

JOURNAL
OF THE
CEYLON BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
1925.

VOLUME XXX.
No. 78.—Parts I., II., III. and IV.

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

COLOMBO:
THE COLOMBO APOTHECARIES COMPANY, LTD., PRINTERS.

1926.

Prices : To Members, Cts. 50 ; to Non-Members, Re. 1.

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COLOMBO MUSEUM.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 11th, 1925.

Present :

The Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.	
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna,	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara,	The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,
Mudaliyar.	Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
„ W. F. Gunawardhana,	C.C.S.,
Gate Mudaliyar.	
Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.	

Business :

1. Letters regretting their inability to attend were received from Dr. P. E. Pieris, The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, Prof. R. Marrs, and the Hon'ble Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka.

2. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 4th December, 1924, were read and confirmed.

3. The draft Annual Report for 1924, was read and passed subject to a few alterations.

4. The question of the nomination of Office-bearers for 1925-26 was considered.

The Honorary Secretary pointed out that under Rule 18, the Senior Vice-President Dr. Joseph Pearson retires by longest continuous service.

Resolved that Mr. Codrington and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz be nominated as Vice-Presidents to fill the existing vacancies.

It was decided that Mr. C. H. Collins be nominated a co-Honorary Secretary in place of Mr. Codrington, but that the latter be requested to continue to edit the journal until such time as Mr. Collins is able to relieve him.

Under Rule 20, Messrs. L. J. B. Turner and A. M. Hocart, retire by seniority and Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna and Dr. R. L. Spittel by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, it was resolved that Messrs. Turner and Hocart be nominated for re-election and that Dr. Pearson and Mr. E. Reimers be nominated to fill the remaining vacancies.

5. The resolutions passed by the Sub-committee appointed to report on the question of an Etymological Sinhalese Dictionary were considered. Resolved that the Committee be informed that

(a) priority be given to the Sinhalese English Etymological Dictionary as the Sinhalese Dictionary when compiled will not be an independent work, but an adaptation and to a certain extent a translation of the other work,

(b) while there is no objection to the question being referred to Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickramasingha, for his views there appears to be no need to wait for his reply.

(c) the Council desire to have definite proposals for the compilation of a Sinhalese English Etymological Dictionary with a few typical examples as to the lines on which it should be written, as early as possible.

6. The question of the Annual Government grant to the Society was discussed.

The Council unanimously decided that the Secretary be authorized to write to Government and request that the grant be increased from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500.

7. Messrs. E. C. T. Holsinger, T. D. S. A. Disanayaka, A. M. Caldera, S. A. Vinayakam Pillai, M.A., Walter E. Pine, Don James Alfred Abeyaratna, Irving B. Gunawardana and Charles Hubert de Mel, having been duly proposed and seconded were elected as members of the Society.

8. It was resolved that Mr. O. E. Goonetilleke be asked to audit the accounts for 1924.

9. It was resolved that the Annual General Meeting be arranged for the end of March and that His Excellency the Governor be invited to preside.

The following agenda for the Annual General Meeting was passed:—

- (i) Minutes,
- (ii) Adoption of the Annual Report for 1924,
- (iii) Election of Office-bearers for 1925-26.
- (iv) Paper entitled "Rajasingha II and his British Captives," by Mr. E. Reimers.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 27th, 1925.

• Present :

The Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. K. W. Atukorala,
Muhandiram

Mr. W. E. Bastian,

,, R. A. Cader,

Dr. E. A. Cooray,

Mr. P. M. A. Corea,

The Hon. Mr. C. E. V. S.
Corea,

Mr. J. W. de Alwis,

,, Lionel de Fonseka,

The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva,

Mr. F. J. de Mel,

,, E. C. T. Holsinger,

,, Albert E. Jayasinha,

,, A. P. A. Jayawardana,

Mr. Cyril M. Kumarasinha,

,, S. B. Kuruppu,

,, L. M. Maartensz,

Prof. R. Marrs, C.I.E.,

Mr. R. Pararajasingham,

,, R. Sri Pathmanathan,

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,

Mr. A. B. Rajendra,

,, H. T. Ramachandra,

,, Walter Samarasingha,

Atapattu Mudaliyar,

,, C. Suppramaniam,

,, F. A. Tissavarasingha,

,, D. D. Weerasingha,

Mudaliyar.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.,

,, Aubrey N. Weinman,

Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: 6 ladies and 22 gentlemen.

Business:

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on 26th November, 1924, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. Paul E. Pieris proposed a vote of appreciation to His Excellency, Sir William Manning, Patron of the Society.

In doing so he said:—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—Our Society has now existed for a considerable time, and its record of work is one to which we might look with a certain degree of modest pride. The Royal Asiatic Society—as its name indicates, the Parent Society has always looked to and received the countenance of the august Head of the State. In this small community of ours, it has been a satisfaction to our Society that under the rules of this Institution its Patron has to be the representative of His Majesty. It has been very much in the interests of the Society and very much in the interests of the public that we should be able to rely on his assistance and support. And in his dealings with us Sir William Manning has not fallen short of the fine example which has been set by his great predecessors in the office of Governor

of Ceylon. I therefore, propose that we should place on record in the Minutes of Society an expression of our appreciation of the sympathy and helpfulness which we have always received from His Excellency the Governor. (Applause).

The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva in seconding said: I have very great pleasure in seconding the vote of appreciation which has just been proposed by Dr. Pieris. I need hardly say that in the work of this Society the Patron has always played a very important part at its meetings. Sir William Manning, I think, has taken a great deal of trouble in attending our meetings practically every year and listening sometimes to very dry papers and to dry discussion. He always took an interest in the advancement of science—and we cannot do better than record our appreciation of the services he had rendered the Society. I have very great pleasure in seconding the vote.

3. The following report was adopted on a motion proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera and seconded by Mudaliyar D. D. Weerasingha:—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1924.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their report for the year 1924:—

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. The Annual General Meeting was held on the 31st March, when the Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President, presided. The Annual Report was read. A paper entitled "The Worship of Muruka or Skanda (the Kataragam God) with an account of an ancient Tamil Lyric in his praise and side-lights from Greek religion and literature" by the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., (Cantab) was read by the Hon. Mr. A. Mahadeva, B.A., (Cantab). A note on the "Socketed Clay Piping from Kotte (Jayawardhanapura, *circa* 1415-1457 A.D.)" was read by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera. In July, a General Meeting was held when Dr. R. L. Spittel delivered a lecture illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Last of the Veddahs." A General Meeting was held in November, at the Physics Theatre, Ceylon University College, with Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President in the Chair, and a lecture was delivered on the "Geological History of Ceylon" by Dr. F. D. Adams, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.R., Geol. S., Vice-President, McGill University, Montreal.

PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXIX, No. 75, 1922, which was in the Press at the end of 1923, was issued early in the year, the contents of which were given in the last year's report.

Journal Vol. XXIX, No. 76, 1923, was also issued, containing in addition to the proceedings of the meetings, the following papers and notes:—

(1) Palm Leaf Manuscripts on Ridi Vihare by Mr. W. A. de Silva;

(2) The Captivity of Major Davie by the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G.;

(3) The Chief Executioner of Major Davie's Detachment, by Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi;

(4) Notes on the Forts of the Jaffna Islands, by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S., (Edin.), F.L.S.;

(5) Excerpta Máldiviana, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., (retired);

(6) The Kahapana of the Vinaya Párajiká Páli, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 348 members of whom 42 are Life Members and 9 Honorary Members.

During the year the following 20 new members were elected:—Messrs. J. W. de Alwis, J. P. de Fonseka, B.A., (London), J. Matthias de Mel, Felix de Silva, Peter de Silva, B.A., (London), Rev. E. C. Dewick, M.A., Messrs. C. V. Gunasekera, Wilfred Gunasekara, L. D. C. Hughes, C.C.S., the Hon. Mr. A. St. V. Jayawardane, K.C., Mr. K. D. Lewis, the Hon. Mr. A. Mahadeva, B.A., L.L.B., Miss S. V. Parker, Messrs. G. Francis Perera, H. T. Ramachandra, A. H. Sundar Raman, M.A., Subramania Ranganathan, Aubrey N. Weinman, K. W. de A. Wijayasinha and E. B. Wikramanayaka, B.A.

DEATHS.

The Council records with regret the deaths of Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., (Cantab), C.C.S., (retired). Mr. M. Kelway Bamber, Mr. William Classen, Mr. J. Matthias de Mel, Mr. W. M. Fernando, Mr. D. Nusseruvanjee, the Rev. Pandit R. Sásanálankára Thero and the Rev. D. W. J. Wijayasinha.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., late of the Ceylon Civil Service, died in his 71st year. He joined the Society in 1887 and became a Life Member in 1912. He was nearly 6 years a Vice-President till he was elected President of this Society in 1915, in which office he continued to serve until his decease in February, 1924.

He contributed the following articles to the Society's Journal:—

(1) Jnána Vásishtam or the Dialogues of Vásishta on Wisdom, (2) The Kandyan Provinces, (3) Polonnaruwa Bronzes and Siva Worship and Symbolism, (4) The Worship of Muruka or Skanda (the Katragam God). Among the most important of his literary works are:—(1) Codification of the Civil Law (2) Decennial Census of Ceylon, 1901, (3) Sketches of Ceylon History.

At the Annual General Meeting held on the 27th March, 1924, the following resolution on the death of Sir Ponnambalam, was passed:—

"This Society resolves to place on record its appreciation of the services rendered to it by its late President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., and of the interest which he always showed in its work, and to convey to Lady Arunáchalam and to the members of the family of the late Sir Ponnambalam an expression of its sympathy with them in their bereavement."

Mr. W. M. Fernando, Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner, joined the Society in 1916. He contributed notes to the Society's Journal.

The Rev. D. W. J. Wijeyesingha died at the age of 55 years. He was interested in educational work and oriental studies. His literary works include:—

(1) Sabdavibhāgaya—Sinhalese Grammar; (2) Lamagiya—Poems for children.

RESIGNATION.

The following resigned their membership during the year. Messrs. T. S. Breechin, P.A. Gooneratne, L. B. Fernando and Dr. V. D. Gunaratna.

THE PRESIDENT.

The vacancy caused by the death of Sir Ponnambalam Arunāchalam, Kt., who held the office of President since 1915, was filled by the Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., who was the Society's Vice-Patron.

HONORARY SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Secretary and Librarian, Colombo Museum, was elected a Co-Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, in place of Mr. Lionel de Fonseka, retired.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., left the Island on furlough in December, 1924, and was succeeded by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., as Co-Honorary Secretary and Treasurer. Your Council desire to place on record its indebtedness to Mr. Collins for valuable services rendered to it by him at a period of much difficulty.

COUNCIL.

Under Rule 18, the Senior Vice-President, Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O., retired in order of longest continuous service. Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., was elected a Vice-President.

Under Rule 20, the Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera and Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., retired by seniority and Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam and the Revd. Father S. G. Perera owing to least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and Mr. W. A. de Silva were re-elected. The other two vacancies were filled by Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara and Dr. R. L. Spittel, As Dr. A. Nell was out of the Island during the year Mr. Lionel de Fonseka, the retiring Honorary Secretary and Treasurer was elected to fill his place.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library including parts of periodicals numbered 218. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges.

The Geological Society, London, Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland, The Smithsonian Institute, the Pali Text Society, London, The American Oriental Society, The Asiatic

Society, Bengal, The Asiatic Society, Bombay, The Musée Guimet, Paris, The Royal Colonial Institute, l'Ecole Française d' Extrême Orient, Hanoi, and the Director, Colombo Museum.

For donations to the following:—The University of Calcutta, Archaeological Survey of Burma, Archaeological Survey, India, H.R.H. Prince Kityakara of Chandapuri, Siam, the Government of India and the Government of Ceylon.

CATALOGUING AND ARRANGING OF LIBRARY.

During the year the work of re-arranging and preparing a card catalogue of the Society's Library was undertaken and is being continued.

ACCOMMODATION.

The want of space in the Library is still a serious drawback though special attention has been drawn to this point on previous occasions. The shelves are full and there is no room for additional cases. If further accommodation is not available in the very near future, the growth of this Library will be seriously hindered and any development impossible.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY FUND.

