Dawson hoped to put into execution, ran somewhat as follows:—The driving from the

outer into the inner beat to commence last night, to be followed this morning by the drive into the kraal, which, it was hoped, would be effected before noon ; the noosing and tying-up to be at once begun and continued on Wednesday. This would have enabled the princes to see all the operations connected with a kraal and to start back so as to reach Colombo in good time on Wednesday.

But, so far, we have only an illustration of the well-worn aphorism that

**The best-laid plans of mice and men
Gang aft agley ;**

and we all know how often, especially in the case of elephants, are the plans of men at fault. An old chief last evening gave me the opinion, based on his experience of a good many kraals, that while a herd of elephants were difficult to compass and drive from their native jungle in the first instance, once start them and get the beat fairly established, and by the time they come within driving distance of the kraal they were all fairly cowed and very easy of management. No doubt comparatively this is the case ; but in the history of kraals we have too many instances of successful charges and escapes to feel that the final drive is such an easy matter as the old chief would have us believe. Last night's experience is no exception. The herd that it was proposed first to capture, after being driven into the inner beat, broke through into the wider range, and the evening's labour went for nothing. No doubt the wet evening—rain extinguishing fire and torches—had a good deal to do with the breach effected. Of nothing is the elephant so much afraid as of fire, and with nothing will a Kandyan approach a wild elephant so readily. You will remember Major Skinner's experience on the Anurádhapura road as an illustration. How he found the road to his camp wilfully, if not deliberately

(and of malice aforethought), blocked up one evening by a herd of elephants which had been prowling in the neighbourhood; how all the efforts of himself and his men to clear the road of the intruders proved unavailing—the leader, an old tusker, charging furiously when any attempt was made at dislodgment; and how this went on for some hours until finally a Kandyan arrived with a huge torch, with which he marched right up to the tusker, who stood his ground until the fire almost touched his trunk, and then turned tail and fled with all his belongings. In the hands of a man of Mr. Saunders's nerve, no doubt an umbrella alternately opened and shut would prove as effectual as a torch, and very probably the government agent found occasion to use it last night, for he and Mr. Dawson are reported to have spent most of the night with the beaters.

Very early astir this morning, probably the first from the official encampment, was Captain Foot (of H.M.S. *Ruby*), and a long walk round the kraal and on along the line of beaters failed to afford a sight of waving forest tree-tops, or the sound of crashing through "batali" (small bambu), much less the sight of an elephant. The hope now is that one herd may be driven in this afternoon, but there are doubts about it, and the headmen are more than usually susceptible to the presence of strangers, insisting that their beaters should not be visited, and that no bugle should be sounded for the benefit of "Kraal-town" until the barrier-gate shall be closed and the herd secured. There is, as usual, too, some little jealousy among the chiefs, the one insisting on his herd being first disposed of and by no means mingled with the others.

Meantime the princes are enjoying themselves under "the merrie greenwood." Their quarters have been most delightfully chosen—for situation beautiful exceedingly—

and much care and taste have been displayed in fitting them up. A "crow's-nest" for four has been established at a good point for a sight of the drive-in, while the principal grand stand is, as usual, erected partly inside the kraal to secure a good sight of the final and really interesting operations.

TUESDAY EVENING.

THE ELEPHANTS STILL OBSTINATE—A VISIT TO THE BEATERS' LINES—A FALSE ALARM—THE CHIEF EKNELIGODA.

This has been a day of disappointment for all concerned. The drive-in, which was expected to take place last night, was considered certain for this morning, and in hurrying up from a distance of ten miles (where I had taken up my quarters last night) I feared the risk of missing an exciting portion of the proceedings, but was consoled to find everybody still waiting for the elephants. The afternoon was now considered certain for the drive, and in preparation thousands of natives wended their way kraalwards, from which, however, they were kept off at respectable distance. Later on, as I learn, the "grand stand" began to be occupied by permission of the government agent, and everybody in the official circle was evidently on the *qui-vive*. On the other hand, Colombo ladies, merchants, and bankers stood in the sun on the hill-side for a considerable time. I mention this, because there is considerable grumbling in Kraaltown to-night about official mismanagement if not discourtesy, conveyed to me from reliable quarters with a view to censure.

I cannot speak of this personally, or of anything but readiness to oblige. Mr. Dawson was starting after breakfast about 2 p.m. for the outer line of beaters, and readily consented to my joining his party. Starting before his party, I got round a great part of the cordon of several miles, first. The one boundary runs along the bridle-path

to Bópé, and here, about two miles from Kraaltown, I came upon the small jungle huts or rather nests and camp-fires of the beaters. Very picturesque was the scene and wonderful the interest of the people in their work, from the old grey-headed Kandyan sire with his flowing white beard, who had probably passed through more kraals than he could recall, to the young stripling by his side who was on the "corral" beat for the first time. From the far-distant jungle came the signal of their chief Ekneligoda, or his henchmen, and immediately the cry was taken up,

" Hari—hari—hari—hari,
Hari—hari—ho-ho!"

winding up with a prolonged cheer. Passing from the bridle-road, the cordon line passed through the small bambu jungle up hill and down dale: with camp-fires, huts, and beaters with their long forks, or here and there an old musket, and again a crow's-nest with an agile, keen-eyed watchman swung up in a tree, placed at regular intervals. Finally the boundary-line carries us into the bed of a river whose wide rocky bed, shaded by the fine overarching trees springing from the banks, afforded a pleasant change from the more open jungle line. Here we encountered two or three Maskeliya planters who had been helping the beaters and trying to get a glimpse of the elephants from early morning without avail. The herd had obstinately located itself in thick jungle; it had driven the beaters back since early morning, the previous advance having been too sudden and hurried. Suddenly a wild "halloo!" is raised by the Sinhalese on the river bank; there is crashing of jungle, firing of guns and flinging of stones; two or three indefatigable appuhámis literally throw themselves into the stream to pick up rocks and fling them into the jungle. The elephants are surely coming, and right down upon us in the river, is the first

thought. Three beaters at our side look out for trees, and the thought of shelter becomes a leading consideration. Suddenly the assistant agent, Mr. Dawson, accompanied by the indefatigable Captain Foot and a few other officers, break from the cordon line into the river-bed. Their presence has a wonderful effect; the beaters redouble their furious attack on the supposed advancing "alijas," shouts and yells, shots and shells in the form of pieces of rock, crashing and trampling, form a proper accompaniment, and it seems more than ever needful to look out for danger. As a Colombo wallah I could not help thinking discretion the better part of valour, and my friends looked, if they did not speak it—

He who ascends into a tree
 May next day climb again with me;
 But he by elephant that's gored
 May see at once that he is floor'd.

But, before we moved a step, the clamour and shindy subsided as suddenly as it was commenced, and it did not require the "knowing" look of a friend up to "the ways that are dark" of the beater folk to see that all was got up as a "plant" (excuse slang) in honour of the visitors, to afford them a little sensation for their jungle trip; "The elephants are upon you," they said, in fact, in order to see how we should stand the test or show a clean pair of heels. But fortunately we stood it all, while we followed on in search of the elephants.

I was anxious to see the old chief, Ekneligoda, who at the head of 500 men directed this drive of fifteen elephants—his people having been out for nearly a month, while he has been half that period living and lodging as best he can in the jungle. "Here he comes," cries my companion, who knows the old man well: a little, dark skinny old man, bearded like the wandura, with an ordinary comboy

which he is holding up as he walks barefoot through jungle and water—the inevitable dilapidated billy-cock hat setting off a figure which a stranger would at once say belonged to a poor old Kandyan of no consequence. But a glance at his face revealed power and authority, set off by a keen eye and aquiline nose—a man of few words, yet his English is good. We met him later on coming back from one of his beats, when he frankly assured us he did not think we could see the elephants, penetrate and push on as we might. He, complained not loudly but expressively, of the difficult task set to him: more troublesome elephants had probably never come under his care.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, Feb. 1st, 1882.

PARTIAL SUCCESS: SEVEN ELEPHANTS DRIVEN IN, BUT THE ATTEMPT TO NOOSE THEM UNSUCCESSFUL.—ONE SHOT AND THE TAIL PRESENTED TO PRINCE ALBERT VICTOR.—A BEATER KILLED AND OTHERS WOUNDED.—DEPARTURE OF THE GOVERNOR AND THE PRINCES.

After a hard day's work—tramping through jungle or standing in the sun or occasional rain from early morn to dewy eve, returning home footsore and weary—one does not feel much inclined to put the day's impressions and experiences on paper, between 7.30 and 9 p.m. However, as I was far away from the post-office, in all the excitement of an expectant drive of wild elephants, when the midday post left, I must not miss the evening tappal.

I broke off yesterday with a reference to the chieftain Ekneligoda, who has his headquarters on the north side of the Peak in the Yatiyantota district, as his relative and superior, Iddamalgoda, holds sway over the richer and more populous south. Ekneligoda is a man of few words, but when I met him the second time in the bed of the expan-

sive rocky ela, which feeds the Maha-oya, the chief, who looked disconcerted after his interview with his civilian superior, threw out his hands in the expressive oriental fashion and deprecated this English plan of fighting against time and nature, hurrying up the elephants, *nolens volens*, whether inclined to go on or not. "Now," said the chief, "the Sinhalese way is to wait on the elephants; don't allow them to go back; wait until they go, or only at proper times help them to go forward." In the light of last night's and to-day's experiences, there is much in the old chief's remark.

We were assured by Ekneligoda that, follow up the beaters as we might, it was not likely we would see the elephants that afternoon, and so we accordingly turned back along the cordon, having experienced several alarms with preparations to receive the enemy in full charge on our way. Arrived on the bridle-path, a spot was pointed out where the elephants were certain to pass in "the open," if they crossed into kraal valley that evening. There I took up my post of observation for a couple of hours, while my companions went on to a three o'clock breakfast. No elephants came, however; but the tedium was broken at intervals by the cry of the beaters, as it ran round the cordon, swelling into a general chorus, and subsiding into a dropping fire of shouts, frightening the echoes of the amphitheatrical valley, if not the "aliyas." By-and-by Captain Foot, of the *Ruby*, galloped down the steep path, reporting some "hitch," and no appearance of elephants. He was followed soon after by Mr. Thring with an express for the chief authorities respecting Ekneligoda's apparent deception and "humbugging" as to the proximity of his herd and their readiness for kraaling. Back in a few minutes came this valuable A.D.C. with the order thereon; and very speedily he brought better tidings from the front. The beaters had

begun to work in earnest, the position of the herd had been noted by the waving of the jungle, and the chief was very sanguine of passing into the kraal valley and probably driving his herd in during the night. With this anticipation the princely and viceregal party, as well as Kraaltown, had to be content for Tuesday evening.

All day long had ladies and gentlemen been waiting for the bugle-sound which was to summon them to the kraal, and at the various stands, grand and minor, the thousands of natives were equally on the *qui-vive*; but, as we have said, no call came. A start at break of day, to see the kraaled elephants, and to watch the noosing and tying up, was now the plan on all hands. Every one made the best of the disappointment; the evening closed in pleasantly: the planet

—that maketh day of night,
Goddess excellently bright,

maintained its reputation, casting a soft effulgence over the hills and valleys. Music, songs, and dancing lasted far into the night—especially among the young “K.C.B’s,”¹ who were determined to make the best of their few days’ holiday:—the district between Great Western and the Peak, as well as around the old “sentry-box” and those with “new products,” being excellently represented in the attendance at the kraal. “The Hittites” and “the Amorites” are two designations I have heard applied to encampments. Kollupitiya, the Pettah, Sea-street and Mattakuliya were supposed to be represented in Kraaltown upper and lower!

The princes were for part of this day entertained with the performances of the tame elephants, and they had several walks to the “crow’s-nest” in front of the

¹ Knights of the coffee berry.

kraal, to watch the approach of the herd which, provokingly, never came.

WEDNESDAY'S EXPERIENCES.

During the night several of the more active civilians and planters were on the alert in case the drive in should take place. Among the rest, Messrs. Unwin, Challinor, and Pyemont-Pyemont had a curious experience soon after midnight in watching a stray elephant—supposed to be the tusker which had been hanging about Ekneligoda's herd—*break into* the kraal! The huge brute, by main strength, forced one of the upper beams from its strong jungle-creeper fastenings, and, after it fell down, sprang inside. He could not get out again, apparently, but had to be let out, as I suppose it would not do to shoot him, or try to capture him, with the herd so close at hand. It took six men this morning to lift and replace the beam so crossed aside.

Day broke, and in the grey morning mist, from 5 to 7 a.m. (and a few hours afterwards), the denizens of Kraal-town might be seen climbing the hillside, and passing on to the kraal entrance in the hope of all being ready for business at last; but only again to meet with disappointment. The acting colonial secretary was one of the first to announce: "No elephants; not likely to be any kraal—we are going!" Later on, however, came better news, and by degrees a move was made towards the kraal, and while the governor and Lady Longden sat in state from an early hour in their grand stand inside the kraal, the princes and suite mounted the "crow's-nest" in front, and there patiently for hours waited the approach of elephants which, judging by the nearness and loudness of the cries of the beaters, might be expected at any moment, from 9 a.m. onwards, to burst from their final fastness along the drive into the kraal. A good many Europeans and still more

natives took up posts of observation alongside the kraal and high up in the jungle, where they were kept in order, and occasionally by way of relief at intervals driven back, by the several superior officers of police. Conspicuous on the opposite side of the valley, high up on the hill directly overlooking the drive, were a few Europeans and a perfect crowd of natives, with no policeman to keep silence or to send them under cover. I mention this because, while the delay in kraaling is attributed by many to the great crowd and inevitable sounds from them at the side of the kraal, it seems to me that the opposite hillside, and the crow's-nest itself, with its numerous white-helmeted occupants, must be chiefly blamed—if blame be attached. But I do not think there was any unreasonable delay: the wonder is that elephants could have been hurried on at all in the way we have experienced.

It seems that after all during the night a complete change of plan was effected: and Iddamalgoda's smaller herd, and which he had much better in hand—Mr. Templer, the assistant agent, being with him ten days in the jungle—was hurried up in front of Ekneligoda's, to be kraaled first. About breakfast time came the news that they were ready to be driven in, but that the bigger herd of fifteen was now so near that Mr. Saunders, who was in between (while Mr. Dawson was with Ekneligoda), thought they had better be kraaled together. This attempt was fully made, and a good deal of time lost in vain. It was inevitable that the rearward elephants should hear the cries in front of them of some of Iddamalgoda's men, and accordingly they would not stir.

Time up: and I must stop the regular order of my story. Suffice it to say that great difficulty was experienced in kraaling even the seven, which was only done after the cow-elephant (with her baby-calf to care for) had killed one beater and wounded some more. She had to be

wounded by a shot from Mr. Munro. Then the whole herd bolted into the kraal about 1.45. The princes were at luncheon, but hurried out. Mr. Macartney had to finish the wounded elephant in the kraal, and the tail was then presented to Prince Albert Victor. The attempt at noosing did not succeed; and the princes left without seeing a proper kraal! The governor and Lady Longden, accompanied by Prince Edward, were the first to leave; Prince George and party following two hours after, at 5 p.m.

WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

CAPTURE OF IDDAMALGODA'S HERD OF ELEPHANTS.

I LEFT off with the cheering announcement, issued verbally with the authority, apparently, of the government agent, that he hoped the two herds of from seventeen to twenty elephants could be kraaled simultaneously. This was received as a welcome relief by the weary bystanders now experiencing the lesson from "hope deferred" in bright sunshine, for the early morning clouds had cleared away, and the day turned out a splendid one for the enjoyment of the "kraal"—if the "tumasha" only would come off.

Very patiently, though with eager expectation, did we all wait for the sudden rustling of the jungle and the burst inwards, which would afford ocular demonstration of a herd being kraaled. But hour after hour sped away, and, though numerous were the alarms, no approach to the entrance followed. It was a case of

How often we Prince Rupert kill'd,
 And bravely won the day,—
 The wicked Cavaliers do read
 The clean contrary way.

At one time the tame elephants were ordered down into the jungle to charge the wild herd upwards if possible,

but the attempt failed: the work was one in which the tame ones had no practice, and the "cow" in the herd, already nearly driven desperate about her calf, threatened to undo all the labour of many weeks, if any weak point were left exposed. Fiercely, and again and again, did this gallant brute and faithful mother charge the beaters; she refused to be driven back, and after injuring, directly or indirectly, several of the beaters, she at last killed her man, and it was resolved she must perish. At 1.30 p.m. the message came for Mr. Macartney, a well-known elephant shot, to come down with his rifle. It was arranged that he and Mr. W. Murray should go to the spot, but his "battery" was at Kraaltown, and, before it could be fetched, a Sabaragamuwa resident, Mr. James Munro, was requested to punish the offender, not by killing



but by wounding her, which he did at forty paces by a shot in the forehead. This laid the cow prostrate for from five to ten minutes, during which blood poured out

of the wound in a torrent, forming quite a pool ; but after this interval the animal rose, much to the delight of its distracted calf, and trotted after the herd, thoroughly cured of further designs on the beaters, and in a few minutes more—unfortunately in the absence of the crow's-nest party at luncheon—the whole herd, four large and three small, dashed along the entrance drive into the kraal, trampling down the bambu jungle and passing at lightning speed and with the sound of rumbling thunder into the kraal.

“ Caught at last ! ” was the cry, and the grand stand was speedily occupied : the order having gone forth to old Iddamalgoda, who now appeared on the scene, that an attempt should be made at once to move and tie up one of the herd. The old chief, save for his long white locks, is a very uninteresting-looking representative of his class. He knows no English, is heavy and dropsical-looking, and his combination of European and native costume is not becoming. But he, or at least his retainers, had done their work well, thanks, perhaps, a good deal to the energetic prompting of Mr. Templer, who spent some ten days in the jungle with the chief and his party, and who now stands the hero of the moment. In passing, let me say that no one could have done more on the “ beat ” than Mr. Dawson, during the last few days, to ensure the timely success desired with Ekneligoda's big herd, and that they were not kraaled in time is certainly not his fault. He, and indeed all the officials and the chiefs themselves, are apparently the victims of circumstances they could not well control. It is absurd to fix on two days as the limit of a kraal, from the hour of the order to drive in through the final stages. The old chief was right : elephants puzzled and terrified enough by their month's experience should not, at the end of their long involuntary march, be urged too rapidly, much less fought

with, under pain of demoralization and no satisfactory progress at all. Elephants, when approaching the kraal, should rather be waited on, and from three days to a week ought to be the allowance.

It is just possible that, in the present case, the well-known desire to be first, and to gain *kudos*, may have prompted Ekneligoda to report far too favourably of his position to Mr. Dawson a few days back. He was clearly not in a position to get over from the Maha Wakoya to the kraal valley on Monday or Tuesday forenoon. True, his herd were reported to have burst through the inner line of beaters on Tuesday morning, but this apparently was an excuse for delay. At the same time, "too much haste" has been the cause of marring a kraal—so far as the princes are concerned—which had otherwise all the elements of a notable success, and on which an enormous amount of labour, affecting aged and loyal chiefs and thousands of retainers who, save for the love of the excitement and the hunting spirit inherent in Highlanders everywhere, can have no inducement—no adequate return—for this continuous, tiring and anxious spell of active service in the field. It is a thousand pities, therefore, that they were not so far rewarded by the completion of their work under the eyes of the royal princes, the governor, admiral, and other visitors. A little firmness of purpose would have secured this end; but of this more anon. I have digressed lamentably.

The princes were timed to leave at 1.30; they lingered on till about 3 p.m., and so secured a passing sight of the herd in the kraal and the tail of the elephant shot. Then Prince Albert Victor, his Excellency the Governor, Lady Longden, Sir Edwin Johnson, Lieut. Adair, and Captain Hayne, A.D.C., started for Colombo; while Prince George, with his tutor, the Rev. J. Dalton, Captains Lord Charles Scott, Durrant, and

Foot—as well as Admiral Gore-Jones—remained some hours longer in the hope of witnessing a noosing and tying up. Beaters were already hard at work with cattles, and very soon two or three of the tame elephants lent their effective aid, butting down gently but effectually trees of no mean magnitude: everything in the shape of light jungle speedily disappeared from around the royal stand. The enormous government “tusker,” fully roped and equipped for the noosing and tying business, now moved down in stately measure among the spectators to the eastern side of the kraal where, at the word of command, he lightly and readily slipped aside the top beam and dropped the one end from his trunk to the ground. He crossed the lower beam, still over four feet high, without difficulty, and proceeded into the jungle. I passed on to the remoter end of the kraal, where a continuous trumpeting, varied by stentorian but painful cries of the bereaved baby-elephant, indicated the presence of the herd hidden in the dense bambu jungle. Nothing could be seen of them here, however—only the occasional waving of the bambus. Turning back, I found that the government tusker had got rid of his keeper inside the kraal for some reason, and was vainly trying by himself to slip back the upper beam again in order to get out of the kraal! Fortunately for the thousands of natives and some Europeans too (who could not well stampede through the close jungle) the beam had been firmly secured, and very soon the keeper once more resumed his work and authority, and the tusker went to work, although, apparently, he was not to be depended on so much as the remaining tuskers’ trio. After a good view of this end of the kraal from Mr. Chas. de Soysa’s stand, I went on to the grand stand, inside the kraal, where Prince George and party were waiting for the exhibition which never came off. Although two or three encounters took place, and although a band of

volunteer European parties undertook to drive from the lower end of the kraal, no favourable opportunity for noosing could be obtained, and the prince had to be contented with the several ineffectual attempts made.

The fact is that the attempt to noose on the same evening as the capture is unprecedented, and the civil officers scarcely expected success. The usual and proper course is to allow a night to intervene, during which the captives trample down all the "batali" and other jungle stuff, exhaust themselves in examining their prison, and finally lie down in whatever puddle may remain in the hollows. Noosing and tying can then proceed in a business-like way. Clearly, neither chief nor retainers could feel much enthusiasm in the after-proceedings of this afternoon. That the same elephants and keepers did their duty well is vouched for by the experience of a planting friend who, occupying a prominent position in a high tree inside the western side of the kraal, witnessed a charge of three tame elephants on to the quartette of big ones in the herd, which fairly astonished him. The trio were arranged in line, facing the position in the bambu, where the herd gave evidence of their presence, and all at once in regular and most rapid motion, at the word of command, they charged, butting the herd fairly over or on before them. So rapid and regular was the run, that the three seemed as one, and to run like a race-horse, to my friend's observation. From this same tree, Mr. Macartney's successful stalk of the poor wounded beast was followed.

As a finish to my day's work, I paid a visit to the dead elephant, which lay in the bambu jungle not far from the western entrance. The fatal shots on the forehead were examined, as well as one in the ear; the ears and feet as trophies or talismans had already been either cut off or hacked about. We were a party of twenty or

thirty, including natives, around the prostrate animal, when suddenly a crash through the jungle near at hand was followed by the cry of "Here comes the herd!" and, sure enough, the wild elephants, closely followed by two of the tame ones, appeared to be making directly for us. There was screaming and shouting enough in good earnest, and although the only risk lay in a hurried stampede in one direction, the pursuers being behind, clearly discretion was the better part of valour, and a rush was made for the barrier. Unfortunately one of the two European ladies present could not readily get over the sudden alarm, and became semi-hysterical, which added to the difficulty of clearing out of the way.

This little encounter illustrated in a practical way the awkwardness of a panic among a number of people in a closely-filled cane jungle with a herd of elephants supposed to be on you! Colonel Campbell mentions a narrow escape of the kind he had in the Kurunégala jungles, where, through a misdirection of his tracker, he found himself suddenly facing a herd of elephants in full trot. He had the presence of mind to spring for the nearest large tree, but had no time to do more than squeeze himself against the side, as well as he could, out of view of the herd, swinging on with his rifle in hand, however, prepared to defend himself in case he should be interfered with. He was not; but I think it was Macbeth who asked the Lords of Scotland,—

Who can be wise, amazed, temperate, and furious
(Loyal and neutral) in a moment?"

But to return to the kraal: I suppose it will be pronounced a failure (more or less complete) by Governor Sir James Longden and his guests, and yet most people here are hopeful of to-morrow making amends for present and past disappointment; and most people also think

that, considering the uncertainty attaching to a successful elk-hunt (notwithstanding Mr. Lutyens' special exertions) the royal visitors should have been persuaded to remain here to see the kraal out. Two days more would have put a very different complexion on their experience; but the opportunity of seeing a successful kraal in Ceylon is now for Princes Albert Victor and George gone—and, perhaps, for ever.

THURSDAY EVENING, February 2nd, 1882.

A HARD DAY'S WORK, RESULTING FINALLY IN THE CAPTURE OF TWELVE ELEPHANTS, INCLUDING A SPLENDID TUSKER.

THIS morning came in simultaneously with the news of a bitter disappointment, in the loss of the six elephants supposed to be left in the kraal last evening. Its succeeding hours brought prolonged and bitter disappointment until evening almost closed in; but "the unexpected" as usual has at last happened, and the night closes with a brilliant success achieved under such difficulties, and with such unusual means, that it almost makes amends for all the vexation and regret of the past two days.

Let me, however, continue my story consecutively as well as I am able. I left the kraal last night as darkness closed in. Six living elephants, including the "baby calf," were safely enclosed, and although the attempt—against all precedent—to noose and tie up within a few hours of the capture of the herd, in order to allow Prince George to see the operation, was a failure, yet everybody who was not obliged to leave that evening felt there was compensation ahead in this morning's proceedings in the noosing and tying. So confident were many of completing their experience so far during this forenoon, that they made all their arrangements at an early hour for a

start homewards during the day: ourselves among the rest sending our appu and boxes ahead some ten miles to where we intended driving and spending the night. "Man proposes and a Higher disposes." At any rate, this confession shows we were wanting in the first lesson of jungle and planting experience, namely, never to part with your box cooly, at any rate to be sure he is within reach. Having cleared out of Kraaltown finally as we supposed, we were met at an early hour by an official intimation—probably written the night before—to the effect that the public were requested not to approach the stockade and kraal, as Ekneligoda's herd was within easy distance, and the attempt was to be made to open the barrier gate, drive them in and kraal all together. This was a disappointment, because it added to the risk of there being no noosing at all this day; but before we had fully realized the new "situation" created by the official "proclamation," came the authentic news, meeting us on the road up to the kraal, that the whole of the six elephants kraaled the night before had escaped during the night, and that the kraal was vacant!

This proved to be the fact, and the explanations rendered were most varied. One statement was that part of Ekneligoda's herd had broken in during the night, and the palisade being knocked down, all escaped scot-free again; another account made it appear that the gate must have been opened preparatory to the further kraaling, and so in being too greedy, crying "more, more," those already held were lost. The official report, as I heard it from Mr. Dawson at an early hour, is that a "tusker" from Ekneligoda's herd—and it is supposed to be the same "tusker" as visited the kraal the night before (when Messrs. Unwin, Challinor, and Pyemont-Pyemont saw him)—broke in again so effectually as to release his sisters and brethren, old and young, in distress. But

where were the watchmen planted all round the kraal the night before with wands and spears immediately alongside the barricade? Well, there can be no doubt they were grievously to blame, and as evidence that they have not escaped punishment I may mention that the Government Agent visited them at an early hour this morning to give them "a bit of his mind," winding up, I believe, with a smash of "crockery" (!), including chatties—a great deprivation for Sinhalese "jungle-wallahs." I suppose, in fact, this was the cogent official way of saying, "Now you may go away; you are useless and worse than useless: clear out!"

But, in defence of these poor fellows, let me say that their story has it that they were beset by wild elephants prowling round the kraal from the outside, and so, between two fires, they could not give their attention to their charge as they would have liked. There are further explanations however, namely, that their chief Iddamalgoda had to listen to some sharp words the night before on account of the slowness of his people to effect a noosing, the threat finally being that the Government would not allow them to have a single elephant from the herd since they allowed Prince George to leave without tying up one. The old chief said nothing, merely shrugging his shoulders; but it is quite conceivable that his people cared little about keeping strict watch and ward over the herd that was to be taken from them. Another reason for discouragement was the shooting of the big "cow" elephant: the beaters did not like it a bit:—"Here we have been driving in the jungle for weeks, and after we have brought this elephant eighty miles or so to within as many feet of the gate of the kraal, you go and shoot it!" This is certainly not the native plan, and it is all attributable to the terrible haste made in the present proceedings in order "to catch the princes." Another

six hours must undoubtedly have brought in the mother as well as calf in safety.

Blame can be attached to no particular step, when the surrounding circumstances are considered; but undoubtedly Messrs. Saunders and Dawson ought to have been firmer at the outset, and have plainly warned his Excellency and his royal visitors that, while they and the chiefs would do their best to secure the kraal in two days, still a margin of four or even five days ought to be allowed to secure success in this, the finest and most characteristic display of sport that can be seen in Ceylon. An elk hunt cannot for a moment vie with the sport in deer stalking which the young princes can have any summer in their father's royal deer forest at Abergeldie; but where again are they to witness a complete elephant kraal?

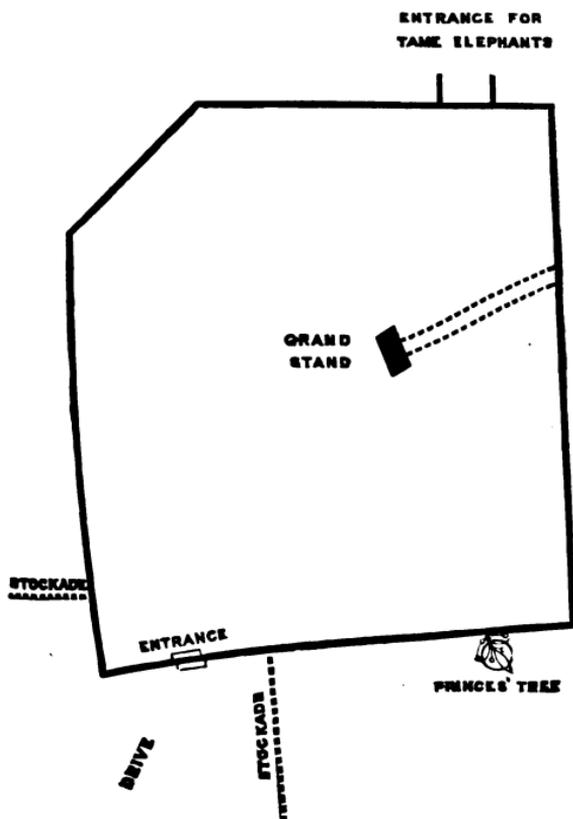
But this is a digression—one of many that might be indulged in during the long weary hours of this most tedious of days, and as I have just heard that Mr. Saunders is starting an “express” for Colombo at ten p.m.—the regular tappal having vanished with the Governor—I must hurry to a close, reserving details.

From an early hour Mr. Templer (who had so steadily accompanied Iddamalgoda's herd to the kraal) was out with Ekneligoda and the larger herd, now coming rapidly forward. Whether this chief's circle of beaters had intercepted and added to their herd the six escaped elephants is a matter of doubt; but they certainly brought on as many as twelve elephants of their own, and beating up from early morning, the most perfect stillness being maintained in and around the stockade—due very much to the great number of departures—shortly after noon the herd was reported well on in the kraal drive,² and at one o'clock Mr. Saunders' report was: “Drive-in pro-

² The drive for a couple of miles round the range, down the gorge and on towards the kraal till the stockade was reached, was most

bable in a quarter of an hour." From that time on to five o'clock, most trying, vexatious, disappointing, and yet most exciting was the experience. I question if ever before in the history of kraals there has been so strange and mixed an experience.

The following sketch will give an accurate idea of the way in which Ekneligoda's herd had to approach the kraal. There is a ridge and valley behind the kraal valley.



The herd, after coming down the drive, had rounded the finely carried on: the cries of the beaters ever came nearer and nearer; but when the elephants sighted and scented the stockade they stopped short at once.

hill and faced the kraal about 1 p.m., as I have said. The cries of the beaters came steadily onwards so far, and progress, though a good deal slower, was made for an hour more. Most exciting was the scene then; the presence of the elephants was clearly visible, the tree-tops waved, the bambus cracked, and every now and then uplifted trunks rose over the bambus, and a rumbling of trumpeting—the simmering of baffled rage—added to the excitement of the few hidden and silent onlookers, as well as to that of the beaters. With Ekneligoda and Ellawala and the active young son of the former, in the beat, were Mr. Templer and the hardy old shikarrie, Mr. James Munro of Sabaragamuwa fame, nearly all day. Messrs. Dawson and Ievers were also down a good deal. Between 2 and 3 p.m. the drive in became so certain and imminent that Ekneligoda and his immediate bodyguard or attendants (five stalwart swarthy fellows) left “the beat” to see if all was right at the government agent’s corner, whence the entrance could be commanded. This was below the princes’ “crow’s-nest,” to-day, alas! deserted. [I wish I had time to give you a proper idea of Ekneligoda, as he came up the path of watchers outside the drive, billycock hat and common cloth as usual, closely followed, however, by his umbrella-bearer in gorgeous costume of flowered comboy, big comb, &c. Evidently the Sinhalese chieftain when on the “corral” path likes to look like his work and to leave all outward show to his servants.] Sure enough, Ekneligoda had not been long at our end, when the elephants rushed as if for the entrance; but they stopped short, irresolute; then, getting into the open, some of them made a dash at the palisades of the drive facing us, and immediately we all—a dozen Europeans, backing the watchers led by Ekneligoda—shouted and screamed and struck trees and fences to our hearts’ content. This drove them in a

mob to the other side, where, at the palisade as well as far up the hillside, were a number of planters, besides the usual stockade guard. They soon made it plain to the herd they could not break through there; and then was witnessed a sight probably never before paralleled—seven or eight goodly-sized elephants standing in a semi-circle together, heads to the centre, immediately in front of the entrance to the kraal, and yet not making the slightest attempt to enter! The rest of the herd farther up the drive kept the beaters back by charging now and then;³ but evidently there was now an obstacle in the way, or such demoralization as made it most uncertain what to expect of the elephants. The most likely explanation became evident with the recollection of the “dead elephant,” shot the night before inside the entrance, and the track of blood which no doubt ran along from the barrier. On smell elephants chiefly depend to warn them of danger. The scent of danger ahead was only too apparent. “Better perish where we are” seemed the thought of the seven companions in danger, as they stood rubbing each other sympathetically, than pass that truly bloody gateway and be shot behind it.

Baffled again and again, and worn out by their exertions, it became clear that Ekneligoda's men wanted help. This had been suggested to the chief already once or twice, and Mr. C. S. Agar, who had been summoned at an early hour by Mr. Dawson to aid with his trusty rifle, had been eager for some time to join the drive, and by discharging blank shot to inspire the beaters to urge

³ About 1.30 the tusker made a full charge: there were some visitors at the time with the beaters; later on, when a great many European volunteers had joined, a regular charge of the herd took place, and three elephants escaped up a ridge along the centre of the drive, being seen from the stockade to pass through the beaters. Altogether four charges were made on the volunteers.

the drive on.⁴ Mr. W. S. Murray at last conveyed the pressing request to Ekneligoda (who had again rejoined his people) for Mr. Agar and twenty or thirty European volunteers to join the ring, and, after an interval, it was granted on condition that no shot should on any account be fired at the elephants.

Mr. Agar, rifle in hand, quickly followed Mr. Murray to the beat in the valley, and, Mr. Saunders sending the call round, I speedily saw pass on from our side Messrs. Thring, Talbot, and C. R. White, the admiral's flag-lieutenant (the admiral had all day attended closely on the proceedings with imperturbable good-humour and encouragement), and three or four more who, in their hasty descent through the scrub, I did not recognize. A still larger body, chiefly planters, passed into the drive round the opposite side of the kraal, including Messrs. J. A. and N. Campbell, Elphinstone, Stewart, Unwin, Wardrop, Wighton, C. Grant, J. R. Bennett, A. Whyte, F. Hadden, R. Morison, R. B. Reid, D. Donald, W. L. H. and G. J. A. Skeen, A. M. Forbes, Jas. Allan, F. Luker, J. Aymer, Inglis, F. A. Fairlie, A. Stevenson, F. Chapman, A. H. Roe, E. and A. Ames, J. Trump, E. Booth, E. Smythe, P. F. Hadow, and two midshipmen. There were some, including Messrs. Dawson, Ievers, Elliott, F. M. Green, and E. Philips, who had been already in the drive. Most unfortunately, the volunteers had barely reached the circle of advance when the rain, which had been threatening for some time, began to descend in torrents: black and hopeless rolled the clouds over the devoted valley and the apparently ill-fated drive; the thunder boomed and the rain poured,

⁴ Mr. A. J. Campbell had previously pressed to be allowed to lead twenty-five Europeans and fifty native beaters, guaranteeing success with the drive, but, Ekneligoda then protesting, this was considered unadvisable.

and it seemed as if "hari-hari-hooi-ooi" was at an end. The cry was raised again and again, but was positively drowned in the greater noise of the elements. From many points of view this ill-timed rain seemed to doom the whole enterprise. It gave the thirsty elephants refreshment, a breathing space, and fresh courage; night was coming on; the drivers could not stand their ground so close up to the herd all night; their camp-fires must prove a failure;—and hope had sunk to zero! The dead elephant had, apparently, saved a score of living companions from being kraaled.

I had taken refuge from the rain in a watcher's hut; but about 4.30, finding the rain soaking through, and no appearance of a clearing up, hopeless of a kraal, and anxious to get on ten miles homewards after my boxes, I gave up the case as hopeless, and was confirmed in the view by the opinion of Mr. Saunders himself, whom I met a little farther on. I started for Kraaltown in a woeful condition; the pathways were being swept by torrents, the road down the hill at some corners was a perfect rapid, and at its foot the "ela" in front of Kraaltown, which had hitherto been crossed at a low ebb, was soon an impassable river. I arrived early enough, however, to be carried over with the help of two coolies and a Sinhalese servant, who rushed to our assistance when in a hole near the other side. I found Kraaltown pretty well deserted; and, with boxes gone, no "change" was available, though drenched to the skin. Eventually, however, I secured sufficient for a change by borrowing in four different quarters! I merely give these trivial personal details to show what kind of an evening had come on, and what the experience of many others was; and still more what the state of the men at the post of honour and of danger was in the jungle drive.

About six o'clock grand tidings came down with men

who, drenched to the skin already, thought little of wading or swimming the river. Gathering up the reports of half a dozen of the eye-witnesses or partakers in the final charges and drives, I will endeavour hastily to present a consecutive trustworthy account. For the elephants now, it was clearly a case of

Officers on right of them,
Planters on left of them,
Beaters behind them,
While all the herd wondered,—

or rather felt a much less pleasant sensation. Messrs. Agar, Thring, Talbot, and their party lost little time, rain or no rain, in beating to quarters: they urged the drive in again and again; shot succeeded shot; "hari-hari" became the rule; and the drive was one scene of excitement. Several minor charges to the line took place; but the rain and the advent of the Europeans sent the beaters to huddle under trees and clear out. It became evident that the Europeans could not work without a base line being cut out of the jungle, and the natives must be brought back. Inspector Marshall, Mr. Elliott, Mr. J. Fraser (of Benachie), Mr. Hugh Blacklaw, and Dr. Renny here did good service by forcing the natives in again to cut down a semicircular path behind the elephants. Torches were also prepared, weapons improvised, and all made ready to force the herd on.

Mr. Saunders now appears to have, as a last effort, descended into the beat, and, while his volunteers were using every exertion to drive in, he climbed up a tree to catch the exact situation. I am guessing at this intention from what followed. On the stockade near the drive, at the angle joining the kraal, sat four planters watching the struggle, who had not yet joined in it. Mr. Saunders called on them to lend a hand, and they—Messrs. W. G. Sandison, Dupuis, C. H. Wilkinson,

and Woodhouse--immediately passed in, led by Mr. Sandison. Arrived at the beat, and immediately behind the herd, Mr. Sandison, who carried a short spear, looking round for a torch, the most trustworthy of all weapons of defence in dealing with wild elephants, spied Mr. Unwin alongside with one, and arranged in a word that they should go on, shoulder to shoulder, together. But Mr. Sandison's former companions, not understanding the arrangement, pressed on between. Several others from the beating line followed. Sandison advanced right up to the elephant, and with a prod sent it—a huge mother with a little calf—right on the herd with a rush! Some of the main body of elephants thus charged sprang over the ravine towards the entrance, pressed on by Messrs. Wighton, Thring, Talbot, and others of those above mentioned. Not so the wild mother and her calf, the tusker, and two or three more: they only rushed forward to wheel round and charge fairly back into the centre of the rank of Europeans, who, much in advance of the natives, were left without any support, or indeed time to think of anything but how to escape the irresistible charge of the infuriated brute and her dam. The rank broke, and the volunteers tried, but only tried, to get out of the way in all directions; for there was no room, and a bambu "batali" jungle is not the place to escape through. Down went the men as if shot: Sandison (who lost his hat), Dupuis, Wilkinson, Woodhouse (who fell on his back), Wardrop, Bennett, the Skeens, Grant, Unwin, Philips, Morison, Hadden, Donald, Luker, and others of those above named, were all in the scrimmage, and more or less "down"—very "down in their luck," it must be confessed, did a good many consider themselves to be. Mr. R. B. Reid lost his watch as well as hat; the "Laird of Logie," who had done yeoman service all along, went down as if felled, and this was by

far the narrowest escape, I learn from the others, for the calf fairly vaulted over his prostrate form!⁵

⁵ Mr. Elphinstone tells me he threw himself down to avoid the butt of the calf as it came directly towards him. Mr. Stewart had a narrow escape, the big elephant stepping close to him when down. Very characteristic is the fact that when Mr. Reid found that his costly gold watch was lost after all was over, and proposed, when half-way home, to offer a handsome reward to natives to find it, Logie objected, saying: "If you tell them, some one will find and keep it—let us go back;" and he, Mr. F. Hadden, and Mr. Reid returned to the spot and picked up the watch in the dark. What added to the misery of the "forlorn hope" were the pools full of mud hidden by the bambu: Mr. J. G. Wardrop went in white, and came out as black as his boots from his helmet downwards. As the men tumbled all round, torches, hats, spears flying about, and the elephants rushing, a charge of cavalry into a broken square in boggy ground could alone be compared to it. The tusker and two or three more elephants only charged as far as, not among, the Europeans fortunately, or lives would have been lost and legs broken. The female went right on, calf behind, and came back, calf carefully placed in front of her. The greatest fright got was that of Dr. Renny, who, sitting on the stockade outside, was horror-stricken, seeing the charge, feeling sure limbs were broken freely, while he, the only doctor on the spot, was without an instrument! The Inspector-General of Prisons took an active part in bringing forward and urging the volunteers from the north side to enter the beat: "he waved us onward with his white handkerchief" (said one of the company) "like a true general, but I noticed he did not follow us into the breach, although he gave us his blessing!" The fact is, Mr. Elliott, like all the officials who know the nature of bambu-jungle and of elephants at such close quarters, was astounded at Mr. Sandison's rapid advance; and the result, the Inspector-General told us (when the large cow, followed at a certain distance by the tusker and herd, dashed through the planters), reminded him of Æneas's description of his shipwreck:—

To heav'n aloft on ridgy waves we ride,
Then down to hell descend, when they divide:
And thrice our galleys knock'd the stony ground,
And thrice the hollow rocks return the sound,

Intercepted by the native beaters farther out, it is said that the infuriated female and her calf once again returned in a rush through the adjoining ravine up to the entrance; but it is very doubtful if she went in. In, however, the main body undoubtedly rushed, and here Messrs. Talbot and Wighton saw the last of them, following their heels, or rather soles, up sharp, and fixing the barriers, which were in danger of falling from the nerveless grasp of the native watchers, who had rushed from the sides to the gate.

A few minutes before the gate was closed—on, certainly, a dozen elephants—a part of the barrier near the princes' crow's-nest was the object of a fierce charge by a huge brute—perhaps the "tusker" which Mr. R. H. Morgan, from one of the stands, rightly declared he saw inside. For a hundred yards the barrier shook as if it were going to fall, and the charger got his forefeet through; but two or three Europeans, led by Mr. H. Whitham, rushed to the spot, and drove him back.