The Honorary Secretaries, with the approval of the Council, purchased from the fund, the following:—

1. Warren: Buddhism in Translations.
2. Village Education in India.
3. Bruce: Meadows Taylor's Story of my Life.
4. Thebaut: Vedanta Sutras.
5. Bloomfield: Atharva Veda.
6. Garbe: Sankhya Pravachana of Bhasya.
7. Eggelling: Satapatha Brahmana.
8. Ewbank: Indian Co-operative Studies.
9. Teichman: Travels in Eastern Tibet.
10. Langdon: Babylonian Wisdom.
11. Thomas: Vaishesika Philosophy.
12. Keith: Sankhyana Aranyaka.
13. Rogers and Beveridge: Memoirs of Jahangir, 2 vols.
14. Davids: Psalms of the Sisters.
15. Expositor, 2 vols.
16. Book of Kindred Sayings.
17. Manual of a Mystic.
18. Points of Controversy.
19. Psalms of the Brethern.
20. Doughty: Arabia Deserta 2 vols.
21. Yoga System of Patanjali.
22. Palgrave: Siwa.
23. Ronaldshay: Lands of the Thunderbolt.
24. Curlé: Into the East. Notes on Burma and Malaya.
25. Bhattasale: Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal.
26. Dames: Book of Duarte Barbosa vol. II.
27. Knighton: Private Life of an Eastern King.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

The Archæological Commissioner (Mr. A. M. Hocart) has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following interesting summary of the work done by his department in 1924:—

ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN 1924.

As in previous years conservation claimed most of the energies of the department. The Nakhá Vehera was repointed and the cracks were filled in. It is a great pity this was not done when it was first excavated as some of it has collapsed since 1914. It was probably a square relic chamber, not a very common type.

The cave temple at Kaludiya Pokuna, Mihintale, was the most interesting undertaking, but presented considerable difficulties owing to the flow of water from above which tends to silt up the cave area below. This has not been completely overcome yet, but will have to be tackled some time in the future. All the stones have been set up and this forms a most interesting corner. The little dagāba known as "Indi Katu Säya" was also taken in hand and all the stones have been put back in their place.

Western monastery "C" in Anuradhapura was taken in hand by the late Mr. Ayrton who however did not live to complete the work. This has now been completed. Monastery "I" close by was treated in a similar way. The reason for dealing successively with the monuments of the same type is that the north side was rather in a dangerous condition. This building also throws an interesting light on the methods of the time. Our operations have also proved what I had suggested, namely that the main building was set up on the site of an earlier one.

Small, yet more extensive excavations than those done hitherto, were undertaken at Veherabādigala. The excavation of "Q" the so called dagāba, was particularly interesting as one building was found within another. It throws much light on the development of brickwork in Ceylon. It also proves that the round temple of Potgul Vehera type was known about the second century B.C.

FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 4,107.51 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,790.27 and the expenditure was Rs. 2,658.53.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund, and of the Chinese Records Translation Fund showing balances of Rs. 1,009.50 and Rs. 1,977.77 to the credit of the Society, are also annexed.

The accounts have been audited by Mr. Oliver E. Goonetilleke, B.A., and the Council offer their thanks to him for the trouble he has taken.

GENERAL.

The Society is now in the 80th year of its existence and has a most honourable record. It is to be regretted that its finances are not on a sounder foundation, and they cannot be reckoned

as such until we have at least Rs. 5,000 to our credit on fixed deposit. A start towards this goal will be made by placing a sum of Rs. 1,000 from the current account on fixed deposit, and this amount will be added to from time to time as funds permit. The Budget for 1925 is as follows:—

ESTIMATED INCOME.		ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE.	
	R. C.		R. C.
Balance for 1924	4,107·51	Clerical and other expenses includ-	
Government Grant	500·00	ing stationery &c.	1,750·00
Estimated Annual Subscription	2,000·00	Printing Journal	1,500·00
		Bills Outstanding	1,152·00
		Fixed Deposit (to be Transferred from Current Account)	1,000·00
		Purchases of new books and binding	600·00
		Balance in Current Account	605·51
	<hr/> 6,607·51 <hr/>		<hr/> 6,607·51 <hr/>

The Government Grant has been Rs. 500 per annum since 1845 which is the date of our foundation, and it is hoped that this will be at last, considerably increased, in recognition of the Society's long and useful career and the considerable part it has played in the development of the Colony.

Our membership is now 348. In this connection it may be remarked that in view of the distinguished part played by public servants who as members of this Society contributed material to its advancement, it is rather disappointing to find that a larger proportion of Government Officers do not join taking into consideration the excellent opportunities they have, in the execution of their duties in the more remote parts of the Island, of studying subjects of interest to the Society. Apart from this, as Sir Hugh Clifford said in a memorable speech at the Annual General Meeting of 1909, "It is one of the primary duties of a Civil Servant to know the history and traditions of the country which it is his business to serve."

Receipts and Payments Account of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund for the Year 1924.

PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.
Balance on the 31st December, 1923..	1,009	50
Rs.	1,009	50

Audited and found correct,

(Sgd.) O. E. GOONETILLEKE,

Colombo, 27th March, 1925.

Hony. Auditor.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,

Hony. Treasurer,

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

Receipts and Payments A/c. of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1924.

PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.
Balance on the 31st December, 1923	723	77
In Fixed Deposit	1,200	00
Interest on Fixed Deposit	54	00
Rs.	1,977	77

Audited and found correct,

(Sgd.) O. E. GOONETILLEKE,

Colombo, 27th March, 1925.

Hony. Auditor.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,

Hony. Treasurer,

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

On a motion proposed by Mr. L. M. Maartensz and seconded by Mudaliyar D. D. Weerasingha, the following Office-bearers for 1925-26 were elected to fill the existing vacancies:—

Vice-Presidents: Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., F.R.N.S., C.C.S., and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

New Members:

Dr. Joseph Pearson, Dsc.,
Mr. Edmund Reimers,

Re-elected:

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
C.C.S.,
,, A. M. Hocart, M.A.,

Honorary Treasurer:

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman.

Honorary Secretaries:

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Aubrey N. Weinman.

The Chairman, introduced the lecturer Mr. Reimers, who then read the following paper:—

RAJA SINHA II. AND HIS BRITISH CAPTIVES.

BY E. REIMERS.

AMONG the Dutch records in the Government Archives are two interesting documents, one, an official declaration made by two shipwrecked sailors of the "Persian Merchant" of their captivity in Kandyan territory and escape, and the other, a letter written by the "Merchant" of the same vessel begging the Dutch Governor of Colombo for the love of God to intercede with the King* of Kandy for his release from his miserable slavery. The former document is a Dutch translation of the sailors' statement, which was made by them in Portuguese before certain Dutch officials at Hulftsdorp in the year 1683, and is signed, in the rough characters which we generally associate with the men who sailed before the mast in those days, made rougher by their 24 years of captivity, Thomas Kirby, and William Day. The latter document is a letter written in Portuguese on a dirty quarter-sheet of foolscap-size paper, with no date upon it, and signed Gulielmo Vassall. In the same volume as the letter is the Dutch translation bearing the date March 21, 1696, so that we may conclude that it was written a month or two earlier, making due allowance for the captive's eager anticipation of the long looked for opportunity—he had been a captive now for 37 years,—the deliberation of the messenger, and the long, slow route from Kandy to Colombo. The letter is written in good

* Raja Sinha II. (1632-87).

Portuguese, in a clerk's hand, and we see that the writer has so far conformed to the spirit of the letter as to sign himself Gulielmo, instead of William, Vassall, Junior. In another letter written a few years earlier to the British Agent at Madras, which I shall refer to later, he misquotes "*tempora mutantur et nos mutamur ab illis.*"

Before proceeding to the letters, I should like to recapitulate all that we know from other sources about the British captives in general and the "Persian Merchant's" men in particular. We have all read Knox, so that it will not be necessary to quote more than a few names and particulars from him. He was captured, as you will remember "a year and a half" after the "Persian Merchant's" men, probably in 1660-61, and according to him there were 13 of the "Persia's" crew in captivity at the time, viz., Mr. William Vassall, John Merginson, Thomas March, Thomas Kirby, Richard Jelf, Gamaliel Gardiner, William Day, Thomas Stapelton, Henry Man, Hugh Smart, Daniel Holstein, an Hamburger, James Gray, and Henry Bingham. As you will presently see, his version of their capture agrees with Day's and Kirby's account. He adds that Hugh Smart married a wife and had a son by her, but that he died as the result of an accident, viz., a jak fruit falling on his side; also that Henry Man, who was taken into the King's service in his palace, was cruelly punished for breaking a procelain dish, and later was sentenced to be torn into pieces by elephants for having again offended the King. Vassall appears to have enjoyed a certain measure of royal favour at one time, having been sent for by the King to interpret a letter from Sir Edward Winter, the Agent of the East India Company at Madras, to the prisoners, which the King had intercepted. This was probably a letter sent by the British emissaries, two "tupasses" and an old Moor as Interpreter, who are referred to in Valentyn's History* as having been sent in 1664 by "Lord" Winter, the

* Bijzondere Zaaken v. Ceylon, p.200.

Governor of the English at Madraspatnam, to the King of Kandy, ostensibly with the object of liberating the English prisoners, but, the Dutch suspected, for far different reasons.

We now come to an important passage in the Dutch Minutes of Council dated 21 and 24 October 1669, *about the 10th year of their captivity, referring to 23 British captives who were well and alive at the time. The translation, which has already appeared in a past number of the R.A.S.J.†, is as follows, with a few emendations by me.—“An ola inscribed in English, which was secretly despatched by the English who visited Cotiar some years ago, but were captured by Raja Sinha’s people and have been held in captivity up to now, having been handed to H. E. the Governor by a certain Mallabar named Perga who was to convey it to Madraspatnam, has been translated as follows:—

“Right Honourable Sir Edward, In the year 1664 we received a packet numbered 61 personally addressed to us, which is all that we have received, although Mr. Vassall has received some on various occasions, but kept it from us, also money, which none of us ever received although our necessity is so great. Our company are all alive and well with the exception of Arthier Emery, (referred to as the “Cooke’s mate,”) the Captain, and John Gregory, who are dead. There still survive 23 persons who would be glad to regain their liberty. Regarding news, we do not dare to write any for fear that our letter may be intercepted (or seized on the way), and we refer you in this respect to the bearer of the letter, Perga, who can give you better information of all that has happened than we can write, and who risks his life in bringing this letter. We beg Your Honour to reward him liberally. The Dutch will not be indifferent in looking after us if, by any means, Your Honour can send any help, as the bearer Perga can direct you, to us poor oppressed Captains, who shall not cease to pray for Your Honour’s long life and prosperity. We remain Your Honour’s servants, Johan Loueland, Robbert Knocx. In the margin was written, Zealand, 21 August 1669. There also appeared superscribed, into whatever Christian hands this letter shall come, we pray you for the love of God to forward it to the address mentioned.—(Sgd.) John Loveland.”

* Dutch Records, vol. D.8.

† Part 1.14, 1867-70.

After the reading of the above ola, it having been taken into consideration that we and the English Nation are not only neighbours, good friends, and allies, but that we also belong to the same religion and therefore are so much the more bound in conscience to help each other in time of need so far as circumstances may permit; and since the bearer of this ola is willing to go back with some assistance and return with further intelligence: so has it been approved and resolved, for these and other weighty reasons, as well as hereafter to convey some relief by the same means to our poor countrymen, to send by the same messenger to our abovementioned good friends and allies for their maintenance 50 gold Pagodas* and as much clothing as he conveniently may dare to carry as a chitty, also to send them a letter written both in English and Dutch and enclosed in a quill, of the following tenor:—

“To our good Friends and beloved Allies, the Honourable Officers and subordinate prisoners of the English Nation: Understanding that Your Honours are in great need and destitution, we could not forbear to assist you, according to our duty as Christians, with so much goods as the bearer shall deliver to you and 50 Pagodas in ready money. We have forwarded the ola addressed to Sir Edward to Madras, as well as a copy of this letter. Send the bearer back as soon as possible, so that we may see, if we may through his fidelity, help some of our countrymen, who are in great need. We shall deal further with the messenger. Share everything with each other, for through the bearer we shall always help Your Honours, so long as he shall be preserved by God and be fortunate. We remain Your Honours’ good friend.—(sgd.) Ryckloff van Goens, Colombo, October 22, 1669.”