So must close my narrative now: Mr. Saunders' messenger has come (11 p.m.), and I am able to add a couple of notes from the government agent, which, in a few words, indicate the exact position and prospects.

And thrice we saw the stars, that stood with dews around,

* * * * *

The giant hearken'd to the dashing sound:

But, when our vessels out of reach he found,

He strided onward, and in vain essay'd

Th' Ionian deep, and durst no farther wade.

With that he roar'd aloud: the dreadful cry

Shakes earth, and air, and seas; the billows fly

Before the bellowing noise to distant Italy.

The neighb'ring Ætna trembling all around;

The winding caverns echo to the sound.

His brother Cyclops hear the yelling roar,

And, rushing down the mountains, crowd the shore.

The first is in answer to my inquiry about tappal provision :—

“The Kraal, Feb. 2nd.—The credit of the final drive is due to some twenty-five gentlemen who volunteered to come down and reinforce the beaters, who after that heavy shower were quite dispirited. We went in, some twenty Europeans and twenty natives, and after a most magnificent piece of sport, which those who saw say was worth all the journey and delay to see, succeeded in getting eleven to thirteen elephants in. Messrs. Elphinstone; Thring, and Sandison were very nearly trampled down in a charge which was made by the whole herd. As soon as the elephants were in, and the gates up, they charged back again, and one elephant came to the place which was broken down last night, and placed his forefeet on the upper bars and tried to break the fence, but was driven back. Altogether it was a most pretty piece of sport, and very exciting. I hope they won't again escape during the night. The admiral (who is the incarnation of good-humour and most cheerful patience) saw the elephants come in, and counted eleven—others say thirteen: I think myself we have thirteen safe. In great haste. I shall be starting an express messenger to Colombo, and will tell him to call at your place for the letters of yourself and any others who may wish to send to Colombo.”

“It has just occurred to me that you wished for information about what is to be done to-morrow. If the elephants are in the kraal, I shall try and tie *some* elephants at 7.30 before breakfast, so that those who have so kindly and patiently waited may see something before they are obliged to go. But, of course, the tying of the elephants will continue all day.”

FRIDAY MORNING, February 3rd, 1882.

COMPENSATION FOR ALL THE DELAY—EXCITING DAY IN
THE KRAAL—NOOSING AND TYING—SIX OUT OF
TWELVE ELEPHANTS NOOSED—GREAT SPORT.

YESTERDAY morning, while waiting for the early drive in then expected, we spent some time with the four tame elephants belonging to Mr. Charles de Soysa, and by him, with commendable public spirit, ordered to the kraal in case their services should be required. One huge tusker, "Siriwala," is supposed to be over eighty years of age, and therefore too old to be of much service in "noosing" and "tying up" wild elephants. But he will be useful in beating up and blocking the way of retreat, since his stately presence is of itself sufficient to inspire a wholesome terror in the minds of his comparatively puny compeers, and as elephants have been described as "half-reasoning animals," they will no doubt keep at a safe distance from Siriwala's tusks. Much less attractive, though far more useful to his owner, is the small and tuskless "Rajah," for which Mr. de Soysa paid double the price of old Siriwala. Rajah cost 100*l*. He goes through a number of performances to perfection. The 'cuteness with which he looks after the equivalent of "threepenny bits" in the mud—blowing away the latter, and at last, when baffled in his attempt to pick up the tiny coin by the edge with his sensitive trunk, drawing it in by suction, was very striking. Once caught, he held it safely until, with upturned trunk, he delivered it to the keeper on his back. Mr. de Soysa turns his elephants to account in carting, ploughing, road-making, and felling jungle in his Ratnapura and other extensive properties; and surely this last-mentioned is an occupation for which they are specially well adapted in the low-country, considering the way in which they knock down

with their heads trees which would take some time for a Kandyan to cut through. Why should not a "felling" elephant, more especially for low-country planters, be hired out like a portable steam threshing-mill at home?

Before leaving this interesting family, we had the opportunity of assisting in photographs taken by Messrs. Skeen and Co.'s and Lawton and Co.'s artists—some of the groups being highly successful. I never knew how difficult it was to climb on to the back of an elephant until I tried it: without the aid of the obliging beast itself in lifting up its limb while you stand on it, and in offering its large flapping ear to hold on and pull by, it would be impossible to make the ascent. The tame elephants have ropes tied round their bodies fore and aft when sent into a kraal, in order that the noosers may catch hold quickly, and clamber on to the top in case of danger.

The elephants, however, chiefly depended on for aid in noosing and tying at this kraal were two from the North-Western Province:—one, the celebrated "Kiriya," belonging to Mr. Graham Jayetilleke, accompanied by the still more celebrated nooser "Alutnuwara Rannahmi"; the other, "Walle" (blind of one eye), owned by the Seven Kóralés chief, Halpé. A third, even larger and more powerful, in charge of an exceedingly daring and successful nooser known as "the breeches," from his wearing white inexpressibles to the knees, is the property of Ellawala, the wealthy Ratémahatmayá of the Nawadun Kóralé, who shared with Ekneligoda the work of driving in, and of whose influence and position he is jealous in the extreme: or rather the jealousy is mutual.

I had a curious exhibition of this feeling this morning. The great fear last night was that some, if not the whole, of the dozen or more elephants captured would escape: if, it was argued, five or six broke out or got away, how much more likely for some at least of the dozen! But a

very much stricter guard had been kept the second time. In the hurry of the princes' departure, and the disappointment consequent thereon, on Wednesday evening, a good deal of confusion took place. It is stated that one respectable sub-chieftain, in going to his post with his company of a dozen men or so at one angle of the kraal, was assaulted by a couple of constables and turned back. Bare to the waist, no doubt a mistake was made about his identity, and the Kandyan would neither offer nor take an explanation. "After so many days of hard work in bringing up the elephants to be treated like this," he said; "we won't stay, but go home!"—and accordingly off he went over the hills. So runs the story as told to me—not an improbable one, and one which would partly account for the weakness and inefficiency of the guard on the night of the escape. I was accordingly much relieved this morning to find that of the second capture, including the huge "tusker," not one had escaped, and, being anxious to learn particulars of the arrangements made for keeping guard, on meeting Mr. Saunders I put the question to him as to the disposition of his chiefs and their men during the night. He turned to Ekneligoda and Ellawala, who were beside him at the time, and asked them which sides they took. The former at once said his men watched on the southern and eastern sides, but Ellawala sharply and promptly contradicted him, saying some of his men were on the south; and immediately the two showed their teeth among sharp words about this merest of trifles, until the government agent, peremptorily stopping them, turned the conversation by asking, "What about the three elephants that had not been kraaled with the rest—where were they?" They were close by, the chiefs declared, having come up to the kraal gate several times during the night, evidently to inquire about the fate of their fellows, or to answer

their calls. A watch was kept over them, and probably an attempt will be made later on to capture them, as the government agent said to the chiefs: "You are at liberty to do as you please with them." Ekneligoda declared that thirteen had been kraaled (only twelve could be found later on)—ten from his and Ellawala's herd, and three out of the six escapes belonging to Iddamalghoda's herd. He knew the latter because they always kept by themselves in the drive out of the way of the others.

While preparations were being made for the noosing, and a goodly assembly of European ladies and gentlemen with thousands of natives were pressing into the royal upper and lower stands, and into Byrde's, Munro's, De Soysa's, and others, as well as crowding about the palisades and ground overlooking the spot—many planters and others occupying vantage points in trees—I proceeded round the kraal to inspect the "drive" and the scene of last night's extraordinary charge. On the way I encountered two chiefs—brothers or cousins of Ekneligoda—of whom I had not previously heard. One was a particularly striking-looking Kandyan, over six feet high, straight as an arrow, and "bearded like the pard"—quite on a par with his countryman, Inspector Gooneratne, who is, I suppose, the handsomest man in the Ceylon Police Force, though a Sinhalese, and who tells me that the men of his district—Kalutara—have long been reckoned the tallest in the island. With the junior Ekneligodas was the intelligent Kachchéri Mudaliyar of Ratnapura, who was anxious to know the full name of "the Laird of Logie"—Mr. Elphinstone—"for," said he, "an entire stranger to us, he sent all the chiefs a handsome present in refreshment, last night, after the close of their long and tiring labours." Just like Logie, the most thoughtful and unselfish of colonists; and very ready were the chiefs to make a note

of the name "GRÆME HEW DALRYMPLE ELPHINSTONE," as I gave it to them.⁶

I had the benefit now of being guided by two eye-witnesses of last night's charge, and surveyed the scene with a full knowledge of all the circumstances. There can be no doubt the incident deserves an important place in the records of Ceylon kraals, and that the men engaged not only deliberately entered on a service of great difficulty and some risk, but that in the attack led by Mr. W. G. Sandison, and the subsequent charge back, they had as severe a trial of nerve, and ran as much risk of wounds and even loss of life itself, as many "a forlorn hope" in real warfare. I notice that a good many writing and speaking of last night's work condemn the native beaters because they refused to do what the Europeans effected; but this is a very inaccurate and foolish mode of criticism. The natives knew the actual danger of the situation from long experience—the Europeans did not. The beaters, knowing that a charge or succession of charges would be the result so soon as the "durais," or "mahatmayás,"⁷ went in with fire and spear, cleared out of the way as fast as possible: the more men in the way in such a case, the more havoc. Finally, we would ask how many of the volunteer beaters and of "the forlorn hope" would repeat their work under the same circumstances were the opportunity offered to them? We think the men who came out saying they had been taught a lesson which would last a lifetime, were those who took the right view, and instead of depreciating the work of

⁶ The names of all the chiefs present are as follows:—Ekneligoda senior, Ratémahatmayá, his brother Ekneligoda, Ratémahatmayá o Three Kóralés, Ellawala Ratémahatmayá, Ekneligoda Tikiri Ratémahatmayá, Delgoda Ratémahatmayá, Iddamaligoda Basnýaka, Delwala Kórála, Debaragoda Kórála, Eheliyagoda Kórála, with numerous other petty headmen.

⁷ *Durai* Tamil, *Mahatmaya* Sinh., for *master* or *gentleman*.

the beaters, who had been driving for weeks together when the elephants were *fresh*—not half-starved and worn-out—the opinion of the volunteers respecting their endurance and pluck ought to be sustained.⁸ No wonder that Mr. Dawson should say that he wished the visitors who ridiculed the slow work made on Tuesday and Wednesday had come down to see the character of the jungle through which the work had to be done, or that the princes had been allowed to inspect it. The small cane-like bambu grows so closely together as to be impenetrable: the only paths are those made by the elephants, or which are cut out by the beaters. The bambu, when levelled by the elephants, is as slippery as ice, and the rain had rendered it, if possible, more so.

Let me now describe the spot. The last part of “the drive” between the stockades is about 150 yards across: it was covered with the densest bambu jungle; it consisted of two hollows or ravines with a ridge between, and all inclining towards the entrance to the kraal. From the entrance to where the European volunteers took up their position could not be more than 250 yards, the elephants being between. It will be readily seen therefore that the ground was as difficult a place to work in as ever an old campaigner or sportsman encountered. I write now with fuller information on the whole subject, and have no hesitation in saying that men have gained honours, and been the subjects of many columns of “special correspondence,” for encountering considerably less risk.

The heavy torrent of rain which fell during the thunder-storm, beginning about 4 p.m. on Thursday, had greatly refreshed the elephants, made the jungle far more

⁸ There can be little doubt that, if the natives had been left to their own *time* and *ways*, the whole twenty-three elephants of the two herds would have been kraaled.

difficult to work in, and therefore, undoubtedly, the Sinhalese, if left to themselves, would have given up work, and have returned to their nearest hut cordon, giving the herd more latitude, and lighting watch-fires for the night so soon as the rain had ceased. There would therefore have been no capture that night, but very possibly an energetic, and mayhap successful attempt to escape into the outer beat, when of course the two days' work would have had to be done over again. When I left the scene, and passed the government agent, at 4.30, Mr. Saunders expressed himself as hopeless of success. All the more praise therefore to those who, in the face of so much to discourage them and damp their spirits, faced a great danger, though only partly understood, and came off victorious.

Returning to the grand stand, now well filled, it was evident that the four safe, working, tame elephants, and the two or three of the reserve force had commenced active operations. They were mounted by from two to three noosers each, while several assistants with spears and ropes followed behind at the sides of the elephants, under which they occasionally ran when there appeared to be any danger of a charge. The wild elephants were in a state of great perturbation, rushing from one side of the kraal to the other, occasionally resting under the few patches of jungle that still remained, going down into the hollows to throw water and mud over their backs—spurt-ing each other with water seemed to be a favourite occupation. It was a most amusing as well as touch-ing sight to see the little calves do this to the tame elephants when near them once or twice, as if to appease them and make friends. Clear views of all the herds were now had, and the elephants could be counted. The "tusker" is a huge fellow in bulk more than in height: he has lost half his tail, as if it had been shot off, and

his tusks are most unusually far apart in the way they stick out, and they also seem to have had the points broken off. He never seems to lead the herd, but rather to follow after. Nevertheless, Mr. Unwin is sure it is the same animal that came to the kraal at midnight, and was shut in and afterwards let loose. This was in a manner proved by the frequency with which he made for the western gate to-day in his wanderings, in the hope, no doubt, of getting out once more. Once only did he try to charge the palisade, but, before he could get as far, the pointed sticks and spears of the watchers and the shouts of thousands of spectators drove him back. After the "tusker" came one large "cow" and five more medium-sized elephants; three well-grown calves and two puny, diminutive little things whose dusty, tired appearance excited much pity, more especially from the ladies and a few children present.

The tame elephants and noosers were now at work, trying to break the herd into detachments, to segregate one or more, so as to get a chance of surrounding and noosing. Very troublesome and difficult is this operation: occasionally it is done by good luck in the minimum of time, while again hours may be spent over it. As it was, after what seemed a long time to the onlookers (relieved, however, by some exciting and still more amusing passages), two, or indeed three, got noosed almost instantaneously. Save with the little ones, there was no attempt by the herd at fraternizing, or even recognizing the tame ones. The sight of men on their backs seemed to put an end to all thought of such a thing, and they steadily avoided a meeting as long as they could, dodging up and down, in and out and round about, until one time too many they came across through a hollow, and the Philistines—in the shape of Rauhāmi and Ellawala's man of "the breeches"—were among them. A slight attempt at a

charge or fight was quickly repressed with a few blows from the spears, and a thump with the head of the tame elephant;⁹ the "tusker" sheering off, showing no inclination to interfere. But not so with the little calf, who, when two of the larger elephants were jammed up, and a noosed rope, cleverly placed on a leg of each, was tied about them, cried out, and would not be comforted or induced to leave. "Breeches" and Ranhámi were now in for serious work; their prizes struggled with elephantine strength; one especially—the mother of a calf—could not be moved from the spot, and in rage and despair at last fell prostrate, never to rise again! The struggle was a short but severe one, and the natives at once recognized it as a case of "broken heart." The poor brute lay panting for an hour or so afterwards, then heaved a deep sigh, and at last all was still, save that the little calf would not leave her side for a long time, and that once or twice the rest of the herd in passing the spot, attempted to heave up their companion. Far more touching, however, was the sight witnessed the night before by Mr. D. Mackay, while near the cow shot by Messrs. Munro and Macartney, in the approach of its calf and two other elephants, who made a persistent endeavour to raise their fallen companion, while the little one tried once more to obtain sustenance by sucking its parent.

To return, however, to the second large elephant noosed: he was a plump, vigorous, medium-sized fellow, and resisted most determinedly the moving, pushing, and dragging of him halfway across the kraal, and the final tying to the tree. This, in fact, was only accom-

⁹ There was, however, one regular charge, which "Kiriya" resisted with a downright blow, while his rider struck out with spear; hearty applause rose from the stands, and the tame elephant turned right round, as if to enjoy it, and to salaam to the approval!

¹ Messrs. W. L. H. Skeen & Co.'s photograph of one of these pathetic incidents is reproduced in the illustration facing page 93.

plished when Ranhámi and "Breeches" jammed him between their elephants, who, evidently fully understanding what was wanted, pressed so hard and so guarded the ways of exit with their trunks, that their captive had perforce to remain perfectly still. All this was a most interesting, instructive sight, and then, when the tying was done—the hind-legs only being securely clasped in several folds of strong rope, which again were drawn several times round a tree immediately alongside the grand stand—how the poor prisoner writhed and twisted, using all his prodigious strength to break away the rope, or pull the tree down, running round and round in despair of an outlet, pawing the earth, stretching himself with eel-like contortions, and then, in hopelessness of any release, and under the agony of his disgrace, like a true oriental, throwing up clouds of dust over his head and back with his trunk! Very soon, another of similar size and appearance was noosed and dragged up a long way to a tree facing Byrde's stand, and one of the active bull-calves being simultaneously caught, very quickly the fun became "fast and furious." This little calf gave more trouble than the two big ones: the noosers left him as soon as one leg was confined to a tree, and to less experienced hands was left the task of tying a rope round his neck and shoulders so as to keep him quiet and secure. But how the fellow resisted, struggled, twisted, and threw the rope off! The noose had to be passed over his head as well as trunk, but the latter was sent out at all impossible angles, so that no rope could be placed round it. At last, Messrs. C. Agar and Munro descended to the rescue, but they were baffled again and again; as soon as the rope was round it slipped off; they were charged and had to fly back; the little fellow bellowed like a bull; he blew at them, he would not be tied, and not until some one seized the trunk and held it, was the rope got

round and a secure shoulder-knot made. This done, the calf set up a regular series of bellows, making more ado than all the others put together. Great was the amusement afforded by this capture, and again and again was the wish expressed throughout the stand that the princes had stayed for this day's experiences, which well repaid all the trouble and delay.

But still greater fun was to follow ; another calf, plump and strong, had been noosed, as well as a third big elephant, and as these were being pulled towards two suitable trees one of the noosers, getting an ugly shove from the calf, received a wound on his forehead which drew blood. Almost simultaneously Mr. Saunders sent orders to release these two captives at once, and noose the "tusker," as many had to leave and the day was now wearing on. No sooner was the calf released than he charged right and left, with trunk uplifted, bellowing as he went, and carrying all before him among rows of native beaters and a number of planters and others who had now descended into the kraal near the stands. The scene was comical in the extreme : there was just the least spice of danger to add zest to it, but the little fellow turned at the show of a pointed stick. It seemed as if he said, "You have given me a great fright ; now I'll do my best to give you a taste of the same." White clothes especially seemed to provoke his anger : one or two gentlemen in white coats were followed again and again : one of them, Mr. E. Smyth, between laughing and dodging and keeping off his mad but 'cute little antagonist, had quite enough to do, and the spectators roared at the fun. Tired out at last, the little fellow with a loud grunt made for the tame elephants, and ranged himself alongside, as if with his friends. He did not seem to care about the wild herd now : he was a civilized elephant, and followed the tamers wherever they went. At last he found out Soysa's

“tusker” standing on one side, and charging under him, created a tremendous uproar, for the tusker didn’t like it a bit, and trumpeted out what seemed to be, “You mind your own business, you young rascal, or I’ll settle you.” Nothing, however, could quiet this “irrepressible” altogether: at odd moments he would make a charge on his own account right across the kraal, and there can be no doubt that he greatly disturbed the rest of the noosing, so that it was a pity he was let loose, save for the amusement he gave to the company. The wild “tusker” would not be caught: he showed no fight, would shirk a broadside, slunk aside and dodged; and yet it became evident the tame elephants and the noosers did not care to get too near him. The fact is he is too old to be trained, and is of no service at all, save for his ivories, which can be got by shooting. [“Cured of sores” is the expression used to indicate a tamed elephant.] Mr. Glenny, of Haldummulla, backed up by a number of gentlemen, offered Rs. 100 to the first man who put a rope on, and Mr. Sharpe, government agent of the North-Western Province, went into the kraal to harangue his men of the Seven Kóralés in the vernacular, and to spur them on; but although there were some more energetic attempts, close quarters were not come to.² A proposal for Europeans to beat the tusker into a corner did not find favour after last night’s encounter, and at last it was decided to close the day’s proceedings, and most of the visitors left, the writer among the number. Enough had, however, been seen to warrant all who waited over Thursday, in pronouncing the kraal a success so far as

² The absence of large heavy trees in the kraal suitable for tying, such as are so common in the North-Western Province, was very much noted: the jungle at Labugama, even its best, being very light, and therefore all the more troublesome to beaters and noosers. The kraal stockade itself, too, was not backed by the supports which distinguish those built in the Seven Kóralés.

seeing the various operations connected with one ; a notable success in affording a more than usual amount of sport and comical fun, as also in raising at moments feelings of sympathy and pity ; an extraordinary success in the unprecedented work done by European volunteers—" the forlorn hope," the sudden charge, the marvellous escape, and the crowning victory in the forcing in of a dozen elephants into the kraal on Wednesday night.

In the name of all who waited over Thursday I feel sure that thanks and congratulations may be offered to Messrs. Saunders, Templer, and Dawson, for their unwearyed labour, under their more than common anxiety and worry ; to the chiefs Iddamalgoda, Ekneligoda, Ella-wala, and the Kachchéri Mudaliyar ; to Ranhámi and "Breeches," and the owners of their elephants, Messrs. G. Jayatilika and Halpé, as well as to Mr. de Soysa ; and to the 2,500 to 3,000 beaters and watchmen employed. These often had to go without food for long spells, because no rice could be had in the places they passed through : all their reward from Government is the food given to them while in the field, and all they ask now is exemption from the poll-tax of Rs. 1.50 per man for this year ! This very moderate request, we trust, will be granted.

Nor should we forget those who provided for the comfort of visitors :—chief of whom, Mr. C. Byrde, received well-merited thanks from a large number of ladies and gentlemen ; Mr. Wheeler also did a great deal, although his enterprise was but poorly repaid, we fear ; Mr. Muncoutier, whose arrangements for the officials at Hanwella and in upper Kraaltown were highly approved of, especially his Ceylon champagne made of king-cocoonut milk and champagne mixed.

The shadows of evening were falling as we left Kraaltown, but I need say nothing of the journey back by

night. Only it reminds me again of the considerable amount of "roughing" experienced by the planting visitors, the working officials and others: many went without food all day long, many watched all night, few slept over four hours nightly, many worked like heroes among the beaters, while "the forlorn hope" risked their lives among the elephants. Am I not right then in saying that many a short campaign has inflicted less of hardship and risk on those engaged in it?

The only regret now is that the princes did not wait another forty-eight hours: the compensation is that the gallant, goodhumoured Admiral Gore-Jones, and Commander Hill of the *Bacchante*, with a very large number of visitors, both ladies and gentlemen, were there to see the sport out; so that Captain Hill can tell "the story" to the princes as an eye-witness from first to last; and that the governor, if so inclined, can obtain sets of admirable photographs from Messrs. Skeen and Lawton, which will afford accurate representations of the various occurrences, after they left, to the young princes.³

How many more of the six or seven wild elephants I left running about the kraal were noosed to-day (Saturday), and whether the "tusker" was tied, I have yet to learn; but my part as narrator is over, and I can only say I am not likely ever to forget

THE LABUGANKANDA KRAAL IN HONOUR OF PRINCES
ALBERT VICTOR AND GEORGE IN 1882.

³ Whether his Excellency could have kept the princes longer or not if he liked, is a moot question: certain it is that Sir H. Robinson kept a more important prince (the Duke of Edinburgh) several days at the Kurunégala kraal almost against his will. One story has it that Sir James Longden was not very well; another that provisions threatened to run short; another that the princes' tutor wanted them specially to see Nuwara Eliya and its scenery. But all this together was hardly sufficient excuse for not keeping the princes two days longer at the kraal, and so completing the most notable of all experiences obtainable by visitors to Ceylon.

COLOMBO, February 6th, 1882.

GATHERING UP THE FRAGMENTS.

ONE incident of the charge was forgotten, namely, the narrow escape of Mr. Stewart, a visitor to the island, who, when he fell, along with so many more in the retreat, was nearest to the big female elephant, which passed very close to him, one foot, according to an observer, being nearly on Mr. Stewart's prostrate form.

We ought to have noticed the presence of the Hon. the Tamil Member of the Legislative Council at the kraal, who, on one day at least, roughed it away out on the hill-side with a number of planters. Many of the people counted among the thousands present came from long distances—from Kurunégala on the one side, and the far south on the other, indicating the great interest of the mass of the Sinhalese in the sport. There could be no doubt of the interest felt in their work by the chiefs and beaters, apart from the expected presence of royalty and vicereignty. To get an occasional outing on the "corral" path with elephants is evidently a welcome break in the monotonous life of the Kandyan cultivator. Some of their brethren from the big town found the life, even of visitors, in jungle-quarters rather trying, as for example,—

Conversation, overheard by a planter smoking in his verandah one evening, of two native gentlemen walking past to their bungalow a little farther on:—

FIRST.—"This won't do: *I've done up!*"

SECOND.—"Oh, no! I feel born to the life!"

The life generally was most pleasant as a change from the city, and from the comparative seclusion of coffee plantations. That so much trouble should have been taken for the prospect of a visit of less than three days is quite wonderful. "A week for the kraal" should be the very minimum on any future occasion. One feels quite sorry to think of the very temporary use to which

the really handsome and comfortable talipot country-house fitted up for the governor and princes was put: the ridge on which this was placed along with a number of other official residences, was a most attractive and healthy spot, intersected with convenient paths, pleasantly shaded, all the large trees having been left, and with splendid outlooks over the low-country up to the Adam's Peak range. To vary the monotony while waiting for the kraal, there ought to have been some means of getting up an evening entertainment, at which the princes and all the respectable visitors could have attended: a concert, or amateur theatricals, could readily have been given in a room which the ingenuity of the architect of Kraaltown was equal to making commodious enough. Some of the visitors had good snipe-shooting in the neighbourhood while the "drive" was going on.

A few objections were offered to the situation of the kraal itself—one being that the elephants had to be driven up to the valley in which it was placed, but it seemed to us very well chosen, so far as its immediate surroundings were concerned, and no doubt the chiefs themselves were consulted in the selection. The steep sides of the hills, rising almost from each side of the kraal, afforded a splendid outlook to the thousands of spectators who added much to the animation of the scene with their parti-coloured garments and bright colours. We heard that the material of the houses and huts is to be utilized for the Labugama waterworks close by, in housing overseers, labourers, &c. We missed the fine waterfall on the Labugama side of the kraal, the road past it—on which Mr. Wheeler proposed placing a refreshment-room—having been superseded by the shorter path up to Kraaltown afterwards opened. A couple of gentlemen who came to the kraal *viâ* Kótté and Bópé were glad to find that the surveyor-general's map

published by us was wrong in one particular, namely that they had a driving instead of a bridle road from Bópé almost to the site of the reservoir to be. We should not omit reference to the delightfully situated and very comfortable temporary hotel put up by Mudaliyar Amarasékara with so much spirit (to take the place of the rest-house temporarily closed to the public) about two miles beyond Hanwella. The situation, on a high bank overlooking the Wakoya, with paddy-fields in full growth and tenderest green beyond, backed by the forest of palms, was most gratefully refreshing to the eye of the traveller. Many expressed the wish that this resting-place were some miles nearer the kraal, so that they could have made it their headquarters.

The latest and last news of the kraal is contained in the report of a correspondent writing on Saturday evening:—

“LABUGAMA, February 4th, 1882.

“Most of the visitors having left yesterday, the attendance at the kraal this morning was very small. Ten planters were the only European spectators.

“Sport commenced by recapturing two of yesterday’s ‘tie-ups’ that had broken away during the night. One had chewed his rope through; the other had broken his ropes, assisted probably by the tusks of the ‘tusker.’ Two more small-sized elephants were noosed by Siñño Appu, and then the whole ‘bag’ was put up to auction, fetching from Rs. 60 for the orphan ‘punchi’ to Rs. 340 for one of the largest.

“An hour or two was spent in trying after a calf, but it escaped all the attempts to put the noose on, its mother turning on the noosers several times.

“At 2 p.m. all the noosers had retired, and, the watchmen being removed, the large elephants were left to themselves, a liberty which they soon took advantage

of. Led by the 'tusker,' they approached the stockade, and made several efforts to butt it down. These being unsuccessful, the 'tusker' stood upon one of the lower bars, and, with his tusks, smashed the top bar, and then with his feet smashed down the lower bars. Through the gap thus made, the whole herd, encouraged by a few 'hari, hari, ali,' from the spectators, bolted into the jungle to return to their homes sadder, thinner, and wiser elephants."

From another quarter we learn that an attempt was made to drive the "tusker" into a trap set for him, but without success. The question is whether he should not have been shot. He would seem to be just the sort of animal to prowl about and do harm to native fields and gardens. That elephants do much mischief in that way must never be forgotten.

APPENDIX II.

THE following interesting extracts from the first volume of Major Forbes's "Eleven Years in Ceylon"¹ are given with the permission of the publisher. The orthography of native names found in the original has been retained.

[No. 1.—CHAPTER X.]

THE ANCIENT CAPITAL, ANURÁDHAPPOORA.

Remnants of things that have pass'd away,
Fragments of stone rear'd by creatures of clay.—BYRON.

IN ages of impenetrable antiquity, the plain on which Anurádhapooora was afterwards built had acquired a sacred character; for it is recorded that when the first Buddha of the present era visited this place he found it already hallowed as a scene of the ancient religious rites of preceding generations, and consecrated by Buddhas of a former era. The position of Anurádhapooora has nothing to recommend it for the capital of Ceylon; and the site, if not chosen from caprice, was probably dictated by superstition. It would not, therefore, be difficult to account for its final desertion, consequent decay, and present desolation, even if history had not preserved a record of the feuds, famines, wars, and pestilence which at various times oppressed the country, and reduced the

¹ "Eleven Years in Ceylon:" comprising Sketches of the Field Sports and Natural History of that Colony, and an Account of its History and Antiquities. By Major Forbes, 78th Highlanders. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley.

number of inhabitants, so as to render the remainder incapable of maintaining the great embankments of their artificial lakes. These having burst, their waters spread over the country as their channels were neglected, and this made its unhealthiness permanent by forming noxious swamps and nourishing unwholesome forests. The warm and damp nature of the Ceylon climate excites an activity of vegetation, which the indolence and apathy of the native character are not calculated to struggle against; and the present population is inadequate either in number or energy to do more than resist the incessant effort of the vegetable kingdom, stimulated by an eternal spring, to extend its beautiful but baneful luxuriance over that portion of the surrounding districts which man still retains in precarious subjection.² Anurádhapoorá is first mentioned by that name about 500 years before Christ; it was then a village, and the residence of a prince who took the name of Anurádhá on his settling at this place, which the King Pánduwása had assigned to him when he came to visit his sister the Queen Bhadda-kachána. They were grandchildren of Amitódama, the paternal uncle of Gautama Buddha. It was chosen for the capital by the King Pádukábhya, B.C. 437; and in the reign of Dewenipiatissa, which commenced B.C. 307, it received the collar-bone of Gautama Buddha, his begging-dish filled with relics, and a branch of the bo-tree under which he had reclined. Anurádhapoorá had been sanctified by the presence of former Buddhas, and these memorials of

² Six years after the time of which I am now writing, Government formed a road to Aripo, and established a European officer at Anurádhapoorá as revenue and judicial agent for the district, in order, if possible, to hasten the development of its resources. When I left the island it was considered an unhealthy station, but, by perseverance, there is little doubt that it will improve. Had this district been formerly unhealthy, Anurádhapoorá would not so long have remained the capital of the island.

Gautama increased its sacred character ; additional relics were subsequently brought, for which temples were reared by successive sovereigns ; and Wahapp, who commenced his reign A.D. 62, finished the walls of the city, which were sixty-four miles in extent, each side being sixteen miles, and thus enclosed a space of 256 square miles. Anurádhapooora is mentioned, or rather is laid down in the map of Ptolemy in its proper position, and by the name of Anurogrammum.³

For upwards of 1200 years Anurádhapooora remained as the capital of the island, with the exception of one reign, when a parricide and usurper transferred the insignia of royalty to the impregnable rock-fort of Sigiri. In the eighth century Polannarua was chosen as the capital in preference to Anurádhapooora ; at which place the fame of wealth had survived its possession, and too often attracted the spoiler. The religious edifices were occasionally repaired by pious sovereigns until the time of Mágha, a successful invader, who held sway in Ceylon from A.D. 1219 until 1240, during which time he completed the destruction of many temples, and endeavoured to destroy the Cingalese records.

Knox, speaking of Anurádhapooora, which he passed in making his escape from captivity in A.D. 1679, says, "It is become a place of solemn worship, in consequence of the bo-tree under which Buddha sat." He adds, "They report ninety kings⁴ have reigned there successively, where, by the ruins that still remain, it appears they spared not for pains and labour to build temples and high monuments to the honour of this god, as if they had

³ Gráma, or Gramya, is used for a town ; so also is Poora, but the latter generally means city.

⁴ It is the general belief of uneducated natives that the name of the city is derived from Anu-Rajah (ninety kings) ; but it was from the name of the constellation Anurádhá, under which it was founded.

been born only to hew rocks and great stones, and lay them up in heaps: these kings are now happy spirits, having merited it by these their labours." In making his escape along the bed of the Malwatte-oya,⁵ Knox passed another part of the ruins, but does not seem to have been aware that they were part of Anurádhapoorá. He says, "Here and there, by the side of this river, is a world of hewn stone pillars and other heaps of hewn stones, which I suppose formerly were buildings; and in three or four places are the ruins of bridges built of stone, some remains of them yet standing upon stone pillars."

The above extracts are taken from "An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies, by Robert Knox, a captive there for nearly twenty years." This is a work of great interest, and was originally published in London in 1681. Nothing can be more admirable than the extent of memory, acute observation, and inflexible veracity exhibited in his account of the country and people; nor can anything be more interesting than the simple narrative of his own sufferings. His perseverance, fortitude, and firm religious belief enabled him to overcome misfortunes, to rescue himself from a tedious captivity, and finally to regain his station as commander of a ship under the East India Company.

The father of Robert Knox was also named Robert: he commanded the *Ann* frigate in the service of the East India Company, and sailed on the 21st of January, 1657, from the Downs; the vessel was dismasted in a storm on the Coromandel coast on the 19th of November, 1659, and proceeded to the bay of Cotiar (opposite to Trinkomalee) to refit, and with permission to trade there. For about twenty days the crew of the ship were allowed to land and return without any interruption; but after that,

⁵ Malwatte-oya, flower-garden river.

a native chief, by order of the Kandian king, contrived by falsehood and treachery to seize the captain and seven of his men; then, by the same devices, he got hold of another boat and her crew of eleven men. He next attempted to gain possession of the ship, by inducing the captain to send an order to the officer on board, directing him to bring the vessel up the river; the captain sent his own son, but it was to warn the officer, and direct him to proceed without loss of time to Porto Novo. Young Knox, however, returned to share his father's captivity; and the whole of those taken prisoners were removed into the interior of the country. The captain and his son (Robert) were sent to the village of Bandar Koswatte, and there were soon attacked by severe fever and ague, which carried off the father, February the 9th, 1661. Young Knox was then very ill, and it was not without much difficulty that he managed to get his father's body buried; and for many months he suffered severely from the effects of the same disease. It was not long after the loss of his father that he accidentally had an opportunity of purchasing an English Bible at a price sufficiently moderate for his means. Never for a moment laying aside his design of escape, yet behaving with such discretion as never to incur suspicion from the jealous tyrant who then ruled in Kandy, Knox acquired a character for prudence, industry, and honesty, which is even yet preserved by tradition in the neighbourhood of the place where he resided, and where a spot is still known as the white man's garden.⁶ After a captivity of nearly twenty years' duration he contrived to accomplish his escape, not without great danger from the numerous wild animals and alligators that are to be found near the course of the Malwatte-oya, which flows through a dense forest and a country void of population. Knox reached the Dutch

⁶ Between Kandy and Gampola.

fort of Aripo on the 18th of October, 1679; afterwards having been sent to Batavia, he from thence returned to England in September, 1860, and was soon after made captain of the *Tarquin* in the East India Company's service.

All the ruins at Anurádhapooa, even the lofty monuments which contain the relics of the Buddha, are either entirely covered with jungle, or partly obscured by forests; these the imagination of natives has peopled with unholy phantoms, spirits of the unrighteous, doomed to wander near the mouldering walls which were witnesses of their guilt, and are partakers of their desolation.

Although simplicity is the most distinguishing characteristic of the ancient architectural remains of the Cingalese, yet some of the carving in granite might compete with the best modern workmanship of Europe (in the same material) both as to depth and sharpness of cutting; and the sculptures at Anurádhapooa, and places built in remote ages, are distinguished from any attempts of modern natives, not less by the more animated action of the figures than by greater correctness of proportion.

The only place clear of jungle was in front of the Maha-wiharé (great temple), where a shady tree occupied the centre of a square, and a stone pillar, fourteen feet high, stood beside the figure of a bull cut in granite, and revolving on a pivot. In the entrance from this square into the Maha-wiharé are a few steps admirably carved with laborious devices, and still in perfect preservation. Ascending these, and passing through a mean building of modern construction, you enter an enclosure 345 feet in length by 216 in breadth, which surrounds the Court of the Bo-tree, designated by Buddhists as *Jaya-Sri-maha-Bodinwahawai* (the great, famous, and triumphant fig-tree).⁷ Within the walls are perceived the remains of

⁷ *Ficus religiosa*, generally called by natives *Bo-gaha*, *bo-tree*, the name generally used by Europeans.

several small temples ; and the centre is occupied by the sacred tree, and the buildings in which it is contained or supported. This tree is the principal object of veneration to the numerous pilgrims who annually visit Anurádhapóora : they believe what their teachers assert, and their histories record, that it is a branch of the tree under which Gautama sat the day he became a Buddha, and that it was sent from Patálipóora by the King Dharmasoka, who gave it in charge to his daughter Sanghamitta ; this priestess had been preceded by her brother, Mihindoo, who, B.C. 307, was successful in re-establishing in Ceylon the purity of the Buddhist religion.

No one of the several stems or branches of the tree is more than two feet in diameter ; and several of the largest project through the sides of the terraced building in which it is growing. This structure consists of four platforms, decreasing in size as you ascend, and giving room for a broad walk round each of them.⁸ From the self-renewing properties of the bo-tree, it is not at all impossible that this one might possess the great antiquity claimed for it by the sacred guardians :⁹ if so, the forbearance of Malabar conquerors must be accounted for by their considering this tree sacred to other gods ; the profits derived

⁸ The spot on which the tree stands is believed to have at former periods been the position where the emblematic trees of former Buddhas grew, viz. Kakusanda Buddha's, the mahari tree ; Kona-gamma Buddha's, the atika tree (ficus glomerata) ; and Kaseyapa's, the nigrodi (baniayan).

⁹ Buddhists assert that the sacred tree at Buddha Gya in Bahar "was planted by Dugdha-Kamini, King of Singhal-Dwipa, 414 years before the birth of our Saviour."—*Hamilton's E.I. Gazetteer*. Dootoogaimoonoo, King of Ceylon, and a most zealous Buddhist, reigned from P.C. 164 until B.C. 140 ; and if the tree at Gya was planted by him, as above mentioned, not only the original one there, but also one planted by Dharmasoka, King of India, in the fourth century before Christ, at the same city, must have been destroyed by the votaries of an adverse faith.

from pilgrims may also have induced them to give full weight to the alleged partiality of Brahma for this beautiful tree.

One side of the square in front of the Maha-wiharé is occupied by the ruins of the Lowa-Maha-Páya, called also (from the materials with which it was covered) the Brazen Palace. The remains of this building consist of 1600 stone pillars placed in forty parallel lines, forty pillars in each, and occupying a square space, each side of which is 234 feet in length. The pillars in the middle of this ruin are still eleven and a half feet above the ground, and measure two feet in breadth by one foot and a half in thickness; the middle pillars are slightly ornamented, but those in the outer lines are plain, and only half their thickness, having been split by means of wedges, the marks of which operation they still retain. The Lowa-Maha-Páya was erected by the King Dootoogaimoonoo B.C. 142: its height was 270 feet; it contained 1000 apartments for priests, and was covered with one sheet of metal. This edifice seems soon to have fallen into decay; and was rebuilt by Dootoogaimoonoo's successor, who reduced its height, making it seven instead of nine storeys, which it was at its original formation. It underwent many repairs, and was varied in height by several different kings, until A.D. 286, at which time it was thrown down by Mahasen during the period of his temporary apostacy: so completely did this monarch execute his work of destruction on this and several other religious buildings, that their sites were ploughed up and sown with grain. Having returned to his former faith, Mahasen commenced rebuilding the Maha-Páya, but died before it was finished; and it was completed by his son and successor, Kitsiri Maiwan, soon after his accession in A.D. 302. It was then that the original pillars were split to supply the places of those which had been broken.

Amongst the sacred occupants of this building, the priests most eminent for their piety were exalted to the uppermost storey, whilst those who had fewest claims to sanctity were lodged nearest to the earth. As native stairs only differ in name from ladders, the ascent of nine storeys must have been a severe trial to the bodily infirmities of the elder priests ; but one of the strongest prejudices of the natives, and about which they continue to be exceedingly jealous, was not allowing an equal or inferior to sit on any seat or remain in any place more elevated than themselves. From adherence to punctilio on this subject, there was a ludicrous scene at Colombo in 1802, when the Kandian ambassadors remonstrated against entering the carriage sent to convey them to an audience with Governor North, because the coachman was placed on a more elevated seat than the one which they were to occupy. This weighty matter was happily adjusted to their satisfaction, and they entered the carriage ; but positively refused to allow the doors to be shut, fearing they should appear as prisoners.

On the left of the road leading from the Maha-wiharé towards the dágoba of Ruwanwelli, and in thick jungle, six carved stones define the limits of a small mound. This is the spot where a grateful people and a zealous priesthood performed the last duties to the remains of Dootoogaimoonoo ; a king whose valour and piety had restored the supremacy of the Cingalese race and Buddhist religion, and who had not only repaired the injuries which the capital had sustained from foreign invaders of an adverse faith, but had ornamented it with many of those buildings which even now attract attention and excite wonder after having endured for 2000 years.

The quantity of game in the immediate neighbourhood of the ruins was astonishing, and in no part of the island are elephants more numerous ; for within the precincts

of this hallowed city, at the time I speak of, 1828, no native would have ventured to transgress the first commandment of the Buddha, viz. "From the meanest insect up to man, thou shalt not kill." As if aware of their right of sanctuary, whole herds of spotted deer and flocks of pea-fowl allowed us to approach very near to them; and while employed in examining the ruins, in the presence and with the assistance of the priests, I deemed it advisable to commit no murder on the denizens of the forest; but on the last day of our stay we left the gentlemen of the long yellow robe behind, and proceeded to hunt deer with Mr. C——'s dogs in a plain about three miles from the place of our temporary residence.

When not employed in speaking, our followers seemed to be eternally occupied in chewing betel, a custom almost universal at this time with all ranks of natives; and although the name of the leaf of a creeping-plant resembling pepper is used as a general term, three component parts are necessary for this masticatory; viz. areka-nut, which is used in very thin slices; fine powdered lime, made into a paste; and a small portion of these two being rolled up in a betel-leaf, the whole is put in the mouth. This preparation tinges the saliva, the lips, and even the teeth of a dark-red colour; but I believe it to be perfectly wholesome, and to have some useful properties, such as soothing nervous excitement, and acting as a stimulant, without any of the evil effects produced by the use of spirits, which nevertheless is, I am afraid, too often superseding the use of betel. Those who could afford it mixed up cardamom-seeds and the leaves of various aromatic plants with the areka-nut; and the value of the instruments for preparing the betel gave one a pretty good idea of the wealth and rank of the possessor: a pair of nippers for slicing the areka-nut, a small box for holding the lime, and a straw case to

contain betel-leaves, might, I believe, have been found tucked in the waist-cloth of every one of the several hundred natives who accompanied us. Night and day they were chewing betel, and when they were awake they seemed to talk of nothing else; exchanging leaves and the contents of their lime-boxes seemed like the old Scotch custom of exchanging snuff-mulls.