And since we consider it to be our duty to send the abovementioned ola as soon as possible to Madraspatnam, in order to inform our Friends there of the condition of their poor countrymen, it has been decided to send the said ola at the first opportunity to the Hon’ble Lord Governor Paviljoen, to be forwarded by him to Madraspatnam, together with a letter to the English Chief Officer there, of the following tenor, viz., To the

* Gold Pagoda = + 8s.

Hon'ble Lord President of the Hon'ble Company of the Illustrious English Nation at Madraspatnam, My Lord, Three days ago there appeared before me a black man calling himself Perga, who carried the enclosed letter inscribed on the leaf of the sugar tree,* from which Your Excellency can see the miserable condition of your people. Since their great need permitted no delay, we have assisted them with some clothing and 50 Pagodas in cash, which the said Perga has undertaken to convey to them and to return, he being on that account promised 20 Pagodas as a reward. We trust that by these means we may be able to send some relief to your as well as our people. I have asked the black man Perga for particulars of your as well as our people, and understand from his report that 23 English are still alive, viz., 4, Captain John Loublingh, Robbert Knocx, John Berry, William Dei. These 4 are in a village above Kandy called Legonderry;† 5, among whom is Mr. Markes, who were stranded at Calpetty, and who live in the city of Kandy; 4 in Zalimoer,‡ a suburb of the town of Kandy; 4 in Oerenoere,|| another suburb of Kandy; 3 at the King's court; and 3 in Balatgamme§ a third suburb of Kandy. Total 23 officers and common folk. Of our people only 18 or 20 survive out of 64, the rest having died or been killed. They, like your people, have also been distributed among the King's palace and other places round about Kandy. One of your people was recently killed for breaking a porcelain dish at the palace. We trust that God will pity them and ordain some means to deliver these miserable men. To that end we shall do our utmost, we now being (God be praised) so far advanced by land with our outposts that we can reach your and our people in 2 days, but it is all thick jungle

* Talipot palm.

† Legundeniya.

‡ Yatinuwara.

|| Udunuwara.

§ Bulatgama.

and steep mountains between us, so that we must go to work secretly and with mature deliberation rather than with force. Your Excellency may rest assured that we shall do our utmost to rescue your as well as our people without any respect of persons. May God Almighty bless our efforts, and to that end must we pray and beseech Him. A Dutch copy of the letter which we have written to your people is enclosed as well as the English translation. God protect Y. E. I remain Y. E.'s good and willing servant.—(Sgd.) Ryckloff van Goens, Colombo the 23rd October* (new style) 1669." Nothing further is known of Perga. Did he find his way back to the captives, or fall into the King's hands? We should have heard something more of him if his mission had been successful, as the Dutch were very anxious about that time to recover their prisoners, and mention was bound to have been made of him by the Dutch spies and representative at Kandy. It is also possible that he may have preferred the 50 Pagodas and the bundle of clothing to the 20 Pagodas he was to receive on his return to Colombo from the Dutch, a supposition which, alas, is confirmed by the following letter:—

† To the Worppl. President Sr. George Foxcroft,
Governor of Fort St. George.

Honored Sr,

This is to let your Worp. understand at present we have received 2 or 3 times from the Governor of Colombo and also a letter of yours bearing date ye 18 Novemb. 1669, and on the other side of the said letter a copy bearing date 1st Novemb. 1669 of former letters sent unto Mr. Vassall, moreover we have received at present from the honorable: Governor 10 Pagos. in Gold wch: is the first peece of charity we have received from any christian since ye first hower we fell into captivity unto this present time, for which we are all deeply engaged into his Worp: for his greate care unto us, and also we are much obliged unto your Worp: for the great care which is taken for us wch: we understand by yours at present received from

* 13th October, O.S. The English did not adopt the new till 1752.

† Original correspondence of East India Co.

Colombo, as from Trincambar and Porto Nova we never yet have received monies nor letters, for what Mr. Vassall hath received we know not from those parties, for whatsoever comes unto him or can receive be it moneys or letters he keepes it from us, soe his poore distressed bretheren may perrish for all him, as for the 40 pagos which is mentioned in the copie of the gennerall letter he had received them by his messenger Bananidas Braminee, and will not be knowne unto us that he hath received money or letter but denies it, the which we all know he hath certainly received, as for the difference betweene the two names of Perga and Pero they are two severall men, for the said Perga was a servant to John Loveland which came with him from Fort St. George and dwelt with him heere untill the 21th August 1669, then being sent with a letter, to Fort St. George he goes unto Columbo with the said letter, the sd letter understand by your Worp. the Governor of Columbo sent it for Madrass and sent back the foresaid Perga with 50 pagos, unto us, but both Perga and Pero are rogues, for we understand by the honorable: Genl: of Columbo in his letter unto us, he was sent with the 50 pagos, and cloth but never saw him from the time he went from us neither money nor cloth. More also we thinck fitt to write the names of ye distressed Captives whereby our friends may know who are dead and alive. ye living as followeth. Robert Knox, Thomas March, John Loveland, John Marginson, Charles Biard, Roger Goole, Ralph Knight, Peter Wynn, Stephen Ruttlund, Francis Crudge, Wm. Hubbard, Wm. Vassall, John Berry, Gamaliel Gardener, Richard Gelfe, Wm. Day, Thomas Curby, Richard Vernam, Thomas Stapleton, Hugh Smart, Nicholas Mollens, Daniel Hulstone, George Smith, the rest deceased. We here mentioned most humbly beseech your Worp. we may not be forgotten (but?) still some meanes may be used for our freedome out of this hellish condition in which we are in, there are none of us serves the King but are still in hopes of our libertie that God in his time wilbe pleased to open some way for us by our Nation and the honorable: Dutch Compa, if your Worp. be pleased to send or any good charitable Christian bestowing any deed of charity upon poore captives for we are very poore and in a miserable condition the safest way is by Columbo, we most humbly beseech your Worp. that our names may be sent into England, whereby our friends may know of us and of the deepe sorrow we undergoe, when your Worp. shalbe pleased to send hither it may be directed unto the Piloto Engres* or to the Condestavilo Engres,† for we are not called by our former names with the country

* English Pilot, i.e., Merginson

† English gunner, i.e., March.

people as John Marginson or Thomas March, but are called according to the offices we bore in the ship or otherwis to be directed to Robert Knox or John Loveland, and soe coming to the hands of either of these it wilbe carefully disposed according to your Worps. order, but if it should come to be directed to Wm. Vassall or otherwise called the English Feitor the rest of the English will never be ye better for it.

More also in your Worps. letter we understand Mr. Nathaniell Foxcroft ordered to be sent from Porto Novo 30 or 40 pagos upon his owne good will and deed of charitie, although it never came to us we most kindly thank him for his love and pittie unto us, and the Lord prosper and bless him in all his undertakeings, all those godly charitable Christians that hath or shall send.

Not els at present but our prayers to God to prosper your worke in all your Worps. undertakings we take leave and rest, remaining your Worps. poore distressed Servants from ye Citty of Candy on the Iland of Zeilon the 23rd January 1670.—John Marginson, Thomas March, John Loveland, Robert Knox.

For ye 10 pagos. which we have received from the honoble. Governor of Columbo soe carefully sent unto us it shalbe equally divided to all our poore distressed bretheren and fellow prisoners."

We next come to a passage in Christoph Schweitzer's Account of Ceylon, which is translated in the Ceylon Literary Register, Vol. 4, and another passage in Valentyn,* which refer to the escape of 2 gray-haired men who appeared at Sitawaka on the 2nd July 1680 a few months after Knox and Rutland had escaped to Arippu. Schweitzer, who saw the men and spoke to them, says that according to them they were the only survivors of a party of 12, the rest having died in captivity, who 20 years before were sent ashore from an English ship at Calpentyn to fetch provisions, water, and wood, and that they were trepanned by some Kandians and sent to Kandy. Vassall also refers to a 3rd and 4th party of prisoners in a letter dated March 7, 1690, to the British agent at Madras, where he names the survivors at the time of 4 different "companies," viz., William Vassall, Thomas March, and Richard

* Vol. Bijz. Zaaken v. Ceylon, p.302.

Note.—Valentyn appears to have incorporated Schweitzer's account in history.

Gelfe of the "Persia Merchant;" John Berry, William Huband (*sic*), and George Smith of the "Ann;" Abraham Grace, David Michell, and David Branch of the "Herbert;" (captured about 1681) and Robert Muda (*sic*), and Henry Dod of the "Rochester." Knox mentions 13 of the "Persian Merchant," and you will see from Day's and Kirby's statement that when they escaped in 1683, 3 years later, one of them at least, besides Vassall, was left behind. Going back to Vassall's letter just referred to, he says that at the time of his leaving England, viz., 1659, his father, 4 brothers, and a sister, were living in a very prosperous condition, and that he should be very glad to hear if any of them were alive, for the old saying was true, "*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur ab illis.*" The last reference to the British Captives in the Dutch Records is a passage in the Minutes of Council dated June 12, 1703, the translation of which is as follows:—

With regard to the 3 Englishmen who have escaped to this place (Colombo) from Kandy, it is resolved respecting one of them named Robbert Mondy, who deserted from the "Rochester" in the Bay of Trincomalie in 1688 and was captured by the Sinhalese on his way to Galle, to take him into the Company's service as a sailor, on 9 florins a month, on the ship "de Haack" which is due to sail for the Fatherland on its return to Batavia; but with respect to the other Englishman, William Herbert, who is unfit for service owing to his great age, and his son Pieter Herbert, born of a woman of the land, to allow them 3 rixdollars each a month, till such time as the authorities at Batavia may be pleased to make further order.

I shall now read the translations of the documents which are referred to at the beginning of my paper:—

Statement by 2 Englishmen named Willem Day and Tomas Corbay, aged 44 and 52 years respectively, both from London, of their captivity in

Candia and escape, made in Portuguese before His Honour the Chief Administrator Tomas Van Rhee, the Dessave Edmont van Sterrevelt, and Captain F. Adam Slecht, the former also having with him a son, 16 years old, by a mulatto woman.

The declarants state that they sailed from England in the year 1659 in the ship the "Persian Merchant," and that having arrived in the Maldive Islands their ship struck a rock and was wrecked, the crew numbering 52 souls escaping in a boat which, however, being too small to carry so many of them, they purchased from the natives of the Islands already mentioned a skiff into which there were transferred 30 of their number among whom were both the declarants and the merchant of their ship named Willem Wessel; that they then set sail in the boat and skiff setting their course for the Island of Ceylon where they in the skiff made landfall at Putelan, at which place the Dessave of the district at the time, the uncle of the late Dessave Tinnecoon, reassured them and immediately sent word to the King, at whose command, after a delay of 20 days, they were taken to the city of Candia; that after waiting there for three months they were conducted before the King of the Island, who questioned them about the loss of their ship and their arrival in the Island, and promised them after hearing their account to set them free shortly; that he then ordered them to be taken to their lodgings where they were guarded by a number of lascorins and provided daily with food from the King's store, the which continued for a space of 4 years or till the end of 1664, when a great tumult and uproar arose in the city following a plot by the Prince and other distinguished chiefs to kill the King, which attempt however, being discovered and the King being informed of it, he escaped from the hands of the conspirators and fled to the mountain of Galvede* where he stayed till a palace was built for him at Hangoerankitty; that

* Gala-uda.

when conditions were again quiet and a cruel punishment had been meted out to many people for this misdeed, up to which time the declarants as well as their countrymen and other European prisoners had to suffer great privation and hunger, seeing no relief coming, they decided to have recourse to boldness and to present themselves before the King at the place where he held his court, to convince him of their miserable condition and to ask him for food for sustaining their bodies, in which attempt they were assisted and accompanied by many other prisoners, but that, while on their way, the guards would not allow them to proceed further, but ordered them to go back, threatening them at the same time that they would shoot them dead with arrows from a bow; however, that they could not hold them back and deter them from their purpose, but that, on the contrary, they made their way through the soldiers by force, declaring that death would be far more pleasant to them than a life of misery, and that they would therefore put an end to life which caused so much suffering; thereupon, on the King being informed of this, that he ordered that all their names should be noted down, following which they were shortly afterwards again provided with food, but were then separated from each other, and distributed among the villages, the first declarant being quartered in the village of Moliagadde* and the other in Ambegamme† situated in Blatgamme, 6-hours below the first place, and under the jurisdiction of the dessave of Oedepallatte;‡ that after the lapse of some time they were allowed to go from one village to another in order to seek a livelihood, which they did in various ways suiting themselves to the manner of the land, the which gave them opportunity, which the declarants availed themselves of, to speak to each other and to

* Molagodda in Harispattu.