Amongst the ruins of this city, the *dágobas*,¹ or monumental tombs of the relics of Buddha, the mode in which they are constructed, the object for which they are intended—above all, their magnitude—demand particular notice. The characteristic form of all monumental Buddhistical buildings is that of a bell-shaped tomb surmounted by a spire, and is the same in all countries which have had Buddha for their prophet, lawgiver, or god. Whether in the outline of the cumbrous mount, or in miniature within the laboured excavation, this peculiar shape (although variously modified) is general, and enables us to recognize the neglected and unhonoured shrines of Buddha in countries where his religion no longer exists, and his very name is unknown. The gaudy Shoemadoo of Pegu, the elegant Toopharama of Anurádhapoorá, the more modern masonry of Boro Budor in Java, are but varieties of the same general form; and in the desolate caves of Carli, as in the gaudy excavations and busy scenes of Dambool, there is still extant the sign of Buddha—the tomb of his relics. *Dágobas* may be referred to the first stage of architectural adventure, although I cannot agree with those writers who assert that the character and form of Buddhist buildings betray evident marks of having been borrowed from the figure of a tent; for in my opinion their progress may clearly be traced from the humble heap of earth which covers the ashes or urn of the dead up to the stupendous mount

¹ *Dágoba*, from *Dhatu-garba* (womb, or receptacle of a relic).

of masonry which we see piled above some shrunken atom of mortality. These monuments in Ceylon are built around a small cell, or hollow stone, containing the relic ; along with which a few ornaments and emblems of Buddhist worship were usually deposited, such as pearls, precious stones, and figures of Buddha : the number and value of these depended on the importance attached to the relic, or the wealth of the person who reared the monument.

The description given in Cingalese histories of the rich offerings and rare gems deposited with some of the relics is very splendid, but the existence of wealth and wonders which cannot be reached may well be doubted ; the accounts of the external decorations and ornaments of these *dágobas* are also magnificent, and probably more correct. In a *sohona*, or Cingalese cemetery, may be perceived a variety of miniature *dágobas* : if the little earthen mound raised over the ashes of the dead be encircled with a row of stones, we see the origin of the projecting basement ; if the tomb be that of a headman or high-priest, we may find it cased with stone, and perhaps surrounded with a row of pillars : on all these we find an *aewaria* branch planted ; which, after taking root and shooting out its cluster of leaves, gives the semblance of the spire and its spreading termination.² In short, the monumental tombs of Buddha's relics only differ in size, and in the durability of their materials, from the humble heap which covers the ashes of an obscure priest or village chief. The tomb of *Alyattes*, as described by *Herodotus*, and which he informs us as a monument of art was only second to the remains in *Egypt* and *Babylon*, appears to have been of the same form as the sepulchral mounds of the *Buddhists*. In materials and construction the *dágobas* of *Anurádhapoorá* far exceed the tomb of

² Called *Kot* by the Cingalese, and *Tee* by the Siamese.

Alyattes, and fully equal it in size. All the *dágobas* at Anurádhapoorá were built of brick, and incrustéd with a preparation of lime, cocoa-nut water, and the glutinous juice of a fruit which grows on a tree called by the natives Paragaha. This preparation is of a pure white; it receives a polish nearly equal to marble, and is extremely durable. The Ruwanwelli-saye, one of these monuments of peculiar sanctity, was built by the King Dootoogaimoonoo; but the spire being unfinished at the time of his death, B.C. 140, it was completed by his brother and successor, Saidatissa. It stands in the centre of an elevated square platform, which is paved with large stones of dressed granite, each side being about 500 feet in length, and surrounded by a fosse seventy feet in breadth; the scarp, or sides of the platform, is sculptured to represent the fore-parts and heads of elephants, projecting and appearing to support the massive superstructure to which they form so appropriate an ornament. In the embankment surrounding the fosse, a pillar, deep sunk in the earth, still projects sixteen feet above the surface, and is four feet in diameter; this stone is believed to have been removed from the spot where the *dágoba* now stands, and that it once bore an inscription and prophecy, which in a superstitious age no doubt caused its own fulfilment. The prediction ran, that at the place where this stone stood, a superb *dágoba* of 120 cubits³ in height would be reared by a fortunate and pious monarch.

Dootoogaimoonoo, during his last illness, caused himself to be conveyed near to this monument of his piety; and when all hopes of completing the spire during his lifetime were at an end, his brother had the model of it made of light timber: this placed on the dome, and covered with cloth, satisfied the anxious wish of the

³ Carpenter's cubit, two feet three inches.

expiring king. The place to which Dootoogaimoonoo was conveyed is a large granite slab surrounded with pillars; near this a stone, hollowed out in the shape of a man's body, is shown as the bath which he used when suffering from the bite of a venomous snake.

On the stone pavement which surrounds the Ruwanwelli-saye lies the broken statue of the King B́atiyatissa, who reigned from B.C. 19 until A.D. 9, and appears to have been one of those persevering zealots who "hope to merit heaven by making earth a hell:" the marks of his knees worn in the granite pavement are pointed out as memorials of superior piety, and certainly, if authentic, bear lasting testimony to the importunity of his prayers or the sincerity of his devotions. It is recorded of this king that by supplication he obtained divine assistance to enable him to open the underground entrance into the interior cell of this temple; and that he succeeded in entering and worshipping the many relics of Buddha which it contained. In the thirteenth century, Ḿaga, a foreign invader, instead of faith, employed force: he broke into the sanctum, plundered its treasures, pulled down the temples around Ruwanwelli, and ruined its d́agoba, which was originally 270 feet in height, but is now a conical mass of bricks overgrown with brushwood, and 189 feet high. Sanghatissa placed a pinnacle of glass on the spire of Ruwanwelli, as the author of the Mahawanso says, "to serve as a protection against lightning." Sanghatissa reigned four years, and was poisoned in A.D. 246. The Mahawanso was written between A.D. 459 and 477, and shows that the non-conducting property of glass with regard to the electric fluid had been remarked previous to that period.

At a considerable distance from the outer enclosure of the d́agoba the priest pointed out to me a stone slab twelve and a half feet long by nine and a half feet broad,

which is supposed to cover the secret entrance by which the pious king, as well as the ruthless invader, gained admittance to the interior of the Ruwanwelli-saye. A few weeks previously to our visit, the late high-priest, an albino, had died at a very advanced age: he had been long known by the appellation of the White Priest of Anurádhapooora; and his senior pupil, who accompanied me in exploring the ruins, aspired to succeed his master. I was then along with the agent of the district, through whose recommendation he expected to be appointed; therefore no spot was so sacred, and no secret so precious, but that it might be communicated to me. The aspirant became high-priest, and ever after denied to European visitors all knowledge of the secret entrance to this monument, as well as several other places of peculiar sanctity; neither could it be brought to his unwilling remembrance that he had ever known them himself, or pointed them out to any one. The history of this building, its traditions, the list of offerings made to the relics enshrined within it, and the splendour of its external appearance, are recorded at length; but its chronicle contains so much exaggeration in regard to the number of the offerings, and so little variety of events, that the specimen already given may perhaps be considered more than sufficient, and will be my excuse for not dilating on the history of other buildings, of which only similar facts are written, and similar dull details have been preserved.

Toopháramaya, although inferior to many in size, yet far exceeds any dágoba in Ceylon, both in elegance and unity of design, and in the beauty of the minute sculptures on its tall, slender, and graceful columns; this dágoba is low, broad at the top, and surrounded by four lines of pillars, twenty-seven in each line, fixed in the elevated granite platform so as to form radii of a circle of which the monument is the centre. These pillars are

twenty-four feet in height, with square bases, octagonal shafts, and circular capitals; the base and shafts, fourteen inches in thickness, and twenty-two feet in length, are each of one stone; the capitals are much broader than the base, and are highly ornamented. Toopháramaya was built over the collar-bone of Gautama, when it was brought from Maghada in the reign of Dewenepeatissa, B.C. 307; and the ruins of a building which adjoins it received the Dalada relic when it arrived in Ceylon, A.D. 309.

Lankarámaya was erected in the reign of Mahasen, between A.D. 276 and A.D. 302; it is in better preservation, but much inferior in effect to the Toopháramaya, from which the design of the building is copied.

The Abháragiri dágoba, built by the King Walagam Bahoo, between the period of his restoration to the throne B.C. 88, and his death B.C. 76, was the largest ever erected in Ceylon: it was 405 feet⁴ in height; and the platform on which it stands, as well as the fosse and surrounding wall, are proportionately extensive. The height of this ruin now is 230 feet, and the length of the outer wall one mile and three quarters; the whole of the building, except a few patches near the summit, is covered with thick jungle and high trees, even where the interstices of the pavement, composed of large granite slabs, were all that yielded nourishment to the trees or secured their roots.

The Jaitawanarámaya was commenced by the King Mahasen, and completed by his successor, Kitsiri Maiwan, A.D. 310: its height was originally 315 feet,⁵ and its ruins are still 269 feet above the surrounding plain. A gentleman, who visited Anurádhapoora in 1832, calculated the cubic contents of this temple at 456,071 cubic

⁴ 180 Cingalese carpenter's cubits.

⁵ 140 carpenter's cubits.

yards ; and remarked that a brick wall, twelve feet in height, two feet in breadth, and upwards of ninety-seven miles in length, might be constructed with the still remaining materials. Even to the highest pinnacle the Jaitawanarāmaya is encompassed and overspread by trees and brushwood ; these are the most active agents of ruin to the ancient buildings of Ceylon, as their increasing roots and towering stems, shaken by the wind, overturn and displace what has long resisted, and would have slowly yielded before time and the elements.

During our stay at Anurádhapoorā, a Kandian lady presented a petition to the agent of Government, requesting his interference on behalf of her son, who was detained as a state prisoner for having been implicated in the rebellion of 1817-18. She stated that he was her only son, and that the large family estates were now ravaged and laid waste by wild animals ; that in this remote district, for want of his superintendence, the tanks for irrigation were neglected, and cultivation was rapidly decreasing ; moreover, that he was the hereditary guardian of the sacred edifices of this ancient capital, and that in his absence the buildings and temples were neither protected nor repaired, the revenues being either misapplied by the priests, or appropriated to their own use. The old lady also alluded to the antiquity of their family, whose ancestor, she said, had accompanied the branch of the sacred tree from Patalipoorā,⁶ B.C. 307. On inquiring, I found that the very remote antiquity of this family was acknowledged by the jealous chiefs of the mountain districts ; and I could not help feeling an interest in the last scion of a race whose admitted ancestry reached far beyond the lineage of Courtenay, or the descent of Howard.

This chief soon afterwards obtained permission to visit

⁶ The modern Patna.

his estates ; and at a subsequent period, having assisted in securing the pretender to the Kandian throne (who had been secreted since 1818 in this part of the country), he was not only permitted to return to his estate, but was reinstated in office as chief of the district. Although not a clever man, his appearance and manners were dignified and gentlemanlike : he died in 1837, leaving a family to continue the race, and bear the dignified appellation of Surya Kumara Singha (descended from a prince of the solar and the lion race).

The system of adoption in the Kandian law renders the continuation of a particular family much more probable than in any country where such a proceeding is unknown, or unsanctioned by fixed institutions or all-powerful custom. In Kandian law, a child adopted in infancy (and born to parents of equal rank with the person who adopted the infant) has the same right of inheritance both to titles and estates as if the actual child of the person who had become its guardian, and who, after a public adoption, was called and considered the father. In general, the children adopted were selected from the nearest relations of the person, who determined through this means to prevent all risk of being without children to watch his declining years, and inherit his family estates. Several of the highest rank of Kandian chiefs pretend to trace the descent of their families from those natives of Maghada who accompanied Mihindoo and the relics of Buddha from the continent in the fourth century before Christ. Two families claim descent from Upatissa, a minister of state, and *interim* king for one year, B.C. 505 ; and one of these, who maintained his right by inheritance to the name which he bore (Upatissa), produced to me a box containing a quantity of dust, and some minute frail shreds of tissue, which, he said, were the remains of a dress worn by his royal and somewhat

remote ancestor. I have only seen a few written genealogies of Cingalese chiefs, and, in following them, found wider and more startling gaps than any I had been accustomed to leap over in a backward trace to the progenitor of some individuals who figure in the modern British peerage.

Amidst the ruins of the palace stand six square pillars supporting some remains of a cornice; each of these pillars is formed of a single stone, eighteen feet in length and three in breadth. There also is the stone canoe made by order of King Dootoogaimoonoo in the second century before Christ, to hold the liquid prepared for the refectation of the priests; it measures sixty-three feet in length, three and a half feet in breadth, and two feet ten inches in depth. Within the precincts of the royal buildings, projecting from the mould, and half-covered by the roots of a tree, a stone trough, from which the state elephants drank, recalled to mind the history of King Elloona, and the busy, turbulent scenes enacted in bygone ages within those walls, where now the growl of the elephant, the startling rush of wild hog and deer, the harsh screams of peacock and toucan, increase the solemn but cheerless feelings inspired by a gloomy forest waving o'er a buried city.

Elloona having murdered his cousin, the Queen Singha Wallee, became King of Ceylon, A.D. 38, and was soon after imprisoned by his rebellious subjects: the queen, in despair, caused her infant son to be dressed in his most costly robes, and ordered the nurse to place him at the feet of the state elephant, that the child might be killed, and escape the indignities inflicted on the monarch. The nurse did as she was commanded; but the elephant (without hurting the young prince) broke his chain, rushed through the guards, threw down the gates, and forced his way to the royal captive, who got on his back,

and, rushing through the streets of the capital, escaped in safety to the sea-coast. From thence he embarked for the Malaya country: having raised an army there, he returned to Ceylon, and regained his kingdom after an absence of three years. Elloona recognized with affectionate joy the animal that had been the means of saving his life: and several villages were appointed to furnish food and attendants to the royal elephant during the remainder of his life.

The Isuramuni Wihare (a temple partly cut in the rock), the Saira Chytia (a small monument built on a spot where Buddha had rested himself), and the tomb of Elala, are amongst the ruins visited by the pious pilgrims. Elala was a successful invader who conquered Ceylon, B.C. 204, by means of an army which he led from Sollee (Tanjore). The Cingalese princes who possessed the southern and the mountainous parts of the island as tributaries becoming powerful, Elala built thirty-two forts to protect the level country on the south against their incursions; these forts were taken in succession by the Prince Dootoogaimoonoo, who finally encountered his rival in single combat, and slew him with a javelin. They were each mounted on an elephant, and as the battle was preceded by a challenge, both the leaders fought under the insignia of royalty: on the spot where Elala fell, Dootoogaimoonoo erected a monument and pillar, on which there was inscribed a prohibition against any one passing this tomb in any conveyance, or with beating of drums. Elala is described, even by the Buddhist historians, as being a good ruler and valiant warrior; he must have been an old man when he encountered Dootoogaimoonoo, having reigned for forty-four years after completing the conquest of Ceylon: his death occurred B.C. 161. Time has hallowed the monument which it has failed to obscure, and the ruined tomb of

an infidel is now looked upon by many Buddhist pilgrims as the remnant of a sacred edifice : although twenty centuries have elapsed since the death of Elala, I do not believe that the injunction of his conqueror has ever been disregarded by a native. In 1818, Pilamé Talawé, the head of the oldest Kandian family, when attempting to escape after the suppression of the rebellion in which he had been engaged, alighted from his litter, although weary and almost incapable of exertion ; and not knowing the precise spot, walked on until assured that he had passed far beyond this ancient memorial.

Pilamé Talawé was apprehended in this district, and transported to the Isle of France ; from whence he was allowed to return in 1830, and soon after died from the effects of intemperance. He had narrowly escaped death in 1812 for treason to the King of Kandy, as sentence had been passed, and his father and cousin had already suffered, before he was brought prisoner to the city. The commencement of a religious festival was the reason assigned at that time for sparing his life ; although his slender abilities and slothful habits are supposed to have been more powerful arguments in favour of the king's granting mercy than the supplication of friends, or the intercession of the priests, to whom it was apparently conceded. Pilamé Talawé was the last of the direct branch of that family which exercised the privilege of girding on the royal sword at the inauguration of the Kandian monarchs.

Besides eight large tanks at Anurádhapooora, there are several of a smaller size built round with hewn stone ; and in the side of one of these a priest pointed out apartments, cells which, he said, had been occupied by priests as places for contemplation when religion flourished and the tanks were full : one of these cells, which we examined, proved to be formed of five slabs, and its dimen-

sions were twelve feet in length, eight feet in breadth, and five feet in height; the lowest stone, or floor of the cell, must have been nearly on a level with the water in the tank. We also saw many wells built round with stone; one very large one near the Ruwanwelli-saye is circular, and the size diminishes with each course of masonry, so as to form steps for descending to the bottom in any direction.

Near the footpath leading to the Jaitawanarāmaya lies a vessel ornamented with pilasters cut in relief; it is formed out of a single granite stone, and is ten feet long, six feet wide, and two feet deep. It was used to contain food for the priests.

The following is translated from an ancient native account of Anurádhapoorā :—

“The magnificent city of Anurádhapoorā is refulgent from the numerous temples and palaces whose golden pinnacles glitter in the sky. The sides of its streets are strewn with black sand, and the middle is sprinkled with white sand; they are spanned by arches, bearing flags of gold and silver; on either side are vessels of the same precious metals, containing flowers; and in niches are statues holding lamps of great value. In the streets are multitudes of people armed with bows and arrows; also men powerful as gods, who with their huge swords could cut in sunder a tusk elephant at one blow. Elephants, horses, carts, and myriads of people are constantly passing and repassing: there are jugglers, dancers, and musicians of various nations, whose chanque-shells and other musical instruments are ornamented with gold. The distance from the principal gate to the south gate is

7 Arches formed of areka-trees split and bent, or of some other pliable wood, were always used in decorating entrances and public buildings on days of ceremony or rejoicing; but I have never seen an arch of masonry in any Cingalese building of great antiquity.

four gaws (sixteen miles); and from the north gate to the south gate four gaws: the principal streets are Chandrawakka-widiya,⁸ Rajamaha-widiya,⁹ Hinguruwak-widiya, and Mahawelli-widiya.¹ In Chandrawakka-widiya are 11,000 houses, many of them being two storeys in height; the smaller streets are innumerable. The palace has immense ranges of building, some of two, others of three storeys in height; and its subterranean apartments are of great extent.”

With the exception of the four principal streets, the others were built of perishable materials, and were named from the separate classes which inhabited them. The Chandalas (scavengers and corpse-bearers) resided beyond the limits of the city; yet it was a girl of this caste that Prince Sáli, only son of Dootoogaimoonoo, married, and chose rather to resign all chance of succession to the throne than to part from his beautiful bride. The detailed account of Prince Sáli's romantic attachment to Asoka Malla is probably less correct than a tradition preserved in Kotmalia, viz. that Sáli's mother was not of the royal race, but a woman of the Goyawanza (cultivator class), with whom Dootoogaimoonoo formed a connexion at the time he was a fugitive in the mountainous district of Kotmalia, to which place he had fled to avoid the effects of his father's anger, and by which act he acquired the epithet of Dootoo, or the Disobedient, prefixed to his own name of Gaimoonoo. Dootoogaimoonoo forgave his son, and admired the bride; but appointed his brother, Saida-tissa, as successor to the throne, that the Mahawanzae (great solar dynasty) might be preserved in all its purity.

The great extent of Anurádhapooora, covering within its walls a space of 256 square miles, will not give any

⁸ Moon Street.

⁹ Great King Street.

¹ Great Sandy Street, or from the River Mahawelli-ganga.

just grounds on which to estimate the extent of its population; as tanks, fields, and even forests are mentioned as being within its limits. The number and magnitude of the tanks and temples constructed by the Kings Doo-toogaimoonoo, who reigned from B.C. 164 to B.C. 140, Walagam-bahoo, who reigned from B.C. 89 to B.C. 77, and Mahasen, who reigned from A.D. 275 to A.D. 302, are the best vouchers for the numerous population which at these periods existed in Ceylon; yet, as the tanks at least were formed by forced labour, we cannot rate the wealth of the nation by the extent of its monuments. The public works of Prakrama-bahoo the First, who reigned from A.D. 1153 to 1186, prove that even then Ceylon had a much more numerous population than it now possesses; and Cingalese accounts of that period state the number of males, exclusive of children, as amounting to 3,420,000. This number may be, and probably is, overrated; but let those who doubt that an immense population formerly existed in Ceylon compare the prodigious bulk of the ancient monuments of Anurádhapoo^{ra}, Mágam, and Pol-annarrua, with those erected by later kings of the island; then let them compare singly the remains of the Kalaa tank,² the Kaudela tank,³ or many others, with any or all the public works accomplished in Ceylon for the last 500 years. In constructing the immense embankments of these artificial lakes, labour has been profusely, often, from want of science, uselessly expended; as I believe many of these great tanks, which are now in ruins, would, if repaired, be found inapplicable to the purposes of irrigation for which they were designed: that is, the extent of plain which could be cultivated by means of these reservoirs would be of less value than the sums which it

² The Kalaa tank was completed before A.D. 477.

³ The Kaudela tank is now an extensive plain between Minirie Kandely.

would be requisite to expend in repairing and maintaining the embankments.

In Anurádhapóora, the only sacred buildings of modern date are a few small temples erected on the foundations and from the materials of former structures ; they are supported by wooden pillars, which, even in the same building, present a great variety of capitals, and perfect defiance of proportion. These mean temples, with their walls of clay and paltry supports, form a striking contrast to the granite columns, massive foundations, and stone pillars which still stand, or lie scattered in endless profusion amidst the ruined heaps and proud remains of former ages. They serve to prove that Buddhism only clings with loosening grasp where it once held sovereign sway over mind and matter.