† Ambagamuwa in Bulatgama.

‡ Udalalata.

visit each other in their captivity; that for some time past they had taken counsel together how to achieve their freedom and to leave their captivity, the time finally fixed being the beginning of the Sinhalese New Year, about the last full moon, when the Sinhalese would be busy in celebrating their yearly feast and ceremonies, and would not be able to give such close attention to ordinary affairs, according to which plan the first declarant set out on the 6th of this month, accompanied by his son, and stayed the next day in the village Ambegamme, referred to above, with one of his countrymen, viz. the carpenter, and also made his way to their fellow prisoners, but being unaware of their intentions did not dare to tell them his plans through fear that they might become known, and as he had sufficiently been made aware that he (the carpenter) would stay with his wife and children; that having tarried there till the 8th following he bade him farewell and betook himself to the 2nd declarant, whom he found prepared and who followed him, the first declarant, at a short distance under pretence of going fishing with which object he carried a net; that they proceeded in this manner till they came into the forest out of sight of the people, when they joined each other and went as far as a stream which flowed past the village Calloegamme,* and where, according to prearrangement they found two persons from the village Gabbele,† who had promised to show them the way for a consideration of 69 laryns‡ in money and goods, with whom they at once set out and that so speedily that from that afternoon, when they left the house of the 2nd declarant, till the next morning at the setting of the moon, they had approached Dernegelle in the Attacalon Corle, having passed a most difficult and unfrequented way as well as the steep and lofty mountains and rocks

* Kalugammana.

† Gabbala (Miyana-owita).

‡ Coin of Persian origin = 10-12 stivers, 1/5th dollar, or roughly 1 shilling.

called Gabbele and Dernegelle,* travelling by moonlight which till daylight appeared showed them the way; that having rested there awhile they resumed their flight and thus arrived in the afternoon of the 9th at Sitawaka in the Company's fortress, not less than 14 miles† distant, where having rested that day they proceeded more leisurely to this place and arrived at night at the Heer Dessave's at Hultsdorp, thanking God for their escape from captivity which lasted for a space of 24 years, and during which they suffered much sorrow and misery, ordinarily having not more than 1 medide‡ of paddy a day for their maintenance and sometimes nothing for 5 or 6 days, when they were forced to go abegging or to seek their food in some other manner, also that it was the lot of those who were not free to go out, which was the case of the majority of the prisoners, to get no clothing at all, so that they had hardly anything wherewith to cover their nakedness, further, that they were badly treated by the great dessaves and others who had the supervision of them, and who placed them in irons and otherwise cruelly treated them, and this in respect also of the Dutch as well as the English, French, and other foreign nationalities, through which many ended their life with a miserable death, there being only 7 alive under the ensign Steenbeecq of those captured at Arandoere§ and nothing more being known concerning those captured at Bibiligamme|| than that they were few in number and in a miserable condition being kept close prisoners in the fort of Parnegamme; however, that the former Lieutenant Dessave Blicklant and a certain Sergeant commonly called the Farmer were still at the Capital where the former enjoyed good treatment, only that he was not allowed to leave

* Deraniyagala in Atulugam Korale.

† 1 mile Dutch=4 miles English.

‡ Port: medide=measure.

§ 48 Hollanders &c., (12 tupasses and 100 lascorins).

|| 76 Hollanders &c., (20 tupasses and 300 lascorins).

his quarters where he had been shut up now for some time.

The King of this Island, the declarants say, has not appeared in public for nearly a year owing to protracted illness, and has for some time past been afflicted with so great a debility and sickness that it was taken for certain that His Majesty would shortly be removed from this world, but that they had heard prior to their departure that he was somewhat better, although it was known full well that he would not thoroughly regain his health and strength owing to his debility and great age which the declarants say cannot be less than 77 years, however, that his rule continues with unabated rigour and cruelty towards his subjects, many of them being sent for execution on the merest suspicion, without due enquiry or their being allowed to come before him, a number of youths and others being doomed to a miserable death when a bird* died or even shed its feathers. The declarants state further that during their presence at the court and their captivity this state of things never ceased, but that it was sometimes less and sometimes more, according as his tyrannical nature was bloodthirsty and the pain of his sickness increased, when he had recourse to astrologers, soothsayers, and other sorcerers who know full well how to beguile His Majesty and to prescribe strange remedies. The declarants add that they have often heard it reported by the King's subjects that he would never again make peace with the Company for the reason of his attack and repulse at Reygamwatte after Colombo was captured† by the Dutch nation, and that whenever any presents or letters are sent to His Majesty by the Governor, the same are always received at the court, and the report spread shortly afterwards that it was the intention of the Dutch to deceive His Majesty, or that some misfortune had befallen them

* Hawks of the royal mews.

† May 12, 1656.

(the Dutch) elsewhere, the people of this country being by nature very suspicious and malevolent, and, in addition, deceitful and cunning, and the King both fickle and unstable, so that it is impossible to find out his intentions, for, although they appear to be decided upon finally, he always again changes when everyone fully expects their fulfilment, and the matter is again in its former state or else turned out the wrong way, as the declarants have on various occasions seen and experienced and which has also happened in respect of the Company, as when two years ago an important present which included 6 elephants with tusks stood ready to be despatched to the Governor and had gone as far as Jattinoere, when two of the elephants died, and that was held for a bad omen and the present did not proceed further; that, later, the same thing happened in respect of such and similar matters, and that the declarants would assure us that it was designed for no other purpose than to mislead the Dutch and the other possessors of the Island of Ceylon, who live in expectation of much profit, but who will enjoy nothing of it after an experience of such disappointments. The declarants also say that it has been reported to them as true by the people of the hill country that the King has no living heir or descendant who will succeed to the throne after his death, and that in respect of this there are many and strange rumours among the hillcountrymen, many saying that after the death of the King a theatre of great misery will be erected in the land, and that it will flow with the blood of those who will not make way for the others who aspire to the sovereignty, and that in this respect the low castes* are feared most since they are already in great numbers at the court, and are held in esteem by the King, and are in the majority, having always been faithful and willing in their service to him and having stood by him in every

* "Lage geslagten."

emergency; that next to them comes the Dessave of Ouve and the Seven Corles, which are fairly populous, and with which the other districts can in no way compare, but that the latter will also be involved and try to secure a part of the spoil; that, as the result of these acts of savagery and murder, it must follow that the European prisoners will be more cruelly and rigorously treated than before, and that they had indeed heard it said by many in Oedepallatte that they as well as the Moors and Kaffirs would first be set upon and overwhelmed, and that they would advise the Company in respect of this not to move their troops but, quietly, to hold their posts, allowing the savage and bloodthirsty parties to satiate their lust, as a consequence of which disorders they are certain that many districts will of their own accord fall to the Company, the people of which do not delight in killing or who wish to save their lives, although they may now appear to lag behind owing to the fear and the great reverence which they have for their king, at whose lightest word which comes from his court they all tremble and show so much deference that each one will try to obey it before the other.

Thus stated and narrated in the fortress of Colombo, the 12th of April 1683, in the presence of those mentioned above.

Sgd. Thomas Kirby
,, William Day.

In our presence:—(Sgd.) Tomas van Rhee, Edmont van Sterrevelt, Floris Blom and F. Adam Slecht.

To the Most Illustrious and Excellent Governor of Colombo and General of Ceylon, &c.

The humble petition of Gulielmo Vassall, English Factor, (Merchant of the "Persian Merchant.").

Knowing that Your Excellency is a most merciful and compassionate lord, I have not found it possible

to neglect to take the liberty, in consequence of the opportunity which has presented itself with the departure of the bearer of this letter, to bring my supplication before the eyes of Your Excellency, begging that Your Excellency may be pleased to consider my great need and desolate condition, and for the love of God to request His Imperial Majesty to set me free from my present slavery. I have not only prayed all the officers of the court to approach His Imperial Majesty with the object of effecting my release, in order that I might thus secure my liberty, but I have even made my prayer before His Imperial Majesty in person, but it was all to no purpose. I fully believe and trust that, should Your Excellency be pleased to make the request, His Imperial Majesty will instantly incline his ear to my prayer. Senor Anthony d'Orta who has been sent here on behalf of the Dutch Company, and who has served both His Imperial Majesty and the said Company most faithfully, has so far supported me and extended a helping hand to me in all honour and love, otherwise must I have perished long ago through want, and therefore will God reward him. I beseech Your Excellency to excuse the liberty which I take in wearying Your Excellency with this manner of letter, and to overlook it as being due to my great need and poverty; and, although I cannot recompense Your Excellency according to my desire, I shall not fail to pray to the Almighty to bless Your Excellency with all earthly and Heavenly blessings. His Imperial Majesty has shown great clemency in releasing all his prisoners in memory of His Imperial Majesty's father, but the poor English must remain here. We were 34 in all, but 21 of us are dead and 6 have escaped, so that only a few of us still survive and are scattered here and there. They too will rejoice should Your Excellency effect their release from their miserable slavery.

God preserve Your Excellency for many years and prosper Your Excellency.

Your Excellency's most humble servant,
Sgd. Gulielmo Vassall, J.O.

Raja Sinha, you will be interested to know, made a determined attempt to recover Day and Kirby, who, the Dutch informed him, had already been sent to their countrymen at Madras. The following is the translation of an extract from a letter from the Dutch Governor, dated May 21, 1683, addressed to Jacob Cuycq van Mierop, the Dutch representative at the Court of Kandy.

The two recently escaped Englishmen had, like the others, immediately been sent to the Coast, or Madras, to their countrymen, so that they had departed a few days previous to the receipt of the ola addressed to us by the Officers of the Household of the Most Potent Monarch and Invincible Emperor, we being unaware that those wretched men should be surrendered, but thinking that no notice should be taken of them as with the others. Your Honour writes that Their Honours the Officers of the Household had informed Your Honour that His Imperial Majesty had never at any time exacted any special service from them, and therefore we trust that His Imperial Majesty will the less be displeased at our sending them away. Your Honour is fully aware that His Serene Highness the Lord Prince of Orange is a son of the full and true sister of the present King of England, and that His Serene Highness is married to the daughter of the Duke of York, who is the King's brother, and, further, that we and the English nation belong to the same religion, so that we could not surrender them without doing violence to our conscience and being held in derision not only by the world but by our own friends. Should the Most Potent Monarch and Invincible

Emperor order that in future such prisoners should be surrendered by us, I have to point out that the above-mentioned difficulties stand in our way, and, moreover, Your Honour can rightly answer that all this can be prevented by a closer supervision of the prisoners. However, should the Most Potent Monarch be pleased to have the goodness to release all the English prisoners as well as our countrymen as a mark of favour to His Serene Highness the Lord Prince of Orange, that Prince should as in duty bound be thankful exceedingly to the Most Potent Monarch and Invincible Emperor.

There is a certain amount of doubt and confusion as to the precise number of British captives in Ceylon about this time. First, there were the 13, according to Knox, of the "Persian Merchant," and the 16 of the "Ann." Mention is made in Valentyn's history and Christoph Schweitzer's Account of Ceylon of a party of 12 from an English ship being seized at Calpentyn and sent to Kandy; and Vassall mentions later (in 1690) the "companies of the "Persia," the "Ann," the "Herbert," and the "Rochester." From Day's and Kirby's account, it would appear that there were 30 of them who landed at Putalam. It would also appear from Schweitzer's account that the 2 who escaped in 1680 were the only survivors of those captured at Calpentyn. Day and Kirby, it will be remembered, escaped in 1683, so that the party mentioned by Schweitzer and Valentyn would not appear to be identical with that of the "Persian Merchant."

The revised figures according to the information now available in respect of the "Persian Merchant" would be 30 from that ship, 16 from the "Anne," 12 from the ship mentioned by Schweitzer, and, say, 5 from the "Herbert" and the "Rochester," making 63 in all. Of these 29 were reported by name by Knox as being alive in 1660-61; in 1669, the Dutch reported to Madras from information gathered from the bearer

of a letter from Loveland and Knox that 23 were alive; 10 years later, when Knox and Rutland escaped, there remained 16 Englishmen and 18 children born of native mothers; in 1684, the Dutch agent at Kandy reported that only 10 were alive; and in 1696, 12 years later, Vassall writes that out of 34, 21 were dead and 6 had escaped, and that only a few, i.e. 7, were alive. Two more escaped in 1703. The evidence, however, in fixing the total at 63 is not conclusive, and, after all, Knox's 13 is a closer approximation to the 12 who were captured at Calpentyne than the full complement of the Maldivian vessel. It is also on record from a letter written by one of the "Persian Merchant's" crew to the Directors of the East India Company that the English ship referred to was the Maldivian vessel, and that only 12 or 13 went ashore. The 2 who escaped in 1680 were probably unaware of the fate of their companions but concluded naturally that they were all dead. We may also conclude that those who stayed aboard made their way to the English at Madras, "their comrades lost but glad to 'scape themselves." This more cautious estimate would bring the number to 13 of the "Persian Merchant," 16 of the "Anne," and 5 of the "Herbert" and "Rochester" or 34 in all, which moreover agrees with Vassall's total. Nothing is known of the crew of the long boat which was probably lost at sea. Regarding Raja Sinha, much evil has been said of him*, and, curiously enough, we must turn to a Dutchman, the liberal and versatile Adriaan van Rhee,† Lord of Mydrecht, and High Commissioner of the Dutch possessions in India and Ceylon in the year 1685, for the other side of the picture. Making due allowance for van Rhee's antagonism to the van Goens, father and son, two past Governors of Ceylon, whose imperia-

* Memorandum of Ryckloff van Goens to Jacob Hustaart 26th December 1663.

† Val. Bijz. Zaken p.247 et seq.

listic policy he condemns, we must admit that the Dutch brought down much of the evil upon themselves, and, incidentally, the unfortunate captives, by their policy of aggression. In the year 1664, for instance, when his people rebelled against him, Raja Sinha wrote to "his beloved Hollanders in his imperial service in Galle, Colombo, Negombo, Mannar, and Jaffna" asking them to come to his assistance and to occupy Batticaloa and Cotjar,* but it was not till the following year, after the King had been firmly re-established on his throne, that the Dutch acted on this letter by occupying much of the King's territory. Van Rhee de also cites an instance where a hundred lascorins, who were sent in 1672 by Raja Sinha to help the French to garrison an island in the Bay of Trincomalie which the latter had fortified, were captured by the Dutch and treated so badly by them that only 5 or 6 survived. However much these acts of aggression and such isolated instances of negligence, or cruelty if you will, on the part of the Dutch may be urged in mitigation of Raja Sinha's conduct, they cannot be said to justify it; for here were innocent men, shipwrecked sailors most of them, who were detained in a vile bondage in defiance of the law of nations. There is another viewpoint: Raja Sinha was a disappointed, soured old man, who was suffering with a chronic malady. It was he who had invited the Dutch to help him to drive the Portuguese out of Ceylon, but he had the mortification of seeing his old enemies expelled from the Island and his friends installed in their stead; districts which he had recovered from the Portuguese during the siege of Colombo by the Dutch in 1655-56 were seized by his new friends in his name and his subjects turned away from their allegiance to him; and, to add insult to injury, the Dutch cajoled him and used the most extravagant terms in extolling his might and supremacy

* Ceylon Dutch Records vol. D.7.

while they were all the time drawing the cordon closer and tighter round his narrowed kingdom. He trusted none of his chiefs, and naturally looked on all Europeans with suspicion, but, tyrant that he was, he oppressed the innocent and guilty alike, the subject and the stranger within his gates. He had a remarkable fondness for birds and beasts, which the Dutch encouraged by sending him from time to time a curious assortment of Persian horses, tigers, lions, civet-cats, parrots and cockatoes in gilded cages, and, most important of all, hawks for the royal mews. The following passage from Valentyn* is very similar to Knox's description of him: "As to Raja Sinha's person, he was by no means tall, but, on the contrary, short and thickset, swarthy of complexion, with great quick-glancing eyes (which continually roved hither and thither), small but strongly-marked features, somewhat thin and grey hair, but with a long thick beard and a big belly. He was moreover so wonderfully and fantastically attired that he more resembled an old Portuguese with his fine gauze-like small-clothes, and a court jester with his cap stuck full with feathers, than a king."

I must conclude, but it is difficult to tear oneself away from the subject. While these documents are before us, we can imagine that we are contemporaries of these unfortunate men, we are transported nearly 300 years back to the scene of their captivity, and we can imagine their amazement at the romance and beauty of their surroundings—till their hearts grew sick with hope long deferred of one of the fairest spots on God's earth. We can picture the unfamiliar spectacle of Englishmen going about the country garbed like Sinhalese, with long hair and flowing beards, and teeth and lips stained with betel juice. We admire

*Val. Bijz. Zaaken v. Ceylon, p.209.

their pluck and singleness of purpose, their industry and thrift, all directed to the amassing of a little hoard of strange currency for one glorious dash for liberty and home-return. We must also not forget the honesty and self-sacrifice of those, who, like the carpenter, preferred to remain in the land of their adoption, with the wives and children of their captivity. Their sorrows and sufferings which once seemed so real, their hopes and yearnings, their romances, their very names, are all now gone for ever and forgotten, or linger carelessly, perhaps, in some rustic memory, but their story lives in these pages of foreign script, made more familiar to us by the homely signatures of the seamen and the more cultured hand of Mr. Vassall, who, selfishly perhaps, made the most of his opportunities, but did not in the end win through to freedom like his humbler but more fortunate companions, Kirby and Day.

Dr. P. E. Pieris remarked that the value of this interesting paper would be enhanced by explanatory foot notes on obscure words and references. He also suggested that perhaps the MSS had been misread where certain of the names were concerned. For instance Legonderry was clearly Legondeny.* It was interesting to note how far the Portuguese language had penetrated, so that even the English prisoners were found using Portuguese expressions in communications with the Dutch Governor. The reference to the lower castes emphasized one side of Raja Sinha's character. If he found it necessary to oppress, it was the big man and not the little man who had reason to fear. And yet, after Tennekon, his chief General, had turned traitor and fled to the enemy, here was Tennekon's uncle employed in a responsible capacity under the King. Similarly, a Portuguese, Anthony d' Orta, was a trusted officer of the King. His son became a Disava at Court, and their descendants are to-day an honoured Sinhalese family in the Maritime Provinces. The King was really very much less black than he has been painted. He was a chivalrous prince, and a gallant and generous foe, till the treachery of his trusted allies converted him into a soured and disappointed man, whose one object in life was vengeance.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera wished to ask one question about the man who was treated cruelly for breaking a porcelain dish at the palace. He (the speaker) remembered reading in

*The amendments here proposed have since been made.

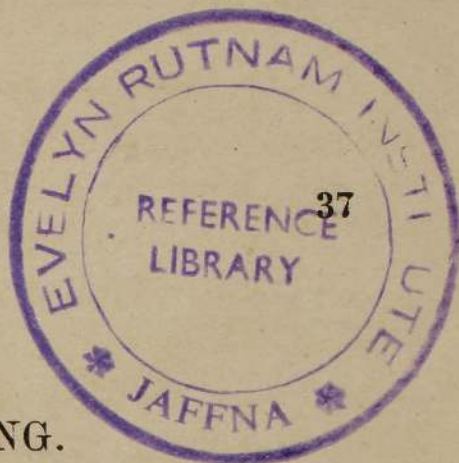
Knox's book that the man was not killed for that offence, but for something else afterwards. Would the lecturer enlighten them on the point?

Mr. Reimers explained that the man was killed for a further offence. The first offence was breaking the porcelain dish. The offence for which he was killed was for writing a letter to the Portuguese, or for reading one from them.

AO Illus.^{mo} & Excelent.^{mo} Governador de Colombo
e General de Ceiloão etc.

La Humilde Petición de D. Fulmo Vallal o
Feitor English que V. Illus.^{mo} e vn 8.^o de muito
Caridade e Clementia, e haendo tam bom desim
como este portador para presentar e nam bem
a Rogar a V. Illus.^{mo} (muito grande necessidade e
misericordias em que se vi sendo causada este estre-
imento) yua par Amor de Dios V. Illus.^{mo} seu benedictio
e su Imperial Mage.^{de} que me larga de este cautiverio,
tenho Rogado a os Grandes todos de este Corte e de fora
e feito Petição a su Imperial Mage.^{de} seram o libe-
re, e tenho noticia, certo per sorte que se V. Illus.^{mo} Sara
servido a me Pedir a su Imp. Mage.^{de} que Logo
concedaria a su Arto da Carta que foy mantoa qui
en serviço de Comp. Elancos e agora sta servindo a
su Imperial Mage.^{de} e a se serve a ambos con muito lealdade
e que me esta sustentando con muito honra e abonde-
ya tanto tempo saria morto non tendo nada de Dios
paga li e caridade. Perdoar V. Illus.^{mo} a presunção e a indejente
modo de este mia supplicação atribuido todo alla mia
necessidade e pobreza e se non Presto a V. Illus.^{mo} como despo
per o menos ficar para sempre Obrigado a Rogar a V.
por a prosperidade temporal e Eterna. Su Imp. Mage.^{de} ten
feito grades esmolas largando a todos Prigioneros en-
lembraça de su Imperial Mage.^{de} e solo os pobres English
ficam, eramos entodos 34 dos quais 21 morerán e
fugerán e así muito pocas ficherán e Espaliados por
las terras e elles tambein guido que folgaram muito
a star libre de este misera e cautiverio Quada Dios a V.
Illus.^{mo} Muito e Felices amos.

Muito Hum.^o Servo de
V. Illus.^{mo} D. Fulmo Vallal



GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 5th, 1925.

Present:

His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G.,
President in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., and The Hon'ble Mr. H.

W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-Presidents.

Mr. R. A. Cader	Mr. H. T. Ramachandra,
The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton,	„ C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S.,
Mr. J. A. de Alwis,	„ C. Suppramaniam,
„ O. A. A. Jayasekara,	„ F. A. Tissavarasingha,
„ A. P. A. Jayawardana,	„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
„ A. Mendis,	„ C.C.S.,
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.,	„ D. D. Weerasingha,
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,	„ Mudaliyar.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,
Hony. Secretary.

Business.

1. The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 27th March, 1925, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman moved and Mr. L. J. B. Turner seconded a resolution relating to the death of the Rt. Revd. Dr. R. S. Copleston, D.D., the late Metropolitan of India, in the following terms:—

“That the Council and members of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society place on record the sense of loss which the Society has sustained through the death of the Right Revd. Dr. Reginald Stephen Copleston, who was a life member and for 17 years President of this Society.”

3. Some interesting exhibits were on view and an explanation of them was given by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., and Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala.

4. Notes were read on “Some recently discovered Portuguese Plans” by Mr. Edmund Reimers and Dr. P. E. Pieris.

5. Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S., read his paper entitled “The Identification of the Port of Kalah.”

6. The Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, Dr. P. E. Pieris, and Dr. S. C. Paul offered comments.

7. The Chairman, seconded by Advocate F. A. Tissavarasingha, proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturers.

8. A vote of thanks proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Edward W. Perera to His Excellency the Acting Governor for presiding, was carried with acclamation.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September, 4th, 1925.

Present:

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President in the Chair.	
The Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.	
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.,	The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.,
Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Guna-	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.,
wardhana,	Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.,
	The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.
Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,	
Hony. Secretary.	

Business.

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on 11th March, 1925, were read and confirmed.

2. Messrs. B. L. Sarnelis Silva, James Reginald Toussaint, C.C.S., Maurits Maartensz Anthonisz and Louis Edmund Blazé having been duly proposed were elected as members of the Society.

3. The following list of the members elected by circular since the last Council Meeting was laid on the table:—

Messrs. Paulus Edward Pieris Deraniyagala, B.A., Edward Miles Hare, Sri Nissanka, Joseph E. Rode, Arasunlayittha Rajasingham and S. Victor Edwin Rajapaksa.

4. The second report of the Sub-committee appointed to advise the Council with regard to the compilation of the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary and the connected papers were laid on the table.