In September, 1832, I again proceeded to Anurádhapóora, through Dambool, Manawewa, Kágamma, near which are the ruins of the Nakha (finger-nail) dágoa and Tirapan. In several places, when we approached within twenty miles of the city, we perceived great heaps of stones on the road-side : they were intended to commemorate events which are long since forgotten ; but, nevertheless, every pilgrim adds a stone to these nameless cairns. About ten miles from Anurádhapóora, I sat down on the rocky bank of a very small pond in the Colon-cya forest : soon after, a native trader came up, and pointed to a spot near me, from whence, he said, his companion, only a few days before, had been dragged by an alligator ; the unfortunate man, while resting here during the heat of the day, had fallen asleep close to the water, and in this state was seized by the reptile. My informant, having procured assistance from a village some miles off, had attempted to recover the body of his companion ; but was unsuccessful, as it was found that the pond communicated with an underground cavern. I emerged from this forest

upon the plains around the Nuwarawewa (city lake), which at this time contained but a little water in detached pools; these were surrounded, almost covered, by a wondrous assemblage of creatures, from the elephant and buffalo, pelican, flamingo, and peacock, alligator and cobragoya, down through innumerable varieties of the animated creation: in the background, the crumbling spires of Anurádhapoorá appeared over the wooded embankment of this artificial lake. I had supplied myself and my followers with abundance of pea-fowl, which were to be met with in numbers at every open space where water was to be found; and, on first entering one of these glades, I have seen twenty of them within a space of 100 yards in diameter. Pea-fowl are naturally wary; and if it is a place where they have been occasionally disturbed, it requires great caution to ensure getting near enough to shoot them. The morning is the best time for pea-fowl shooting, as in the evening they keep near the edge of the jungle, and in the forenoon they retire to some thick dark copse, generally overhanging water, and there rest during the heat of the day; it is at this time that the natives, who never throw away a shot, usually kill them at roost.

Since my former visit in 1828, all the *dágobas* had suffered some diminution, in consequence of the heavy rains which had fallen in January, 1829; and the whole of the *Abháragiri* had been cleared from jungle by a priest, whose zeal in the difficult and dangerous task had been nearly recompensed with martyrdom, a fragment of the spire having fallen on and severely injured this pious desecrater of the picturesque. The season had been particularly dry, and the foliage of those trees which grew on rocky ground presented all the variety of an English autumn; however, the change of the monsoon was approaching, and heavy rain fell during the night of my

arrival. At daybreak next morning I ascended on the ruins of Mirisiwettiya, and found the forest-plains of this district shrouded by mist and rising clouds; but,—

“Though the loitering vapour braved
The gentle breeze, yet oft it waved
Its mantle’s dewy fold,”

and magnified forms of mount-like sepulchres were shadowed on the drear expanse. As the sun arose behind the rock of Mehintalai, the “silver mist” was dissipated in small clouds, or fell in glittering drops: all was damp, vast, and silent, as if the waves of oblivion had only now rolled back from the tombs of antediluvian giants; and the half-formed rainbow, which glanced amid these monuments, was the first which had brightened the earth, or gladdened the remnants of a perished race.

[No. II.—CHAPTER XIII.]

VISIT TO KANDY.—MORAL LAWS OF
GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

The rifled urn, the violated mound.—BYRON.

Abstain from all sin, acquire all virtue, repress thine own heart;
this is Buddha’s injunction.

Tenets of Buddhism by KITULGAMMA UNNANZE.

In the month of May, 1828, I proceeded to Kandy, and witnessed that brilliant Buddhist festival, the exhibition of the Dalada (tooth of Buddha); an expiring blaze of the ancient worship of Ceylon, whose beams even then gleamed flickering and unstable, and will suddenly sink in darkness, or surely and gradually fade before a brighter light. From one district, at least, I know the numbers who attended at this Dalada Puja were procured by compulsion more than attracted by devotion; and that it was

the dread of present punishment, not the hope of spiritual benefit, by which they were collected. I anticipate that Buddhism, shorn of its splendour, unaided by authority, and torn by internal dissension, will not long have power to retain even its present slight control over the actions of its votaries by the mere excellence of its moral laws, and that it will fall into disuse before Christianity is prepared to step into its place, which for a time will be occupied by those vile superstitions and demon-worship to which the Cingalese are so prone.

Fifty-three years had elapsed since the King Kirti Sri had openly displayed the relic ; and from the revolutions which had since taken place in the country, but few people remembered the ceremony, and still fewer had seen the Dalada, which they believed to be the most sacred thing on earth, and that only to see it proved their former merits by their present good fortune.

On the 29th of May, 1828, the three larger cases having previously been removed, the relic contained in the three inner caskets was placed on the back of an elephant richly caparisoned : over it was the Ransiwigé, a small octagonal cupola, the top of which was composed of alternate plain and gilt silver plates, supported by silver pillars. When the elephant appeared coming out of the temple-gate, two lines of magnificent elephants, forming a double line in front of the entrance, knelt down and thus remained ; while the multitude of people, joining the points of their fingers, raised their arms above their heads, and then bent forward, at the same time uttering in full, deep tones the shout of " Sadhu " : this, joined and increased by those at a distance, swelled into a grand and solemn sound of adoration. The elephant bearing the relic, followed by the establishments of the temples with their elephants, also those of the chiefs, after proceeding through the principal streets of the town, returned to the

great bungalow: here the first Adikar removed the relic from the back of the elephant, and conveyed it to the temporary altar on which it was to be exhibited. The rich hangings were now closed around the altar, and the three inner cases opened in presence of Sir Edward Barnes, the Governor. The drapery being again thrown open, disclosed the tooth placed on a gold lotus-flower, which stood on a silver table: this was covered with the different cases of the relic, various gold articles and antique jewellery, the offerings of former devotees.

Whether prompted by their own feelings, or impelled by more weighty reasons to attend at this exhibition, still the relic was evidently an object of intense veneration to all the assembled Buddhists, and by those of the Kandian provinces it is considered the palladium of their country; they also believe the sovereign power of the island is attached to its possessors. It is a piece of discoloured ivory, slightly curved, nearly two inches in length, and one inch in diameter at the base; from thence to the other extremity, which is rounded and blunt, it considerably decreases in size. The Dalada, as we find in very ancient details of its adventures, was discoloured when it arrived in Ceylon: that a relic of Gautama should fade or decay was at the time urged as an argument against its authenticity; but a miracle settled the dispute, and silenced sceptics.

The sanctuary of this relic is a small chamber in the temple attached to the palace of the Kandian kings; and there the six cases in which it is enshrined are placed on a silver table hung round with rich brocades. The largest or outside cover of these carandus (caskets) is five feet in height, formed of silver gilt, and shaped in the form of a *dágoba*:⁴ the same form is preserved in the five inner cases, which are of gold; two of them, moreover, being

⁴ The bell-shaped buildings raised over the relics of Buddha.

inlaid with rubies and other precious stones. The outer case is decorated with many gold ornaments and jewels, which have been offered to the relic, and serve to embellish its shrine. In front of the silver altar on which the tooth was exposed a plain table was placed; to this the people approached one at a time, and having seen the Dalada and deposited their gifts, they prostrated themselves, then passed on and made room for others. The offerings consisted of things the most heterogeneous: gold chains and gold ornaments; gold, silver, and copper coins of all denominations; cloths, priest's vestments, flowers, sugar, areka-nuts, betel-leaves. The Dalada was exhibited and the offerings continued for three successive days. On the second day some wretched specimens of the science of defence were exhibited before the Governor, both with fists and also with wooden swords and targets: on the fourth night there was a display of native fireworks, well-made and skilfully managed. Night and day, without intermission, during the continuance of this festival, there was kept up a continual din of tom-toms, and sounding of Kandian pipes and chanque-shells. The Kandian pipe is a musical instrument in power and melody nearly resembling a penny whistle: but the chanque is a shell with a mouth-piece attached, and, under the influence of powerful lungs, is a most efficient instrument for producing a noise which was called music; its tones varying between the bellowings of a chained bull and the howling of a forsaken dog. I presume the natives consider these sounds peculiarly adapted for their sacred music, as such instruments are to be found in all temples, and may be heard at all hours, to the dire annoyance of any European who attempts to sleep in their neighbourhood.

The principal temporary building was 250 feet in length, of proportionate breadth, and supported by six

lines of pillars,—it was under this that the tooth was exhibited; and the whole was ornamented with palm-branches, plantain-trees, fruit and flowers: so gracefully were these disposed, that the columns in the variety of their decorations, and some even in unity of effect, presented combinations which, if transferred to stone, would rival any specimen of elaborate Corinthian architecture. In the brilliant pageantry of this festival, the rich altar and resplendent ornaments of the relic, the great size and elegant decorations of the temporary buildings, the peculiar and picturesque dresses of the chiefs, the majestic elephants, and dense mass of people, threw an air of imposing grandeur over the spectacle, to which the old temples, sacred trees, and the wild and beautiful scenery around the Kandian capital formed an appropriate landscape. These combinations were rendered still more impressive by the disturbed state of the elements; for an extraordinary gloom and tempestuous weather continued during the whole time of the exhibition, and the torrents of rain which fell at that time caused the loss of many lives, and destroyed much property, in various parts of the island.

* * * * *

The town of Kandy is judiciously planned, and the present regular arrangement of the streets was marked out by the Adikars under the direction of the king; the streets all run in straight lines, but do not cross at right angles. It is situated on an angular piece of ground, with the base resting on two lakes which were formed by the late king. The buildings remaining from the time of the native dynasty are several temples of Buddha and two colleges, at one of which every Kandian priest ought to be ordained: there are also temples to the gods Náta, Vishnu, Katragamma, and the goddess Patine; but there is nothing worthy of remark either in their architecture or decorations.

In the audience-hall, now used as a court-house, are some well-carved pillars of halmila wood : the trees from which they were formed were cut and squared near Nalande ; from thence they were dragged over a hilly country, and up a steep mountain, the whole distance being upwards of thirty miles. The other remains of the palace and buildings inhabited by the royal establishment were, without exception, mean, and equally destitute of internal comfort and external beauty ; the most striking object is a low octagonal tower with a peaked roof, from a balcony in which the king exhibited himself on occasions of public festivity.

Wikrama Bahoo the Third, who reigned from A.D. 1371 to 1378, was the first monarch who settled himself even temporarily at Kandy, then called, from a large rock which projects from the hill above the old palace, Sengadda-galla-nuvara ; but it did not become the permanent capital of the interior until the reign of Wimala Dharma, which commenced A.D. 1592, and it continued the chief city until the native Government fell before the British power in 1815.

The burial-ground of the Kandian kings cannot be viewed without exciting reflections on the revolutions which alike occur to man's estate and the most ancient monarchies. Ere the last of one of the longest lines of kings which authentic history records had so far expiated his crimes, and received his measure of earthly retribution for the cruelties he had inflicted, by suffering a long imprisonment and an exile's death, the solid tombs of his predecessors were ransacked by the hands of avarice, or riven in sunder and ruined by the swelling roots of sacred trees. This hallowed spot, where the funeral piles were raised, the last grand solemn rites performed, and the last of earthly pomp and splendour was shown to the remains "of the race of the sun" and the rulers of the land, is

now a wilderness, where decay revels and rushes rapidly on beneath dank vegetation and a gloomy shade. The tomb of Raja Singha, the tyrant who reigned during Knox's captivity in the seventeenth century, was nearly perfect, and preserved its shape in May, 1828 ; that of Kirti Sri was then entire. In 1837 the former was a heap of rubbish, from which the stones had been removed ; and the beautiful proportions, even the general form of the latter, could no longer be traced. Hopes of plunder, or unmeaning wantonness, at the time when Kandy was entered by the British, precipitated the fate of these monuments : neglected as they now are, there is nothing to retard it ; and a few years will show, mingled in one common mould, the crumbling wreck of the tombs and the dust of their royal tenants.

During the continuance of the Dalada festival, the priests of Buddha, in different communities, headed by the seniors of their establishments, seemed to think it incumbent upon them to perambulate the town with their begging dishes, and to go through the ceremony of receiving alms. These parties moved on slowly with their fans before their faces, occasionally halting to receive whatever food was offered to them, but not asking for it. It appeared to me that this was evidently more of a temporary penance than a regular practice, although to live by alms is enjoined by the rules of their order. Their sleek faces and sly looks also spoke of better fare procured elsewhere with less trouble and more certainty than wandering in heavy rain through Kandy, and waiting for supplies from the more devout portion of those professing the Buddhist religion.

[No. III.—CHAPTER XIV.]

KANDIAN FESTIVALS.

BESIDES the Dalada Puja, which, as I have already stated, was a rare occurrence, five annual festivals were celebrated by the king and chiefs in Kandy, with all the pomp and splendour that their circumstances could afford, or custom allow them to extort from those under their control. Although ordained for religion, and in honour of the gods, the festivals were also a source of profit to the native kings, and a cherished rule of their policy. As the chiefs were obliged to attend, their periodical visits enabled the king to levy exactions on the estate, or to secure the person of any influential or turbulent headman, who in his own district might have braved the power of the king and defied arrest. These five festivals are still kept up; and although they are now only tolerated, not encouraged, and without the show of regal state or compulsory attendance, still the Peraherra is an imposing spectacle.

The festival of the New Year is in April, and at that time the Cingalese indulge in the few amusements which they enjoy, and in such luxuries as they can afford. Before New Year's Day every individual procures from an astrologer a writing, fixing the fortunate hours of the approaching year on which to commence duties or ceremonies; and to the most minute points of these instructions he religiously adheres, believing that even an involuntary omission of any prescribed act at the appointed moment would render him liable to misfortunes. The following is an abridgment, omitting the astrological lore, of one of the annual documents, prepared for my benefit by the astrologer of Mátalé, who also took care to inform me of all eclipses, and to give me special instruc-

tions in writing how to avoid those misfortunes which they might occasion. "The emblem of the approaching year will be a red lion seated erect on a horse, and proceeding from an aperture resembling the mouth of a horse; this will be at the commencement of the year, nine hours and fifty-four minutes after sunset: at this fortunate moment milk should be boiled at each of the four sides of the house." Next day I was directed to look to the north while dimbul-leaves were suspended over my head, and with kolon-leaves placed under my feet; then, having anointed myself with different juices and aromatic drugs, I was to dress myself in perfumed clothes of red, white, and blue colours; then to look to the south, and cause fire to be lighted and cooking to begin. On the second day, at two hours and a half after sunrise, I was to commence eating victuals prepared with pounded salt and curdled milk. At twenty-seven hours,⁵ while looking to the east, I was recommended to begin business by paying or receiving money. The whole concluded with a prediction, that, from the situation of the planets and other cogent reasons, I might expect both good and evil to happen during the year which was about to commence.

The second festival was held in the month of May, and was principally remarkable as being more essentially Buddhist than any of the others. During this festival such Samanairia priests as passed their examinations received upasampada (ordination).

The third festival, called by pre-eminence Peraherra (the procession), commenced with the new moon, and continued until the full moon in July; sometimes longer, if the procession was interrupted by meeting with a dead body of any animal, or any object considered unclean.

⁵ The Cingalese divide their day into sixty hours of sixty minutes each.

The procession regularly increased in splendour every night until the last ; at which time it was very imposing, from the multitude of people, rich dresses, brilliant lights, and large elephants. The arms and other relics of the gods were carried either on elephants or in palanquins ; and, on the last night, the casket containing the Dalada, borne by an elephant, accompanied the procession to the limits of the town, and rested at the Gedigé wihare, near the tombs of the kings, whilst the remainder of the procession passed on to the Mahawelli-ganga at Ganorooa, three miles from Kandy. There the four Kapuralls of the temples of Vishnu, Nata, Katragamma, and Patine embarked on the river in ornamented canoes, and awaited the first dawn of day ; then, drawing a circle in the water with their golden swords, they filled pitchers of holy water from within the magic ring, and the procession returned to the city. The different chiefs of districts and temples, with their elephants and followers, were then permitted to return to their provinces ; and there, at some particular temples, the same procession on a limited scale took place.

The fourth festival, called the Festival of Lamps, was celebrated on the day before full moon in November : the whole town was illuminated on this occasion ; and the immense number of niches alongside of the canal in front of the palace, as well as in the side of the lake, being filled with lamps, had a brilliant effect from the reflections in the water.

The fifth festival was called the Festival of New Rice. It was held in January, and appears to have been intended as a propitiatory offering at the commencement of the maha (great) harvest ; for the Cingalese, judging from their own feelings, consider that an offering at the commencement is more likely to secure favour than an expected thanksgiving at the end of an undertaking.

The gods to whom these processions are principally dedicated are, Saman (Vishnu), Nata, Katragamma, and the goddess Patine. Wibhisaná, who is retained as a god at Kellania and in the vicinity of Colombo, is never heard of in Kandy. Vishnu is worshipped in his form of Ramachandra, and his statues are painted blue. Of Nata's history I could learn nothing with certainty; his statues are painted white. Katragamma is the same as Kartickya (Mars), and has received the name by which he is now worshipped in Ceylon from the place where his principal temple is situated, which is at the village of Katragamma, at the south-east of the island. He is more feared than the other gods; and many of his votaries lose their health, and even their lives, in a pilgrimage through the unhealthy country which surrounds his malignant shrine. His priests are Brahmins; and in the rebellion of 1818 they were the zealous assistants of the pretender who called himself king, and was the puppet of the rebel chief Kaepitapola.

The goddess Patine is, I believe, the same as Durga, and is invoked to protect her votaries from small-pox.

Wibhisaná was the brother of Rawana; and having assisted Rama in his invasion of the island, was, on the defeat and death of Rawana, placed on the throne of Ceylon, and reigned at Kellania.

To the list of gods the name of Mahasen (commonly called Minneria-deyo) may be added, who, in the vicinity of Minneria, and in several parts of Mátalé, where temples have been reared to him, maintains his reputation as well as Vishnu or any of the more ancient and generally acknowledged deities. As Mahasen is a name of Katragamma as well as of the great Cingalese King, it is difficult to say whether these temples were originally dedicated to him; but I presume they were, and that King Mahasen has no legitimate claim to deification. However, in the

temples of Mahasen the same warlike furniture may be found as in those of other gods ; and the gigantic tanks and bridges formed under his superintendence give him a better claim to immortal gratitude than those who are only known by name as kings, heroes, and gods, although they may have conferred similar benefits on earlier ages.

When Gautama Buddha visited Ceylon, Saman (Vishnu) appears to have been particularly worshipped, also Eiswara and Wibhisaná ; and offerings were made to planets, ancestors, and demons.

The powers and attributes of the gods and demons of the Cingalese are not well defined ; there are vices and crimes charged in the history of the gods, while the devils seem to respect the virtues which they do not practise, and their forbearance must be purchased by offerings and propitiatory ceremonies. The wild and wooded nature of the island, and the now thinly-scattered population, naturally tend to superstition ; and it may be perceived by the native histories, that when the country was most prosperous and populous, the Buddhist religion was maintained in the greatest purity.

In the temples of the gods there is always some relic, generally connected with arms, such as bows, spears, or arrows ; and if any person wished to erect a temple, he, by pretended inspiration, astrology, or other deception, proceeded to discover, with much ceremony and mystery, an arrow of the god, or some such relic, which had been hid in the spot selected for the building. The will of the god having been thus miraculously ascertained, the work was commenced ; and, by permission of the king, land might be dedicated to the establishment, and have the same privileges as a Buddhist temple. The Kapuralls, or priests of a god's temple, require no other qualification than having sufficient cunning to dupe the superstitious, and bodily strength enough to enable them to go through

the violent exertions and vile contortions which they exhibit, and denominate dancing and inspiration. The performance of all these ceremonies is accompanied by tom-toms, pipes, chanque-shells, halamba (hollow metal rings), and other noises, which they denominate musical. Over the principal temples are placed laymen of rank, who have charge of the revenues and are guardians of the relics; these chiefs do not take any part in the laborious exertions and insane excitement which, in this superstition, are supposed to propitiate the spirit that is invoked.

I discovered a temple in Mátalé to the Abudha Deiyo (unknown god),⁶ and found he was patron of secret villainy (Mercury).

The images of the gods are only formed of plaster and brick, neither is their workmanship or design worthy of better materials; and if this worship and its idols were to disappear, the arts would have no cause to mourn, and morality might rejoice at the extinction of an impure superstition, which has much to debase and nothing to elevate its votaries.

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⁶ Acts xvii. 23.

APPENDIX III.

PROGRESS OF MISSION WORK IN CEYLON.

Extracts from the Proceedings at the Annual Meetings, held in 1881, of the Baptist and Wesleyan Missionary Societies in Ceylon.

I.—THE BAPTIST MISSION.

THE Chairman (Mr. J. Ferguson) said they had now received the reports for the three divisions of the Baptist Mission in Ceylon. They were probably familiar with the districts to which those reports referred. Mr. Waldock's district had its centre in the neighbourhood of the Kelani river, while that of Mr. Carter was situated on the largest river in the island, and Mr. Pigott, apparently following up the inclination of the Baptist Mission to work along great rivers, had gone up to the headwaters of the Kelani and Kalu Gangas. The Sabaragamuwa district, as they knew, was part of the Mission Extension work that some years ago excited so much interest. It was very satisfactory to feel now, that the three Evangelistic missions (the Wesleyan, Church, and Baptist) cover the whole ground, at least in nominal occupation, in South Ceylon, and supplement each other in the districts they occupy. The Baptist Mission in Sabaragamuwa and the Church Mission in Uva adjoin each other, while the Wesleyan Mission, having gone round the coast to Hambantota, has met with the work of its sister mission in Batticaloa, so that there is now no

large district without at least being visited by a European missionary, and receiving attention from one or other of the three Evangelistic missions referred to.