The report was, with the exception of clause (e) generally accepted.

It was decided that the report be sent back to the Chairman of the Sub-committee requesting him kindly to furnish this Council with full particulars from the financial point of view.

5. A letter dated 18th June, 1925, from the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary intimating that Government has decided to give the Society an extra grant of Rs. 500 per annum for a period of three years, was read.

Resolved that the Government be thanked.

6. The purchase of a new typewriter was sanctioned.

7. A paper entitled "Johnston and his Expedition to Kandy in 1804" by Mr. Frederick Lewis was laid on the table.

Resolved that the paper be referred to a Sub-committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington and the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva for favour of their opinion as to whether the paper be accepted for reading at a General Meeting and publication in the journal.

8. The printing of the Rules and Regulations together with a list of members, office-bearers, past and present, etc., also circular informing people of the object of the Society and inviting them to join, was considered.

Decided to leave the matter to the discretion of the Honorary Secretaries and the Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Codrington.

9. The Honorary Secretary brought to the notice of the Council the promise of a paper entitled "The Visual Apparatus of certain lower vertebrates," illustrated with lantern slides, by Dr. Casey A. Wood.

Resolved that the paper be read before the General Meeting to be held on the 4th December.

10. The ten volumes of Jātakatṭha Kāthā and a copy of Milinda Panha (Pali Text in Siamese Characters) forwarded with memo dated 25th August, 1925, from the Counsul for Siam were laid on the table.

It was resolved to acknowledge receipt of the books and to thank the Siamese Government through the Consul for Siam, for the gift to the Society's Library.

11. Journal No. 77—1924 was laid on the table.

12. The date and business for next General Meeting was considered.

It was resolved that the General Meeting be held early in October, if Mr. Lewis' paper is accepted.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 7th, 1925.

Present :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President in the Chair.
The Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara,
Mudaliyar,
,, W. F. Gunawardhana,
Gate Mudaliyar,

Mr. R. Marrs, M.A.,
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.,
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,
Mr. Edmund Reimers,

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Hony. Secretary.

Business :

1. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 4th September, 1925, were read and confirmed.

2. A letter dated 9th September, 1925, from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor intimating that His Excellency would lay down his office as President of this Society from the 17th October as he was to leave Ceylon for Hongkong, was read.

Decided that this letter be acknowledged and that the question of a successor to the retiring President, the Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, be discussed at the next meeting.

3. A letter dated 2nd September, from Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd., *re* printing charges, was read.

Resolved that a detailed statement of the item (Rs. 340 as author's corrections, additional proof, etc.), be called for before any further action is taken in the matter.

4. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed were elected as members of the Society, viz.,

Messrs. Edward Henry Vanderwall, and Lawrence Perera Warnakula Jayasuriya.

5. A further Report of the Sub-committee appointed to consider the question of compiling a Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary, together with a letter dated 1st October, 1925, from the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary forwarding a copy of a letter from Prof. A. A. Macdonell of the Oxford University, to His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, President of this Society, was read and discussed.

Decided that the recommendations of the Sub-committee be accepted.

Resolved that a report be forwarded to the Director of Education and that a copy of the report be sent to His Excellency.

6. A letter dated 11th September, 1925, from the Sub-agent, Imperial Bank of India, Colombo, regarding the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund, was read.

Decided to forward copies of letters written by the late Mr. G. A. Joseph to the Sub-agent, Imperial Bank of India, Colombo, when the accounts in question were opened, and to request him to make whatever alterations are necessary and transfer the accounts to "The Hony. Treasurer, Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch."

7. A paper entitled "Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century, Part II." by the Hon'ble Mr. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., submitted for the publication in the Journal of this Society was laid on the table.

Resolved that Mr. Codrington's offer be accepted.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 7th, 1925.

Present:

His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G.,
President in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., and The Hon'ble Mr. H.
W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Sir J. Thomson Broom, Kt.,	Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.,
Mr. J. W. de Alwis,	Mr. Sri Nissanka,
„ W. F. Gunawardhana,	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.,
„ Gate Mudaliyar,	„ Joseph Pearson, D. Sc.,
„ E. M. Hare,	The Hon'ble Mr. Edward W.
„ M. A. M. Ismail,	Perera,
„ Albert E. Jayasinha,	Mr. W. E. Pine,
„ A. P. A. Jayawardana,	„ H. T. Ramachandra,
„ A. de S. Kanakaratna,	„ H. L. Reed, M.A.,
„ F. Lewis, F.L.S.	The Hon. Mr. W. T. Southorn,
The Hon. Mr. L. M.	B.A., C.C.S.,
Maartensz,	Mr. C. Suppramaniam,
Prof. Robert Marrs, M.A.,	„ F. A. Tissaverasingha,
Mr. A. Mendis,	„ D. D. Weerasingha,
	Mudaliyar.
Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,	
Hony. Secretaries.	

Visitors: 7 ladies and 12 gentlemen.

Business:

1. Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 5th June, 1925, were read and confirmed.
 2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer.
 3. Mr. Frederick Lewis read the following paper entitled "Johnston's Expedition to Kandy in 1804."
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JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION TO KANDY IN 1804.

BY FREDERICK LEWIS, F.L.S.

The Student of the Early British Period in Ceylon has much to do to sift the evidence, often contradictory, of the various writers who have attempted to place in historical order the story of the events they narrate. The light that has been thrown on these subjects by modern research has gone far to modify the idea as expressed and enunciated by those who wrote fifty or a hundred years ago.

Percival for example, gives us quite a different impression of the surrender of Colombo from that we are obliged to form after reading the secret papers that passed between Angelbeek and his Council. Thanks to Mr. Reimers, we are able to place an entirely new construction on the momentous event that culminated with the close of the Dutch Administration, and the birth of our own.

Certainly in that early period, the launching of the new ship of a new Government was a task beset with many complex difficulties, made no lighter by the bad effect produced during the Portuguese and Dutch Administrations upon the people of the country, or by our own ignorance of the Island, and its inhabitants.

In Governor North we find a person of curious mentality: a compound of weakness and refinement. His negotiations with Pilima Talawuwe were most unfortunate, and betrayed not only his want of confidence in himself, but involved the country in a most unhappy and disastrous campaign, that in 1803 left us in gloom, uneasiness, and uncertainty. The apologists

of North rightly point out that the condition of the Kandyan country, at the time of his administration, was intolerable, and that the people were made desperate by the hideous outrages of an inhuman Monarch, so that our intervention, sooner or later, was inevitable, if only to secure peace to the unfortunate people themselves. While this contention is absolutely true, it should not be overlooked that North was perfectly well aware that the King was the nominee of Pilima Talawuwe, and that Pilima Talawuwe had not disguised his own intentions, but sought North's assistance to further this crafty Adigar's designs. Knowing all this; knowing that he was dealing with a man who had avowed his evil intentions, yet North entered into an undertaking that he himself was doubtful of, as is witnessed by his own correspondence with the Marquis of Wellesley. However, for better or worse, the deed was done, and our troops marched to Kandy with a glorious "send off," and within a few weeks they were defeated, discredited, and massacred, and once more the savage King and his Prime Minister were free to swell the torrent of torture, and to harass a timid and kindly people.

The blame for the capitulation of Kandy, and the massacre within and without the city, was laid at the door of the unhappy and ill-starred Major Adam Davie, and for years, and generations, this unfortunate man's name has been held up to execration, while silence shielded those who were responsible for the ill-conceived expedition itself.

Even in his captivity, Davie was communicated with, but not rescued. One of his saddest letters afforded Sir Thomas Maitland the satisfaction of finding Davie's views were a corroboration of his own, respecting Malay troops; but this satisfaction brought no practical help to Davie, who was left to die, a scape-goat.

It is little wonder that the terrible events of June 1803 led to the consideration of a fresh plan of Military operations upon the Kandyan country, that would wipe out the disgrace of that year, and at the same time restore order. The situation at the conclusion of the evacuation of Kandy, may, perhaps be best described in Johnston's own words.

He says:—

“the fate of the troops that occupied the two small posts of Ghirriagama, and Galagedera were never known. Dambadeniya was garrisoned by a few invalids under the command of Ensign Grant.

On the 26th of June he was joined by Lieut. Nixon of the 19th, who had left Kandy during the truce.

On the 29th they were attacked by a great force of Kandyan, many of whom were dressed in the uniform of the soldiers killed in Kandy. Sheltered only by temporary breast-works, Nixon and his little party repulsed repeated assaults, and rejected terms of capitulation, and on the 2nd of July the Garrison was brought off by a body of troops from Colombo, under the command of Capt. Blackall of the 51st. With this fell the last of our posts in the Kandyan country, and in the course of 10 days from the retaking of the Capital, not an inch of ground remained to us beyond our original frontier.”

It is not surprising that the country was in a state of gloom, for not only was the Kandyan country in a state of feverish excitement, but our own footing therein had been destroyed, and our troops broken and driven out. Fortunately in August of the same year, the 65th Regiment had arrived from Europe, and so numerical losses were replaced.

General Hay Mac Dowell left on the last day of February 1804, and was succeeded by Major-General David Douglas Wemyss, who appears very shortly after

to have found himself involved in squabbles with Governor North, to the detriment of both.

It is not clear, from such works that I have been able to consult, if Mac Dowall planned a second campaign to Kandy to wipe out the disgrace of 1803, or if this was the work of the eccentric and truculent Wemyss, but whoever was responsible for this abortive step, it is abundantly clear that it was ill-considered, and was cancelled, and had it not been for the extraordinary boldness, pluck, and tenacity of Major Arthur Johnston, another disaster would have overtaken our troops, with the most far-reaching of possible consequences.

It is of this remarkable hero that I propose to set out a short account, basing my facts on his work, entitled a "Narrative of the operations of a detachment in the Expedition to Candy in the year 1804."

I have unfortunately not been able to gather full materials for a Biography of Johnston, but I have succeeded in getting into communication with the Revd. Stanhope E. Ward, who is a relative of our hero, and from whom I have been so fortunate as to secure a portrait of this truly remarkable man. It may not be out of place to relate how I came to get into touch with Mr. Ward.

About two years ago, a lady in Ceylon advertised a collection of old Ceylon books, and among them was the work by Johnston quoted above. I applied to the lady for the book, and was disappointed to find that she had parted with it to the Hon'ble Mr. T. Villiers. Accordingly, to that gentleman I applied for its loan, and with extreme generosity, Mr. Villiers complied with my request, enabling me to make a complete precis of the volume. In so doing, I came across the statement that Johnston was buried in Shalden Church, near Alton, and I immediately communicated with the Vicar, (Mr. R. B. Miller) with a view to getting a photograph of Johnston's monument.

The Revd. Mr. Miller quickly replied, and I am able in this paper to give the inscription exactly as it is upon the stone. But owing to its situation within the Church, the blackness of the stone, and bad light, a satisfactory photograph was impossible.

But Mr. Miller kindly helped me further. He communicated with a Mrs. Shalden Smith—a connexion of Mrs. Johnston's—who in turn wrote to the Revd. Stanhope Ward, and he carried on the correspondence with myself, and generously lent me the picture that I am able to add to this paper, as well as the inscription copied by Mr. Miller. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Miller and Mr. Ward, for these two valuable contributions to our knowledge of a famous person connected with Ceylon 120 years ago, and whose narrative I propose to give in condensed form.

Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Johnston was the eldest son of John Johnston of Clare, County Tyrone, in Ireland. He was born in 1778, and at a very early age he came to Ceylon with the famous 19th Regiment, and shortly after, he was placed on the Governor's Staff. He was with the troops when they entered Kandy during the tragic campaign of 1803, but left it on the 1st of April of that year, as one of a party of sick officers and men who had become victims to the terrible fever that did so much to incapacitate our men during this unhappy war. With him was Adjutant Abraham Robinson of the 51st Regiment, who was so ill that he died on the 7th of April, one day after his return to Colombo, but Johnston was ordered a sea voyage and recovered, so that by his enforced departure he missed the terrible fate that befell his comrades a few weeks later.

Returning again to Ceylon, he was placed in command at Batticaloa, where he was successful in beating off a number of Kandyan attacks on that small and ill-protected fort. It was while at Batticaloa that he received instructions to march on Kandy with his small force, that ultimately, unhelped, performed the

most gallant military expedition in the history of Ceylon, and one that went far to re-establish the lost reputation that our arms had sustained by the tragedy of June 1803.

To form a clear notion of how Johnston came to start on this famous expedition of 1804, it is as well to follow the terms of his orders, as it will be seen that later, after he had practically cut his way through, and saved the reputation of our arms, he was Court-Martialled, so that I quote the communication in full, and which was appropriately marked "Most Secret," and dated Trincomalee 3rd September 1804. It ran as follows:—

Sir.—In the event of your not having marched towards Arrigam, you are directed to have a strong detachment in perfect readiness as soon as possible to march to Candy, by the route of Ouva. To enable you to equip a strong force, a detachment of Europeans and natives will march from this as soon as the weather clears, and when joined by it, you will proceed towards the enemy's country, arranging so as to be within eight days march of the town of Candy on the 20th, which is the day fixed for the commencement of general co-operations.

"You will proceed direct upon Candy, not doing any injury to the country or people, unless opposed, and as different detachments are ordered to march precisely on the 20th for general co-operation for the destruction of the enemy's Capital, the various columns will be put in motion from Colombo, Hambangtotte, Trincomale, Negombo, Chilou, and Pouttalim, the whole will be within 8 days march of Candy on the 20th instant, and on the 28th or 29th the Commander of the Forces expects a general junction on the heights of Candy."

The precise day on which this order reached Johnston is not recorded, but probably it was not later than the 7th September. It was duly signed by the Acting D.A.G., R. Mowbray, and it contained nothing to indicate that there might be some later modification of these very clear and definite instructions.

Following this communication came another, dated September 14th, 1804, in which Johnston was informed that:—

“the Commander of the Forces directs you will on receipt of this, reduce your division to 300 men, as you will then be enabled to have a sufficiency of coolies for the purpose of entering the enemy's dominions.

“As some unforeseen obstacles have prevented the various columns forming the intended junction about the 28th or 29th instant on the heights of Candy agreeably to the instructions transmitted to you on the 3rd instant, you are directed to march on the 20th of this month, bending your course towards the Province of Ouva, and form junction at the entrance of that part with the detachment ordered from Hambangtotte which will march the same day, the 20th instant, by the route of Catregame on the great road leading to Candy, which is frequented by the King for visiting that Temple.”

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that this second communication in no way countermanded the instructions conveyed in the earlier one, but only ordered a small force to proceed. There is a hint that “unforeseen obstacles” had come about, but nothing to suggest a change in the plan of operations.

According to his orders, Johnston on the 20th of September 1804 embarked that evening on what he calls the “Batticaloa River,” and his troops and stores reached Surcamony, a distance of 27 miles. This spot,

to-day, is practically dry ground, but in 1804 it was a landing place. On the following day the native troops, who came by land, joined up making a force of 305 divided as follows:—

European Troops.

Royal Artillery	...1 Sergeant and 6 Privates
Of the 19th Regiment	} 2 Lieutenants, 3 Ser- geants, 1 Drummer and 64 Privates
Of the Malay Regiment...	
Of the 1st Battalion	} 1 Lieutenant
Bengal Volunteers	
Of the 2nd Battalion	} 2 Lieutenants
Bengal Volunteers	

Of Native Troops.

The Malay Regiment supplied 1 Subadar, 1 Jemadar, 4 Havildars and 46 Privates.

The 1st Battalion Bengal Volunteers supplied 1 Jemadar, 9 Havildars, 2 Drummers and 75 men.

The 2nd Battalion Bengal Volunteers supplied 1 Subadar, 1 Jemadar, 5 Havildars, 2 Drummers and 76 men.

With Pioneers and coolies, the total force numbered 550. On the 22nd the force marched at daylight, taking a course that would approximate the route of Colonel Maddison's troops, and this was continued on the 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th. The following day they reached a place called "Sambapelly" 70 miles from "Souracamony," but I have failed to satisfactorily identify this spot as it may be known to-day. Johnston remarks that for the last 60 miles of this march, that he did not see a house, or a human being. Here, however, he sustained his first loss, as owing to sickness he found it necessary to send back 2 Malays, and 22 of the Bengal troops, thus reducing his effective force to 281. On the 28th the march began at daylight, and the force passed through some deserted villages, but the enemy were seen,

and they fired on our men while descending a deep valley. This appears to be the first instance that Johnston records of an offensive on the part of the enemy. A man was captured, and Johnston remarks that "this was the first native to whom he had been enabled to speak," but he adds significantly, that they had "no news of the Hambangtotta force." They halted at a place he calls "Keiratavally," and describes it as a "neat Candian village; in a well cultivated part of the country." Here he burned down a house belonging to the Dissawa, so that Maddison's force might see that the detachment had passed the place. On the 29th the force marched 16 miles, reaching "Pangaram," "a large village occupied by Lubbies." This last named place is obviously Pangaragamana, on the Mahaweliganga, so I think it may be assumed that "Keiratavelly" corresponds with Bibili, which is very nearly 16 miles from the Moorish village of Pangaragamana, and is in the direct course from the road to the Eastern Province, from say about Buttala. Moreover this road communicated with Alut-newara, which for centuries was a place of devotion, as well as a Royal City, so that the main road from there to the next place of religious veneration—Kateragama—is not likely to have been an obscure or little-known path, and Johnston's guides are certain to have known it.

On the last day of September Johnston crossed the Mahaweliganga, and sent a party of 60 men under the command of Lieut. Virgo to Alut-newara, to destroy the Palace there, as it had been turned into a depôt, or storehouse of arms and munitions.

This was successfully carried out.

The location of this Palace can be arrived at by the examination of the plate reproduced in Spilberg's report. According to that quaint illustration, it stood by the side of the main street leading from the venerable Mahiyangana Dagoba to the river, where at the present

day may be seen some fragments of the foundations, now much overgrown with weeds and covered with rubbish.

On the 1st of October the march towards Kandy was resumed, the forces camping "on a small plain called 'Catavelly' a distance of 15 miles." This spot is approximately opposite the present village of Arukattegama. The following day the force marched 8 miles, reaching a ford at "Padrepelly" (Padipellella) where they re-crossed the river. Here it was found that food for the pack bullocks was unprocurable.

At daylight on the 3rd, the troops were again on the march, and sustained an enemy attack; one soldier of the 19th Regiment being killed, and some of the followers wounded. Johnston says that after marching 8 miles, the force ascended the "pass of Ourane (? "Angurane" which I think is certainly Hanguranketa), which we found steep, rocky and intersected by deep ravines."

The enemy by now became numerous, and gathered on the higher hills, but from these points they were dislodged by Lieut. Virgo. The march was painful, and after covering a distance of 14 miles, the troops halted at the place Johnston calls "Comanata-ville," and describes as "a small village."

On the 4th the road followed was found to be bad and narrow, and several pack bullocks were lost.

"This road" Johnston remarks "is one of the paths the King of Candy retreats to Ouva by, when he is obliged to fly from his Capital."

In the evening, Johnston camped in a paddy field on the bank of the river, below a steep hill, on which he posted the 3rd Company of Bengal Sepoys under Lieut. Povelary, and the following morning, at daylight the enemy began to cover the bank of the river, opening fire with their "Gingals" on our men.

Two Sepoys were killed, and several were wounded, and also coolies, but the enemy was repulsed by Povelary, sustaining considerable losses in their defeat.

The troops, keeping the river on their right, advanced some 3 miles and approached a large house situated about 100 yards from the bank. The house proved to be full of the enemy who immediately fired on the head of the advancing column, firing from holes in the walls of the building. Opposite to this house, and beyond the river, a battery was placed with one 8 pounder Dutch gun, and a number of "Gingals."

Here our men began to fall fast, so the house was stormed and its materials seized for making rafts, to enable our men to cross the river and attack the battery. The wounded were attended to, and the rest of the day (the 5th October) attempts were made to build a raft, but before our men could take possession of the hill above the house, a volley was fired by the Kandyans, killing non-commissioned Officer Malcolm Campbell, a bombardier of the Royal Artillery.

Johnston specially refers to Campbell in terms of praise, calling him "a particularly valuable man."

By nightfall the enemy had greatly increased in numbers, both on the hills and river bank, while during the night they tried to divert a stream which supplied water to the camp.

On the 6th, Johnston received a report from Lieut. Povelary that heavy firing was heard in the neighbourhood of Kandy, from which Johnston inferred that the troops that were to arrive from other parts of the country, had already reached Katugastota.

The raft that had been made on the previous day was now carried to the river, but it was of such heavy wood that it turned out a failure. At this stage of events, a sentry called out that he saw a boat crossing the river about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile up stream, so Lieut. Vincent of the 19th with some soldiers was ordered to seize it at all risks, but on reaching the spot it was found that the boat had

been removed to the opposite shore. Two of our men—Simon Gleason and Daniel Quin—promptly swam across the river under cover of our fire and brought back the boat. Vincent and 15 or 20 men then crossed over, and marched down the river bank taking the enemy in flank. They fled deserting the battery; our losses by this action being two men wounded. No time now was lost in continuing the march. The battery was found to be “about 200 yards from the Palace of Condasaly,” says Johnston, who adds that “it was the King’s favourite residence, a beautiful building, richly ornamented with presents received by the Kings of Candy from the Portuguese, Dutch and English.”

“This Palace had been carefully preserved by General Mac Dowall in 1803, and the King had availed himself of the respect shown to it at that time to make it a principal Depôt of arms and ammunition, which I was unable to remove, and it being my object to destroy wherever found, I was under the necessity of setting fire to the building.” After accomplishing this painful feat, the march was continued towards Kandy, Johnston fully believing that he would speedily join the other forces he was led to expect.

About half way between the Palace and Kandy, a big Dutch gun was found. This was being taken up by the enemy to a battery on the river. Our men, in advance, got within range of a Temple, above Kandy, where they were fired upon by a volley of musketry, but this attack did not last long, as the enemy were next seen flying through the streets in confusion.

A party of Sepoys under command of Lieut. Rogers was next ordered to occupy the heights commanding the town and Johnston significantly remarks “our troops once more took possession of the capital, which they found, as usual, entirely deserted by its inhabitants.”

Finding the Palace in Kandy the most favourable situation for resisting a further attack, Johnston took possession of it, and waited with anxiety for the arrival of the other forces, "according to plan."

The 7th of October was spent in Kandy waiting. A story was brought by a Malay Officer that 6 Divisions had entered the Kandyan country, but that they had returned, and the sounds of cannon that Povelary had heard, was the firing by the Kandyans themselves as a mark of rejoicing at our departure and embarrassed present situation.

On the 8th Povelary was sent out with troops to the hills all round the town, to ascertain whether a camp or any part of our troops could be discovered, but this search was fruitless, and only a report was brought in that our forces had been repulsed. By this time the stock of provisions naturally had become reduced, and ammunition was likewise diminished. Nor were there wanting signs of the massacre of the previous year, as such things as hats, shoes, and accoutrements of the murdered men, were conspicuously displayed.

Johnston's position was one of acute anxiety by now. He had the strongest reason for anticipating a large force of our men to arrive, as his orders had definitely led him to expect, but none appeared, nor could he get the smallest rumour of their advent. Clearly he could expect no help from within, nor could provisions be obtained from the enemy. The position was daily and hourly becoming more and more dangerous, while a repetition of the calamity that attended the first blunder, appeared to be a certainty with this little force, unless aid came to it at once.

Disturbed as Johnston was by the terrible situation, he found himself placed in, yet he avoided a Council of War, and even assumed an air of gaiety to keep up appearances! All this time he scrupulously avoided destroying or damaging any of the enemy's houses or property, and the town was left in peace and quietness.

At length Johnston decided to cross the river, and leave Kandy behind him, and take up his position on the opposite side of the Mahaweliganga, so that if troops arrived, they could rejoin and retake the city.

On the 9th of October 1804, what was practically a retreat, commenced. Outside the town, the troops passed a number of skeletons hanging from trees, the remains of our massacred men. On reaching the bank of the river they found the ground still littered with the bones of the victims, but the stream being in flood, the force had to encamp on the very spot where our men had been butchered 15 months before.

The work of constructing rafts was now begun, while the enemy massed on the opposite bank. By 3 p.m. two rafts were completed, but so strong was the current, that the tow ropes parted, and the rafts had to be punted over. Rogers, late in the evening, crossed over with a few European troops, and drove off a strong party of the enemy, while during the greater part of the night our invalids were moved.