In regard to the small accession of numbers reported, he would call attention to one fact which should be remembered, and which was stated on the authority of Sir Emerson Tennent, who was a very close observer. Sir Emerson, in giving evidence at home, stated that there were no missionaries in Ceylon so rigid in making up their returns of members as the Baptist missionaries. Therefore, although the figures were small, they indicated a much larger number of people under the influence of the mission. He had occasion lately, in the course of his daily work elsewhere, to look over some of the returns for forty years back of that and other missions, and he found that in South Ceylon there were probably 11,000 people under the influence of the Church, Wesleyan, and Baptist Missions about the year 1850. In 1860 that number had increased to 14,000; and in 1870 to 18,000; while now it could not be less than 25,000. About twenty years ago in making up the returns, before the first census was taken, it was estimated that the total Protestant population of Ceylon numbered 40,000. The census was taken in 1871, and the calculations then made went on to show that there were 54,000 Protestants, and there would be much reason for disappointment if the census that is shortly to be taken does not indicate that that number had increased to 70,000.¹ No doubt 70,000 Protestant Christians and 200,000 Roman Catholics would seem a small number out of 2,750,000—only ten per cent., but if we compare this result with what has been done in India—where the Christian population was

¹ In the Census of February, 1881, the Christian population is given at 268,000; of whom 200,000 were probably Roman Catholics and 68,000 Protestants.

not even one per cent.—we ought, not only to feel satisfied, but also most thankful for what has been accomplished. The people of this island needed Christianity now as much as in the time of Mr. Daniel, who said that the more he saw of the Sinhalese idolaters, the more he realized how correctly the 1st chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans described their condition. He was sure, from the reports that had been read, that the work of the Baptist Mission was one that would commend itself to the sympathies and support of all present.

II.—THE WESLEYAN MISSION.

THE Chairman (Mr. J. Ferguson) said they had heard a clear and succinct report. For nearly twenty-one years now, he (the Chairman) had watched the operations of the Wesleyan Mission in South Ceylon, and he had, during that time, been personally acquainted with all the Society's local European agents, and with a considerable number of the native agents, including among the former the revered Messrs. Gogerly and Spence Hardy. He had early formed a very high opinion of the admirable system under which this Mission in South Ceylon was organized and worked, and he had noted, year by year, the indefatigable labours of the missionaries for the good of the people and the furtherance of a knowledge of the Gospel.

He would point out that the Mission in South Ceylon is singularly complete in embracing all classes of the population and every department of labour. The European and Eurasian adherents have the Gospel preached to them in English, and those who speak Portuguese are not forgotten ; while the great work is of course that among the Sinhalese and Tamils ; so that the South Ceylon Wesleyan Mission was among the most extensive and complete in the island, or, perhaps, in any country where

missions are found. The evangelistic labours of its agents—preaching the Gospel direct to the people—had ever been one of the great objects of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and he (the speaker) would never forget what he heard the Rev. Spence Hardy say on one occasion from that platform, that, in his experience, the most potent means, under God's guidance, of converting the Sinhalese Buddhists was for the European missionary, possessed of a thorough command of the vernacular, to go right into the villages and to preach the Gospel direct to the people. But the missionaries had not forgotten other departments of great importance—that of training the children, who would otherwise be left to grow up in ignorance, and be unable to read the Gospel in their own language.

Then again, a distinguishing feature of the work of the agents of the Society had been found in the literature penned for the Sinhalese, and about their country and religions. He had only to mention a few names that would be familiar as the authors of most valuable and learned works, in Clough, Callaway, Gogerly, Spence Hardy, David de Silva, not to mention any of the present day. Hardy's "Jubilee Memorials" was one of the most charming books ever published with the story of missions, or indeed in connexion with Ceylon. In that book Mr. Hardy gives the statistics of the mission for the year 1863, and they had seen the report for 1881; so that there had elapsed an interval of eighteen years.

Very recently there appeared in the London *Times* a letter filling three or four columns in large type, attacking missions and missionaries. The writer made most sweeping statements. He seemed to regard it as an admitted fact that there were no conversions. Let us see the advance in eighteen years in South Ceylon in this Wesleyan Mission, which was as follows:—

1863.		1881.
44	Native Ministers and Catechists	122
72	Churches and other places of worship	104
1,577	Communicants'	2,609
3,789	Adherents	6,061
2,141	Boys in Day Schools	4,643
1,037	Girls in Day Schools	2,486
—	Sunday Scholars	4,820 .

He would like the anti-mission correspondent to consider what these figures for one limited section of the Eastern mission field meant : but there was another rough and ready test which men of the world and business men who believe in the practice of one —

Who very wisely would lay forth
No more upon it than 'twas worth,—

namely, the contributions gathered in locally ; and these, chiefly from natives, in 1863 were given by Mr. Hardy at Rs.4,520 ; while the total of local contributions in last year's report was Rs.39,325. The Sinhalese and Tamils, any more than other people, do not pay for what they do not value. Remembering that we are not yet in the seventieth year of the mission, it might fairly be anticipated that ere long the people will be won to Christianity, not in an arithmetical, but in a geometrical progression in Ceylon as well as India. A very important step was taken some years ago in connexion with the extension of the work of the Wesleyan, the Church, and the Baptist Societies in South Ceylon, in which he took some part. Nominally, the country was now covered by the three Evangelical bodies, but large districts and numerous villages had yet to have the Gospel preached in them. Much remained to be done, and now that the schoolmaster was abroad in the land, it especially devolved on all Christians to follow up secular by moral and religious teaching. The Buddhists of China, Siam, and Burmah looked to Ceylon as the sacred home of their religion. The central position of the

island added to its importance as a mission field ; educated Ceylonese young men were going forth as medical assistants, surveyors, and in other capacities, to earn a livelihood in other parts of the world ; while, again, the masses were about to follow, 500 Sinhalese now waiting to be transferred to Queensland. It behoved them to do all in their power to send forth good men and true, some, if not all, of whom might become teachers of the Gospel in their turn. For this reason, among others, this Society deserved the hearty support of all who had the highest interests of the people at heart.

III.—A SKETCH OF MISSIONARY WORK IN CEYLON.

THE following account is from the pen of Dr. Macvicar of Moffat, and is given as illustrative of mission work in Ceylon :—

“ About twelve miles from Colombo, the chief town of Ceylon, on the high road to Galle, which is the second town, there is a belt or bar of land, lying between the sea on the one side, and an extensive lake, or rather lagoon, on the other. And as the sea in this quarter abounds in fish, and this lagoon has many arms leading from its ample basin into canals stretching along the coast, and into rivers flowing from the mountains, so as to form a great harbour, the surrounding country, which is very fertile, has become very populous. On the bank of land referred to, stands the thriving village of Morotto, remarkable for its fishermen and its carpenters. And here it was that the incident I am going to relate occurred.

“ But, first, let me tell you of the peculiar beauty and interest which the lake of Morotto possesses. It is itself a very fine sheet of water ; but the objects that surround it invest it with its peculiar beauty. Its bosom is everywhere fringed by various species of mangroves, their

every branch steadied by roots falling right down from them, and dipping into the water, beneath which they fix themselves in the soil. Immediately behind, there is a belt of beautifully verdant copse or jungle, luxuriantly entangled, or hanging in rich festoons around noble trees, adorned now and then with magnificent blossoms. Then come extensive topes of cocoa-palms everywhere that the population extends; while beyond them, towards the interior, as far as the eye can reach, there is a forest—the trees, in their general appearance, not unlike those in a European forest, but on a grander scale. And all these vegetable riches, which adorn the spacious lake, like the sleeping waters of the lake itself, are seen reposing in a sunshine which for more than half the year never knows any shadows but those of the evening and morning, which bring such ample dews along with them that there is a perpetual verdure all the year. Add to this, that the horizon-line on the inland side is bounded by a lofty range of mountains, among which Adam's Peak rears its majestic summit; and it will be seen that the entire scenery is of dream-like beauty. The delight, however, with which the eye gazes is soon lost, for feelings of quite another kind, when, ceasing to commune with Nature, we look to those monuments upon the banks of the lake, which claim man for their author. These remind us, that all beautiful though Nature be in this region, when viewed in herself, yet, viewed in reference to man, these are but dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty. There is one feature in nature, indeed, which seems to invite to the shores of this lake of Morotto as a fit place for the nurture of the darker superstitions. For up its waters, on some lonely and almost inaccessible islands, covered with lofty and seemingly leafless trees, there are seen hanging in the top branches, in ponderous masses, certain large, motionless objects, which remain black and

without lustre in the brightest sunshine. They are many hundreds in number. Point to them, and ask the boatman what they are, you will soon hear on the lips of every native in the boat the unearthly sound of 'woullá ! woullá !' But what are they ? Devote a long hour to the oar, in order to get nearer, and say that you are beneath them : they have left the trees, the air over your head is black with them—black with vampires or flying foxes, bats as large as eagles, in many hundreds, flapping their wings most sluggishly, and in most fitful silence, till one after another they have vanished from the air, and are only seen in distant trees, hanging again by their feet till nightfall. Whether it was the contrast between these unearthly creatures and all nature around, I know not ; but I have never seen anything so like what one would fancy round the very mouth of hell, as these clouds of woullás.

“ Let us turn our back upon them, then, and look down the beautiful sunny lake towards Morotto and the sea, whose distant roar is quite refreshing after the solemn silence of the forest, and the flights of the monster bats. The return to the place from which we set out will not be less agreeable for this, that the delicious sea-breeze will meet us in the face. But what is that dome, with its gilded pinnacle glittering in the sunbeams, on the top of the hill, surrounded by lofty bo-trees ? It is a Buddhist temple, with its accompanying *dágoba* and *pansala*, where learned priests are thronging, each ordained by a chapter organized with profound policy, and venerating legitimacy of succession as much as any ecclesiastics in Rome—priests, but with this reservation, that man is the only god they acknowledge ; while for man, alas ! notwithstanding his possible godhead, when this life is over, they allow no heaven better than annihilation ! The common people do perhaps worship Buddha, as if he

were a real being, great and powerful, and consciously existing somewhere. But the sacred books adore his memory only ; and the priesthood proclaim no god to the people but themselves. This is bad enough. Yes ; what can be worse than atheism ? And yet, let us hear what the boatman says of that headland on the other side of the lake, so remarkable for its hoary trees and dense impenetrable jungle. There is a treasure hidden there, he says. Then why not go and dig it up ? ‘ Ah ! it is guarded by a demon,’ he answers ; and reminds us of a custom practised in Ceylon, I am told, at no very remote period, the very thought of which makes the blood run cold. It was this : The owner of a treasure, when he apprehended from any cause that it was not safe at home, having selected some lonely spot in the jungle, dug two holes there, close beside each other ; the one large enough to hold his treasure, the other much larger. He then returned to his home, and, having taken a large knife, and concealed it in his dress, called a trusty servant, showed him the bag of money, and required him to bear it along with him into the jungle. The faithful servant obeys ; and when they have arrived at the secret spot, the treasure is deposited in its hole, and committed to the keeping of the servant, on which his throat is cut, and the body buried ! And thereafter, he who receives this reward for his fidelity is believed to be a demon, and the treasure is safe in the keeping of the yakka ! Such is a sample of those atrocities to which demon-worship prompts. Barbarities like these were indeed practised only in other times ; but still, demon-worship forms the only positive religion of the heathen in Buddhistic countries. It prevails to vast extent, not only in Ceylon, but in all Southern India ; and this is truly lamentable, both in a religious point of view, and because it is so gloomy, unsocial, and inhuman. It is to a priest

of this religion that the incident relates, to which we now proceed.

“He was an old man, and the temple where he ministered was his own. It presented its dismal front in a shady grove, almost fifty yards off a much-frequented by-road, which led from the highway to a populous village on the banks of the lake. And there had the old demon-priest remained for many a long year by his idols. And many orgies had he celebrated in every hamlet around, wherever there was any one sick who could afford to pay, or anything secret which was wanted to be known, or, haply, a new-married woman anxious about her first child, or a mother to whom child-birth was known to be a dangerous moment. Nay, I have been credibly informed of the daughters of Christian parents, who have stolen away to consult the kapurála. Such is the hold which demon-worship has upon the human mind. Is this much-frequented road, then, in one of the loveliest bypaths of the world, to be left with no retreat for the piously-disposed, but a demon-temple with its priest? No; the Wesleyan Missionary Society—that noble institution for the evangelization of the heathen, which secures the very best ministers of that communion for missionaries—has long had a station in Morotto; and it was resolved that a mission chapel should be erected opposite the demon-temple, on the other side of the road; each erection, however, out of the sight of the other. The chapel was accordingly built; and at the time to which this narrative refers, the missionary who ministered in it was a pure Sinhalese, Peter de Zylva by name, a man of great kindness of heart and energy of character. Mr. de Zylva’s domiciliary visits were reaching every house and hamlet in Morotto, and his voice was ringing with the mysteries of redemption, musically, yet powerfully, from the desk in the Morotto chapel, Sabbath-day and week-

day, while the passengers were arrested more and more, until his little flock became a large one, and the communicants numbered nearly a hundred.

But how was it going with the old priest in his old demon-temple over the way? Was he plotting mischief and plying a bad tongue against the missionary who was thus turning the people from his temple into another, where his own religion was denounced as most sinful and unholy, and the cross of Christ proclaimed as the power of God unto salvation unto every one that believeth? This were nothing less than might have been expected from human nature under the circumstances. But not so here. While the people who used to frequent his temple were turning the opposite way, the old priest, sitting inside, listened day after day to the hymns and the prayers and the preaching of the Christian congregation and the Christian minister. This, happily, he could do with good effect in the silence which reigned around him, so near were both places of worship to each other; and such is the power of the Spirit of God, when an earnest Christian minister is His instrument, that, despite the hebetude of old age and the habits of a lifetime, despite the power of an hereditary faith and every suggestion of egotism, the old man felt that he could not help believing, and that he must go and unfold his mind to Peter de Zylva. He did so accordingly. And in answer to the always respectful and friendly question of the missionary—what brought him there?—he told him what had befallen his heart through listening to the preaching of the Gospel; that he had done with his idols, and locked up his temple. ‘And here is the key,’ said he, ‘which you must take, for the temple is my own; and I can do with it as I please. For me, henceforth, there remains nothing but to humble myself in penitence, and to believe in Christ.’ ‘A kapurála!’ said Peter de Zylva, suspicious of his countryman; ‘what

can I do with yourself and your key? You must not throw yourself on us. We are poor people : we can do nothing for you that way.' 'Do not think so unworthily of me,' said the old man ; 'I shall need but little, and that little not long.' 'And then as to this key,' rejoined Peter, 'suppose I take it, do you know what I shall do this very day?' 'No,' said the old man, 'nor do I care, if but the temple pass from my hands into yours. 'Very well,' said the missionary, 'you see this stick of mine—(Peter usually walks with a heavy staff)—I tell you, I will take and smash every idol in your temple, this very day, and leave you nothing before night but chips and rubbish on the floor.' 'Do it,' said the old man : 'better you than I.' And it was done. Before acknowledging him as a Christian brother, the earnest but cautious missionary tried him on every point where a mistake or a cheat, on the part of the old man, seemed possible. But there was no mistake, no deceit. The conversion of the old demon-priest was one of those soul-delighting demonstrations of the power of the Spirit, where the best-defended strongholds of fallen nature are made to surrender unconditionally to the truth as it is in Jesus."

APPENDIX IV.

1.—A LIST OF THE BRITISH GOVERNORS OF
CEYLON.¹

1. Hon. FREDERICK NORTH (subsequently EARL OF GUILDFORD); 12th October, 1798.
2. Lieut.-General the Right Hon. Sir THOMAS MAITLAND, G.C.B., 19th July, 1805.
Major-General JOHN WILSON, Lieut.-Governor, 19th March, 1811.
3. General Sir ROBERT BROWNRIGG, Bart., G.C.B., 11th March, 1812.
Major-General Sir EDWARD BARNES, K.C.B., Lieut.-Governor, 1st February, 1820.
4. Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir EDWARD PAGET, K.C.B., 2nd February, 1822.
Major-General Sir JAMES CAMPBELL, K.C.B., Lieut.-Governor, 6th November, 1822.
5. Lieut.-General Sir EDWARD BARNES, K.C.B., 18th January, 1824.
Major-General Sir JOHN WILSON, K.C.B., Lieut.-Governor, 13th October, 1831.
6. The Right Hon. Sir ROBERT WILMOT HORTON, Bart., G.C.B., 23rd October, 1831.
7. The Right Hon. JAMES ALEXANDER STEWART MACKENZIE, 7th November, 1837.

¹ From 16th February, 1796, to 12th October, 1798, the colony was attached to the Madras Presidency.

8. Lieut.-General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, K.C.B., 5th April, 1841.
Sir JAMES EMERSON TENNENT, K.C.S., Lieut.-Governor, 19th April, 1847.
9. The Right Hon. the VISCOUNT TORRINGTON, 29th May, 1847.
The Hon. CHARLES JUSTIN MACCARTHY, Lieut.-Governor, 18th October, 1850.
10. Sir GEORGE WILLIAM ANDERSON, K.C.B., 27th November, 1850.
The Hon. CHARLES JUSTIN MACCARTHY, Lieut.-Governor, 18th January, 1855.
11. Sir HENRY GEORGE WARD, G.C.M.G., 11th May, 1855.
Major-General HENRY FREDERICK LOCKYER, C.B., K.H., Lieut.-Governor, 30th June, 1860.
Colonel CHARLES EDMUND WILKINSON, R.E., Lieut.-Governor, 30th July, 1860.
12. Sir CHARLES JUSTIN MACCARTHY, Kt., 22nd October, 1860.
Major-General TERENCE O'BRIEN, Officer Administering the Government, 1st December, 1863.
13. Sir HERCULES GEORGE ROBERT ROBINSON, Kt., Lieut.-Governor, 31st March; Governor, 16th May, 1865.
Lieut.-General STUDHOLME JOHN HODGSON, Officer Administering the Government, 2nd July, 1868, to 12th June, 1869, during Sir H. Robinson's leave of absence.
The Hon. HENRY TURNER IRVING, Officer Administering the Government, 4th January, 1872.
14. The Right Hon. WILLIAM HENRY GREGORY (Sir W. H. Gregory, K.C.M.G., 1875), 4th March, 1872.

- The Hon. ARTHUR NORTON BIRCH (C.M.G., 1875), Administrator of the Government, 17th April to 14th August, 1874, and 20th December, 1875, to 29th January, 1876; Lieut.-Governor, 15th January to 10th April, 1877 (during Sir W. H. Gregory's absences from the colony); Lieut.-Governor, 9th May to 3rd September, 1877.
15. Sir JAMES ROBERT LONGDEN, K.C.M.G. (G.C.M.G., 1883), 4th September, 1877.
The Hon. JOHN DOUGLAS, C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor, 28th February to 16th September, 1881 (during Sir J. R. Longden's absence).
Sir JOHN DOUGLAS, K.C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor, 14th July, 1883.
16. The Hon. Sir ARTHUR GORDON, G.C.M.G., gazetted Governor August, 1883; expected to assume the Administration in November.

2.—CHIEF JUSTICES OF CEYLON.

- Sir Edward Codrington Carrington, 1802.
The Hon. Alexander Johnston (provisional), 1806.
Right Hon. E. C. Lushington (provisional), 1807.
Sir Alexander Johnston (Chief Justice and President of the Council), 6th November, 1811.
Sir Hardinge Giffard, Kt., LL.D., 1829.
Sir Richard Ottley, Kt., 1827.
Sir Charles Marshall, 1833.
Sir William Norris, April, 1836.

- Sir Walter Rough, April, 1836.
Sir Anthony Oliphant, 1838.
Sir William Ogle Carr, 1854.
Sir W. Carpenter Rowe, 1856.
The Hon. P. J. Sterling (acting), 1859.
Sir Edward Creasy, 1860.
Sir R. F. Morgan (acting), 1875.
The Hon. C. H. Stewart (acting), 1875.
Sir George Anderson (acting), 1876.
Sir John Budd Phear, 1877.
Sir Richard Cayley, 1879.
Sir J. P. de Wet (acting), 1882-3.
The Hon. Bruce Lockhart Burnside, 1883.
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3.—BRITISH MAJOR-GENERALS COMMANDING THE TROOPS IN CEYLON.

- Sir Edward Barnes, K.C.B., 1819.—Afterwards Ceylon's great Governor, a remarkable man. He became Governor in 1824, and held the post until 1831. It was his mind that planned and executed the Kandy Road, and other main lines throughout the island. He likewise erected the Pavilion at Kandy and Mount Lavinia House. A bronze statue in honour of him as Governor stands opposite the Queen's House, Colombo.
- Sir James Campbell, K.C.B., 1822.
- Sir Hudson Lowe, 1826.—Previously (1815—1821) Governor of St. Helena, and Custodian of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Sir John Wilson, K.C.B., 1831.

Sir R. Arbuthnot, K.C.B., 1838.

William Smelt, C.B., 1847.—The Borella rebellion of 1848 occurred during Major-General Smelt's command, and there was an angry correspondence between Lord Torrington, Major-General Smelt, and General F. Braybrooke, relative to the officers of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment.

T. Reed, C.B., 1852.

P. Bainbrigge, C.B., 1854.

Henry F. Lockyer, C.B., K.H., 1857.—Major-General Lockyer, who had been Lieut.-Governor after Sir H. Ward was transferred to Madras, left the island in ill-health, and died on board the S.S. *Ripon*, 16th October, 1861.

Terence O'Brien, 1860.—In the time of Major-General O'Brien, his son, Major O'Brien, was tried by court-martial for a letter published in the *Mofussilite*, reflecting on the civil authorities in Ceylon. The Major-General did not confirm the sentence, and the Horse Guards removed the censure of the local court.

Studholme John Hodgson, 1865.²—It was during Major-General Hodgson's time that a Commission was appointed to inquire into the military expenditure of Ceylon. There were food riots in Colombo, and the military were asked to assist the civil authorities in quelling them.

Henry Renny, C.S.I., 1869.

John Alfred Street, C.B., 1874.²

William Wilby, C.B., 1879.²

Sir John McLeod, K.C.B., 1882.

Some of the Governors, such as General Brownrigg (1815)

² Promoted to Lieut.-Generals during their commands.

and Lieutenant-General Sir Colin Campbell (1841), held the two offices of Governor and Commander of the Forces. Major-Generals Sir John Wilson, Lockyer, O'Brien, and Hodgson acted respectively as Lieutenant-Governor, &c., during the absence or otherwise of the Governor from the island.

4.—EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS OF CEYLON.

Colonial Secretaries.—Hugh Cleghorn, 1799. R. Arbuthnot, 1803. Honourable J. Rodney, 1815. P. Anstruther, 1834. Sir J. Emerson Tennent, K.C.S., 1846. Charles Justin McCarthy, 1850. W. Chas. Gibson, 1861. H. T. Irving, 1869. Arthur N. Birch, C.M.G., 1873. John Douglas, C.M.G., 1878.

Queen's Advocates.—William Coke, 1809. H. Giffard, LL.D., 1811. Henry Matthews, 1817. W. Norris, 1832. W. O. Carr, 1834. James Stark, 1841. Arthur Buller, 1842. H. C. Selby, 1848. H. B. Thomson, 1859. Sir R. F. Morgan, 1863. Richard Cayley, 1876. B. L. Burnside, 1880. C. L. Ferdinand (acting), 1882. Francis Fleming, 1883.

Auditors-General.—A. Bertolacci, 1809. John D'Oyly, 1815. E. Tolfrey, 1816. J. W. Carrington, 1817. H. A. Marshal, 1824. H. Wright, 1842. C. J. MacCarthy, 1848. W. C. Gibson, 1850. R. T. Pennefather, 1862. Robert John Callander, 1866. John Douglas, 1870. W. C. Barclay, 1876. W. H. Ravenscroft, 1877.

Treasurers.—Robert Boyd, 1809. J. W. Carrington, 1812. Thomas Eden, 1816. John Drave, 1822. W.

Granville, 1823. J. W. Carrington, 1824. F. J. Templer, 1843. J. Caufeild, 1854. F. Saunders, 1861. G. Vane, C.M.G., 1865. W. D. Wright, 1882.

5.—A FEW PUBLIC (NON-OFFICIAL) BENEFACTORS IN BRITISH TIMES.

GEO. BIRD, the late, who opened the first regular coffee plantation.

ROBERT BOYD TYTLER, the late, who introduced the improved West Indian system of coffee planting, and also was the first to cultivate cocoa (cacao) in Ceylon.

DAVID WILSON, the late, for his improvements in the preparation of cocoa-nut oil and coir manufactures.

GABRIEL and MAURICE WORMS, the late, as pioneers who vested a large amount of capital in coffee and tea cultivation.

CHRISTOPHER ELLIOTT, M.D., the late, for his philanthropic labours among Burghers and Natives, and his independent attitude as a Journalist.

A. M. FERGUSON, C.M.G., for his labours in urging cultivation of new products, especially cinchona and tea; also as Journalist and Publisher (in conjunction with J. Ferguson) of *Tropical Agriculturist*, *Manuals for Tropical Planters*, *Ceylon Handbooks* and *Directories*, &c.

C. A. LORENZ, Barrister, the late, for disinterested work as Legislator and Publicist, more especially in aiding the advance of his own people, the Burghers.

- The De SOYZA FAMILY (especially C. W. DE SOYZA, Esq., J.P.) and Mudaliyar SAMPSON RAJAPAKSE, for enterprise in developing planting industry, constructing roads, endowing hospitals and schools, and numerous other public benefactions.
- G. A. CRÜWELL, the late, as a Pioneer Planter who visited and reported on Java, Southern and Northern India, West Coast of Africa (Liberia), Brazil, and Central America, for the benefit of his fellow-planters in Ceylon; doing much to introduce the Liberian species of coffee and India-rubber trees.
- JAMES ALWIS, the late, as Legislator and Author in writing on the literature and history of his own people, the Sinhalese.
- Sir M. COMARA SWAMY, Kt., the late, as Legislator and Author on subjects connected with his own people, the Tamils.
- GEORGE WALL, Planter and Merchant, some time Member of the Legislative Council and Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and at present Chairman of the Planters' Association. Has, since his arrival in 1846, taken a leading part in discussing public affairs. Founded a Ceylon League to secure a reform of the Legislative Council.
- Rev. LEVI SPAULDING, D.D. ("Father Spaulding"), of the American Mission. He laboured uninterruptedly for over fifty years in the north of the island among the Tamils, educating and Christianizing a large number, aided by earnest, disinterested brethren and sisters, among whom Miss AGNEW, (who also never took furlough) died on the Mission-field after well-nigh fifty years' service.
- The Rev. JOHN KILNER, of the Wesleyan Mission, deserves to be remembered among the Jaffna Tamils, among whom he laboured.

Among a large body of Christian missionaries, authors, and true philanthropists, mention should be made of **CLOUGH, LAMBRICK, HARVARD, DANIEL, GOGERLY, SPENCE HARDY, OAKLEY, CARTER, SCOTT, and IRELAND JONES.**

APPENDIX V.

PRINCIPAL RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

TAKEN ON 17TH FEBRUARY, 1881.

[Compiled from the Registrar-General's (Mr. L. P. Lee's) Report and Statements.]

AREA POPULATION.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE AREA AND POPULATION (Exclusive of the Military and the Shipping).

	Area in square miles.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	No. of persons per square mile.
CEYLON	25,365	2,769,738	1,469,553	1,290,185	109
WESTERN PROVINCE	3,456	697,329	475,397	421,932	260
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE	3,024	293,327	158,026	135,301	97
CENTRAL PROVINCE	6,029	639,361	361,523	277,838	106
NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE	4,047	66,146	35,580	30,566	16
NORTHERN PROVINCE	3,171	302,500	151,565	150,935	95
EASTERN PROVINCE	3,657	127,555	66,577	60,978	35
SOUTHERN PROVINCE	1,980	433,520	220,885	212,635	219
WESTERN PROVINCE.					
Colombo, Municipality of	9 ⁹ / ₂₀ *	110,502	62,225	48,277	11,693
Colombo District (exclusive of the Municipality)	532	279,286	143,775	135,511	525
Negombo District	248	116,691	61,390	55,331	471
Kegalla District	651	119,955	64,698	55,257	184
Ratanapura District	1,434	105,874	53,390	46,494	74
Kalutara District	581	165,021	83,959	81,062	284
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE.					
Kurunegala District	1,840	215,173	114,989	100,184	117
Puttalam District	1,184	78,154	43,037	35,117	66
CENTRAL PROVINCE.					
Kandy District	904	288,332	162,277	126,055	319
Matale District	982	86,655	48,470	38,185	88
Badulla District	3,790	165,692	92,627	73,065	44
Nuwara Ehiya District	353	96,682	58,149	40,533	279
NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE.					
Nuwarakalawiya District (including Tamankaduwa)	4,047	66,146	35,580	30,566	16
NORTHERN PROVINCE.					
Jaffna District	875	265,583	131,483	134,100	304
Mannar District	432	21,348	11,320	10,028	49
Mullaitivu District	927	7,638	4,213	3,425	8
Vavuniyan-Vilankulam District	937	7,931	4,549	3,382	8
EASTERN PROVINCE.					
Batticaloa District	2,595	105,358	54,598	50,760	41
Trincomalee District	1,062	22,197	11,979	10,218	21
SOUTHERN PROVINCE.					
Galle District	537	209,680	105,808	103,872	390
Matara District	548	151,923	77,516	74,407	277
Hambantota District	805	71,917	37,561	34,356	80

* Exclusive of the area of the Colombo Lake.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO RELIGION AND NATIONALITY.
(Exclusive of the Military and the Shipping.)

CEYLON.	Christians.		Buddhists.		Hindus.		Mohammedans.		Others.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Europeans	3,132	1,651	...	...	...	...	1	...	48	4
Eurasians and Burghers	8,883	8,921	25	21	...	...	2	2	17	15
Sinhalese	82,998	79,272	879,237	804,764	...	40	36	35	127	73
Malis	44,089	38,131	8,350	4,463	326,818	263,513	466	249	767	402
Moormen	2	1	2	3	...	...	103,788	80,737	1	...
Malays	21	11	3	3	...	...	4,715	4,142	...	...
Veddahs	1	...	361	325	317	371	...	...	398	355
Others	532	332	379	137	1,512	927	2,320	1,271	62	17
Total	139,653	128,319	888,357	809,713	328,779	264,851	111,338	86,436	1,420	866

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO SEX AND CLASS OF OCCUPATIONS.

PROVINCES—DISTRICTS.	CLASSES.													
	TOTAL.		I. Professional.		II. Domestic.		III. Commercial.		IV. Agricultural.		V. Industrial.		VI. Indefinite and Non-productive.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
CEYLON.....	1,409,553	1,290,185	31,836	1,466	29,388	627,329	54,566	8,766	579,336	64,948	94,950	68,961	479,577	523,715
Western Province.....	475,397	421,932	11,159	701	12,240	219,373	21,825	4,719	156,402	4,362	36,769	18,687	237,002	174,110
North-Western Province.....	158,026	135,301	2,884	56	1,488	77,294	4,402	616	75,008	1,183	5,054	2,713	69,190	53,439
Central Province.....	361,523	277,838	6,520	245	8,147	110,518	14,560	803	182,253	57,281	21,880	5,602	129,473	103,380
North-Central Province.....	36,580	30,566	750	26	284	17,942	793	48	17,110	94	774	115	15,869	12,441
Northern Province.....	151,565	150,935	4,144	223	2,429	76,634	2,973	883	6,219	682	9,069	7,387	72,711	65,116
Eastern Province.....	66,577	60,978	1,991	64	918	30,479	2,659	181	19,542	96	4,454	1,425	37,113	28,753
Southern Province.....	220,885	212,635	5,388	151	3,852	95,189	7,464	1,536	68,802	1,250	17,160	28,042	119,189	86,467

ESTATE—POPULATION.

TATEMENT SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ESTATE
POPULATION, WITH THE NUMBER OF ESTATES IN EACH
REVENUE DISTRICT.

DISTRICTS.	No. of Estates.	POPULATION.		
		Persons.	Males.	Females.
CEYLON	1,758	206,495	124,692	81,803
WESTERN PROVINCE.				
Colombo District	25	1,074	695	379
Negombo District	52	1,886	1,372	514
Kegalla District	44	3,268	2,051	1,217
Ratnapura District.....	102	6,925	4,248	2,677
Kalutara District	15	1,002	655	347
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE.				
Kurunegala District	27	2,539	1,527	1,012
Puttalam District	17	796	531	265
CENTRAL PROVINCE.				
Kandy District	671	75,229	44,951	30,278
Matale District	141	18,182	10,985	7,197
Badulla District	271	37,242	22,310	14,932
Nuwara Eliya District ...	325	56,225	33,954	22,271
NORTHERN PROVINCE.				
Jaffna District.....	32	528	332	196
EASTERN PROVINCE.				
Batticaloa District	2	78	62	16
Trincomalee District	6	277	208	69
SOUTHERN PROVINCE.				
Galle District	17	595	414	181
Matara District	11	649	397	252

OCCUPATIONS.

STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF THE
POPULATION OF CEYLON.

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS.	ALL RACES.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Population of Ceylon according to Nationality	2,759,738	1,469,553	1,290,185
I.—PROFESSIONAL CLASS.			
In employ of General or Local Government	12,948	12,536	412
Missionary, Clergyman, Minister.....	422	409	13
Church, Chapel—Service.....	110	108	2
Buddhist Priest	6,279	6,279	...
Vihara Service.....	68	64	4
Hindu Priest.....	1,193	1,193	...
Temple Service.....	134	111	23
Mohammedan Priest.....	521	521	...
Mosque Service	95	95	...
Barrister, Advocate, Proctor	280	280	...
Law Student.....	76	76	...
Petition, Pleading—Drawer	120	120	...
Notary Public	411	411	...
Physician, Surgeon, Medical Practitioner... ..	3,349	3,321	28
Medical Student	60	60	...
Midwife	260	...	260
Chemist, Druggist	107	104	3
Music Teacher, Musician.....	168	164	4
Drummer	181	181	...
Tom-tom Beater	1,203	1,203	...
Actor, Comedian, Dancer, Nautch Girl.....	197	116	81
Snake Charmer	121	80	41
Devil Dancer	1,532	1,528	4
Inspector of Schools, Schoolmaster, Teacher, Schoolmistress	2,720	2,185	535
Astrologer	201	201	...
II.—DOMESTIC CLASS.			
Hotel—Manager, Keeper ; Boarding-house, Rest-house, Eating-house Keeper	712	477	235
Domestic Servant (General)	42,175	24,255	17,920
Groom (Horsekeeper)	2,657	2,657	...
Wash-house Service	87	62	25
Barber.....	1,898	1,851	47
III.—COMMERCIAL CLASS.			
Merchant	255	254	1
Commission Agent, Broker.....	249	244	5
Accountant, Book-keeper	908	908	...
Clerk (so returned)	2,498	2,498	...
Shopkeeper (branch undefiled)	582	581	1
Boutique-keeper	15,573	13,101	2,472

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS.	ALL RACES.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.
III.—COMMERCIAL CLASS (continued).			
General Trader	19,770	16,676	3,094
Petty Trader	5,642	4,984	658
Basket Woman	2,512	...	2,512
Toll Renter, Toll Collector	205	205	...
Carter	9,031	9,031	...
Tavalan Man	927	926	1
Pingo Bearer	286	286	...
Boatman	2,214	2,214	...
Seaman (ashore)	719	719	...
Storekeeper	271	271	...
Messenger, Porter, Errand Boy	799	792	7
IV.—AGRICULTURAL CLASS.			
Land Proprietor	1,977	452	1,525
Planter	1,966	1,966	...
Coffee Planter	174	174	...
Cocoa-nut Planter	101	101	...
Tobacco Gardener	475	475	...
Estate Superintendent	171	171	...
Estate Conductor	742	742	...
Cultivator	430,189	430,189	...
Garden Cultivator	9,197	9,197	...
Coffee Garden Cultivator	755	755	...
Agricultural Labourer	166,421	103,674	62,747
Climber	6,872	6,872	...
Cowherd, Shepherd	2,687	2,459	228
Land Surveyor	118	118	...
Grass—Cutter, Seller	779	427	352
Hunter	310	310	...
Farrier, Veterinary Surgeon	199	199	...
Horse, Cattle—Trader	942	941	1
Fisherman	20,020	19,930	90
V.—INDUSTRIAL CLASS.			
Bookbinder	103	103	...
Printer, Compositor	351	351	...
Watch Repairer	75	75	...
Fitter	202	202	...
Saddle, Harness, Whip—Maker	88	88	...
Carpenter	14,477	14,475	2
Mason	5,012	5,012	...
Painter, Plumber	361	361	...
Dyer	304	296	8
Dye-root—Digger, Seller	464	175	289
Cotton Spinner, Thread Manufacturer	1,588	22	1,566
Cloth Weaver	1,616	1,471	145
Lace—Manufacturer, Seller	563	4	559
Weaver (not otherwise described)	91	15	76
Draper, Cloth Dealer	3,042	3,036	7
Tailor, Milliner, Seamstress	5,300	1,405	3,895
Shoe, Sandal—Maker	644	644	...
Dhoby	17,297	10,622	6,675
Mat, Basket—Maker, Seller	14,671	442	14,229
Hemp Manufacturer	940	15	925
Coir—Manufacturer, Dealer	15,672	1,168	14,504
Milk, Butter—Seller	359	255	104
Butcher, Meat Salesman	667	665	2

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS.	ALL RACES.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.
V.—INDUSTRIAL CLASS (continued).			
Poultry, Egg—Seller	216	212	4
Fishmonger	3,680	1,958	1,722
Rice, Paddy, Grain—Seller	4,712	2,023	2,689
Gram Seller	234	10	224
Baker, Bread Seller, Rice-cake Seller, Coffee-boutique Keeper	4,566	1,091	3,475
Confectioner.....	202	142	60
Vegetable Dealer.....	1,035	587	443
Cocoa-nut, Koppara—Seller	1,150	845	305
Arrack Distiller	99	98	1
Liquor—Shopkeeper, Seller	139	139	...
Arrack Renter, Tavern Keeper, Arrack Seller	862	854	8
Toddy Drawer.....	3,280	3,280	...
Jaggery—Manufacturer, Seller.....	416	233	183
Coffee Seller	590	548	42
Coffee Picker.....	2,719	5	2,714
Tobacco Seller; Cigar, Snuff,—Manufac- turer, Dealer.....	3,630	3,359	271
Betel, Areca-nut—Seller	2,810	1,530	1,280
Cinnamon Seller.....	214	214	...
Cinnamon Peeler	1,857	1,777	80
Tortoise-shell—Worker, Dealer	336	334	2
Oil—Miller, Monger	2,305	1,706	599
Timber Dealer	301	301	...
Sawyer	2,197	2,197	...
Cooper	328	328	...
Timber Feller	561	561	...
Firewood—Cutter, Seller.....	463	175	288
Cane—Worker, Dealer	165	157	8
Cadjan—Maker, Seller	168	29	139
Straw Seller	153	149	4
Plumbago Dealer	90	90	...
Plumbago—Digger, Picker.....	1,419	1,323	96
Charcoal Burner	102	81	21
Stone—Cutter, Breaker, Seller	1,034	909	125
Brick, Tile—Maker, Seller	481	477	4
Lime—Burner, Seller.....	944	677	267
Road Labourer.....	4,136	2,886	1,250
Railway Labourer	6,769	4,599	2,170
Potter, Earthenware Dealer	5,887	3,593	2,294
Salt Dealer	419	385	34
Water—Carrier, Dealer.....	147	132	15
Goldsmith, Silversmith, Jeweller.....	6,273	6,252	21
Gem Digger	1,135	1,135	...
Lapidary	199	199	...
Tinker.....	176	176	...
Brazier	745	745	...
Blacksmith	4,302	4,302	...
Ironmonger, Hardware Dealer.....	60	60	...
Chanks—Fisher, Dealer	94	84	...
VI.—INDEFINITE AND NON-PRODUCTIVE CLASS.			
General Labourer	85,138	64,985	20,153
Artizan (branch undefined).....	1,526	715	811
Contractor do.	565	565	...
Renter do.	272	272	...

APPENDIX VI.

STAPLE IMPORTS OF CEYLON FROM 1837 TO 1882.

Cotton Manufactures; Rice; Fish (dried and salted); Cattle.

Year.	Cotton Goods.		Rice.		Fish.			Cattle.	
	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	No.	Declared Value.		
	£	Bushels	£	Cwts.	Pieces.	£		£	
1837	220,873	650,042	149,503	5,980	29,523	6,719		1,801	
1838	137,931	860,012	108,972	9,527	227,542	7,301		820	
1839	128,607	894,623	182,300	8,591	107	5,674		1,156	
1840	158,326	1,043,064	202,333	6,949	72,000	3,946		1,270	
1841	184,691	1,106,152	183,483	9,996	...	4,709		1,727	
1842	173,333	1,102,192	191,958	9,050	...	6,913		5,131	
1843	160,365	1,594,114	279,123	7,981	...	6,179		7,598	
1844	192,936	1,700,136	296,943	16,950	...	14,670		22,845	
1845	238,554	2,167,334	379,835	23,023	...	16,297		25,557	
1846	185,590	2,162,206	372,940	34,033	...	17,479	47,237	23,745	
1847	178,064	2,121,022	372,109	29,352	...	16,480	61,594	28,914	
1848	182,767	1,910,585	329,420	36,291	...	36,343	47,265	26,425	
1849	190,911	1,985,752	347,502	24,457	...	24,457	8,895	17,884	
1850	187,567	2,355,763	412,261	35,705	...	35,705	8,507	17,120	
1851	216,274	2,221,466	388,777	29,026	...	29,026	8,994	17,694	
1852	189,078	2,331,796	408,065	30,670	...	30,670	7,951	16,363	
1853	228,226	2,574,580	462,870	31,000	...	31,000	9,595	18,886	
1854	262,082	2,161,706	379,994	42,118	...	42,118	12,524	25,268	
1855	286,621	2,852,178	499,137	34,788	...	34,788	16,534	33,280	
1856	314,596	3,157,385	552,543	56,800	...	56,800	11,317	23,515	
1857	355,429	3,254,623	650,924	53,296	...	53,396	10,575	21,635	
1858	466,962	2,856,124	571,224	48,934	...	48,934	11,228	25,119	
1859	630,936	3,511,768	702,354	58,275	...	58,275	10,776	26,608	
1860	540,284	3,182,204	636,423	55,989	...	55,989	10,514	24,471	
1861	567,464	4,181,096	836,219	61,382	...	61,382	9,753	23,730	
1862	505,844	4,218,601	1,265,581	61,042	...	61,042	4,490	12,095	
1863	790,498	4,415,821	1,324,745	60,905	...	60,905	14,085	46,883	
1864	997,272	3,943,396	1,183,019	75,248	...	75,248	7,607	23,509	
1865	545,044	4,851,414	1,455,424	66,970	...	66,970	8,326	22,785	
1866	860,310	3,777,320	1,133,196	70,190	...	70,190	9,059	43,079	
1867	891,776	4,543,327	1,362,998	71,709	...	71,709	8,912	50,190	
1868	642,802	4,455,315	1,336,594	73,294	...	73,294	7,392	39,469	
1869	734,921	4,406,216	1,324,418	75,189	...	75,189	6,799	40,338	
1870	976,937	4,735,832	1,539,145	76,968	...	76,968	7,605	53,018	
1871	840,917	4,278,708	1,390,580	78,575	...	78,575	10,068	64,897	
1872	833,400	5,367,302	1,744,373	88,962	...	88,962	14,198	81,596	
1873	865,060	5,708,142	1,865,146	108,189	...	108,189	14,749	82,550	
1874	839,351	5,717,775	1,858,277	98,643	...	98,643	12,541	70,148	
1875	780,903	5,527,620	1,714,762	86,999	...	86,999	15,392	84,628	
1876	952,510	5,855,645	1,903,084	87,598	...	87,598	17,831	91,661	
1877	718,239	6,938,160	2,254,902	93,250	...	93,250	28,968	102,522	
1878	494,210	6,668,969	2,167,414	84,429	...	84,429	17,492	55,929	
1879	561,552	5,954,934	1,935,534	74,322	...	74,322	27,483	108,796	
1880	704,839	6,094,999	1,980,875	90,396	...	90,396	11,872	73,943	
1881	512,878	6,030,820	1,960,017	91,426	...	91,426	8,683	38,776	
1882	452,111	5,757,029	...	92,841	9,537	36,100	

Cotton Goods.—All from England.

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