On the 10th the river had fallen somewhat, and by 4 p.m. our men got across, but the tents had to be abandoned.

The stock of ammunition by this time was reduced to two small barrels containing 800 rounds each, and several of our troops were without cartridges.

No news reached Johnston of any other detachments arriving, the retreat by the Trincomalee road began, otherwise the posts of "Geeriagama and Garlgeddray," would have had to be stormed. It was also impossible to get the bullocks over, so they were left behind, and each soldier was ordered to take six days rice supply on his back, and abandon the rest of the stores.

That night was passed in incessant rain at the top of the pass, and so heavy was the rain, that the men were unable to cook their food, while they could enjoy hearing trees being felled to block their way in the valley below. On the 11th, after much fighting, in which 5 Europeans,

8 Sepoys, and 30 followers were killed and wounded, the troops reached the foot of the pass. Unfortunately Lieut. Vincent was one of the wounded, being severely damaged in the thigh. The same night they passed the ruins of Fort Mac Dowall at Matale, and halted in darkness. On the 12th the march was continued without stopping, but unhappily Lieut. Smith of the 19th was severely wounded in the breast.

Late the same evening, a fortified hill was discovered, and this had to be carried at the point of the bayonet, involving a loss of 2 Europeans killed and 5 Sepoys.

Here, at the summit of the hill the road was completely closed and the guides were lost, two having been killed and one bolting. The enemy now became very determined, as they were led by Malays and Gun Lascars who formerly belonged to us. The attack was made from both the front and rear, causing the coolies to panic. The enemy succeeded in capturing two wounded Europeans, to add to their pride. This happened on the 13th, after we had found the path where the guides were lost on the previous day.

The troops were halted for a brief respite, and Lieut. Virgo was directed to go forward to order back the advance Guard, but as he did not return, a Corporal was sent to know the cause of the delay, and to bring back a part of the 19th Regiment to assist in a charge on the enemy. The Corporal returned alone as he was unable to find our advance Guard, so he was again sent forward, and on his return he reported that he had gone 3 miles without finding any traces of the lost men. The enemy now began to mass in the rear, so led by Lieuts. Povelary and Smith (of the Bengal Sepoys), our men charged and routed the Kandians, who by this time had greatly increased their numbers.

It might be mentioned, that up to this time, the only food our men had was raw rice, as cooking was impossible and weather conditions had spoiled the rice as well.

On the 14th no signs of the advance Guard were found, and our men passed the night in a forest, without any form of shelter. The enemy attack however had lessened.

On the 15th Johnston records that the enemy fire was decreasing, and that the troops "halted at a small village, and obtained shelter and some refreshment." The name of the village is not stated, and we are left to guess what the "refreshments" were like.

On the 16th the Trincomalee Road was found, and the troops halted at a small village, not far from the Minerai Tank, as also were found Lieut. Virgo with the advanced Guard, but without any trace of Lieuts. Vincent and Smith. Smith was reported to be dead, and had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Of these two gallant men, Johnston writes, "Thus were lost two excellent officers in the prime of life, who had conducted themselves with a degree of zeal, intrepidity, and perseverance, highly creditable to themselves and consolatory to their friends."

Johnston considered Lieut. Virgo was the cause of this disaster by not bringing back the Guards, so he placed him under arrest. Virgo pleaded that his men refused to carry out his orders as he belonged to another Corps, while the Guards alleged that they lost their way, and were nearly starved, as the coolies had deserted, leaving them so exhausted that they could hardly walk, and having no means of carrying the sick, they were forced to abandon them. It was by mere chance that they found the road. Ultimately, Virgo was released, and the matter referred to the Commanding Officer at Trinco.

All the 17th was passed in marching, and the night spent in the forest, but molestation from the enemy had ceased. Next day (the 18th) Kantalai was reached, and the unfortunate worn-out men obtained some shelter. Johnston, so far, had performed the greater part of this journey on foot, and the retreat without shoes, as his

feet had become so inflamed that he could not wear them. He also was suffering from severe dysentery, and for the last two days of the march he was carried in his cloak fastened to a stick.

In this terrible condition, prostrate with illness, cut and torn by thorns and rough travelling, did Johnston arrive at Tamblegam, where he was met by some Officers from Trincomalee who had come there on hearing some rumour that a force of our men were coming in from Kandy. The news that Johnston learned on his arrival I had better put down in his own words. He says:—

“Heard for the first time that it was not intended that I should proceed to Candy; that the General on arriving at Jaffna had found obstacles to the combined attack which he considered insurmountable, and that the orders of the 8th* were intended as a countermand of the previous plan, and that my going to Candy was deemed a disobedience of orders; that it was merely meant that the Divisions should enter those parts of the enemy's territory adjacent to their respective districts, and return after laying waste the country, that the other five Divisions had accordingly made these incursions, and had long since returned; and that the Government having learned from the Singalese on the borders of my detachment having been in Candy, they despaired of our ever returning.”

No analysis is necessary to show that the orders given to Johnston could, in any way, bear any other construction than that placed upon them by Johnston himself. Had he taken any other course, he could have justly been charged with disobedience of orders, but for all that, as if to add a final crowning act of folly, quite apart from its disgraceful tyranny, this brave soldier who had re-established our Military prestige

*It is not clear to what “orders” this refers, as it will be seen that Johnston only refers to those of the 3rd and 14th September, and the instructions of the later date leave no grounds for assuming any change of plan.

was, in his own words, "ordered round to Columbo where a Court of Inquiry was held upon my conduct." "The decision," Johnston simply concludes by saying, was, "that I had not disobeyed my orders in going to Candy!"

It would be difficult to suppose that any other decision could have been arrived at than this, and it may be noted, that so far as the instructions to Johnston are concerned, it is significant that a Commander sent out with specific instructions as to the object to be achieved, should not have been also instructed to rescue or make inquiries regarding the unhappy Adam Davie, who, as the Government probably knew, was still a captive, though certainly there is evidence to show that for some time Davie was believed to be dead. It would seem that our Military Commanders were quite as ready to abandon Johnston and his followers to a similar fate, as they abandoned Davie too, if we are to judge by the concluding remarks made to Johnston by the Officers who met him at Tamblegam.

The contrast to this miserable performance was the heroic conduct of Johnston himself, and it is little wonder that Major Forbes was told that the natives ascribed supernatural power to the intrepid man who saved the reputation of our arms.

Fortunately for the country, in the year following these events, Wemyss left Ceylon, so with feelings of relief we follow the little I am able to record of the career of the man he left to his own particular fate.

The exact date of Johnston's return to England I have been unable to trace, but I find that he later held the appointment of Assistant Commandant at the Royal Military College at Farnham.

He married Martha, the eldest daughter of Thomas Smith of Shalden, in Hampshire, on the 10th February 1817, and I find in the Register of Burials (for a copy of which I am indebted to the Revd. R. B. Miller) that he

was buried on the 11th June, 1824. The marriage entry briefly says that the parties were of the Parish of Shalden, and the ceremony was performed by T. S. Smith, Minister of Upton Gray.

The witnesses who signed the Register were J. Ward, Samuel Smith and Thomas Smith.

The first Edition of Johnston's "Narrative" was published in 1810, but I have not seen it. His "New Edition" was published in Dublin by James Mc Glashan of 50, Upper Sacville Street, and by W. S. Orr & Co., of Paternoster Row.

This Edition is dated 1854, and consequently must have been produced by some of Johnston's friends or relations, seeing that he died 30 years previously.

It is dedicated to Sir David Dundas, K.B., General and Commander-in-Chief. The dedication is not dated.

Johnston belonged to the ancient house of Loverhay, a branch of the Annandale family, that left Dumfriesshire in the beginning of the 17th Century, and shortly before his death he appears to have begun a contest claiming his rights.

It will be recalled that in the Maskeliya District, is an Estate named Annandale, that in 1875 belonged to a Mr. Johnston at that time. He was, I believe, a relative of our hero, but I have no particulars of the relationship.

The following is the inscription on Johnston's monument, and thanks to Mr. Miller, I am able to give it in its exact wording, and line by line.

It reads as follows:—

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
LIEUT.-COL. ARTHUR JOHNSTON,
OF CLARE IN THE COUNTY OF TYRONE, IRELAND, FORMERLY OF THE 19TH REGIMENT OF FOOT, AND 2ND CEYLON BATTALION, LATE OF HIS MAJESTY'S REGIMENT OF ROYAL CORSICAN RANGERS, AND ASSISTANT COMMANDT. AT THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE AT FARNHAM.

His services in Ceylon, (where he signalized himself on many occasions, but particularly in the command of an Expedition to Candy in the Year 1804, which place he captured under difficulties the most appalling), laid the foundation of a disease which after many years of severe suffering terminated his life on the 6th of June 1824. He was born on the 7th of July 1778, and married Martha Daughter of Thos. Smith Esq., by whom this tribute of affection is erected to his

MEMORY

Students of Cordiner's work will perhaps have noticed that though he mentions the fact that Johnston left Kandy with a party of sick troops on the 1st of April 1803, that he does not refer to his heroic dash of the following year, though he records that in March 1804 the Kandians "made preparations for a general invasion of the British Settlements." He also follows this passage with the next, which says "This, however, was prevented by a general attack made by us on their own country, which proved on every side successful, and terminated with scarcely any loss on our part."

Still later, Cordiner tells us of a "general invasion of our territories by the Candians, in *February, 1805.*"

It is singular therefore that so careful an Historian as the Revd. James Cordiner was, that Johnston's wonderful Expedition should not have been referred to.

It is true that Cordiner left Ceylon in 1804, and probably was unaware of the details of this remarkable feat of Johnston's, but it is no less singular that when referring to events of a year later, that he made no comment on such a gallant deed.

Dr. John Davy, writing several years later, devotes a paragraph of his sketch of the History of Ceylon to Johnston, and makes the pertinent remark with regard to the "desultory warfare that followed," that nothing presents itself deserving of being adverted to, with the exception of the gallant conduct of a detachment under the command of Captain Johnston, that "in the latter end of 1804 penetrated into the interior, and without any of the support and co-operation that he had a right to expect, marched through the heart of the country from Batticaloa to Kandy, which it entered, and from Kandy to Trincomalee, overcoming every obstacle that it had to encounter, and proudly displaying what valour is capable of accomplishing when directed by talent." It will be noticed that Davy's reference to what Johnston "had a right to expect," indicates that the scandalous bungling of Wemyss was in his mind as he wrote.

Knighton in his History of Ceylon, while carefully condemning the unfortunate Major Davie, does justice to Johnston, concluding his remarks in almost the identical words of Dr. Davy. Major Forbes, in his "Eleven Years in Ceylon," writes glowingly of Johnston's achievement, but is silent as to its conclusion. Perhaps the gallant Forbes's spirit of loyalty to the Army, led him to preserve silence over this unhappy series of blots, rather than expose their real authors. Even Sir James Emerson Tennent, while not sparing the Hon'ble Mr. Fredric North for the "diplomatic errors, and the sanguinary results by which they were followed," says that Johnston was "directed to march from Batticaloa

and make his appearance at Kandy on a given day, and this order, by some strange accident, *it was omitted to countermand.* ”

I am conscious that the foregoing sketch is both brief and imperfect, but an attempt has been made, that possibly others may be able more completely to amplify than myself, to place on record the remarkable achievements of a singularly daring and brilliant soldier.

My obligations to the Revd. Mr. Miller for his cordial assistance cannot be too strongly emphasized, as it was by his instrumentality that I got into touch with Johnston's relative, the Revd. Stanhope E. Ward, to whom this Society is indebted for the portrait I have the honour now to submit, and which I believe, as far as Ceylon is concerned, to be unique.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera asked whether there is definite evidence of Johnston reaching the town of Kandy. By the word "Kandy" in his book, Johnston might have referred to the outlying Kandyan districts. Marshall stated, that Johnston did not actually reach the town of Kandy.

Mr. Lewis, in reply, referred to Johnston's own narrative the words of which he (Mr. Lewis) had copied: "Finding the Palace of Kandy the most favourable position for resisting further attacks, I took up the position."

Dr. Andreas Nell regretted that Mr. Lewis had not amplified his paper with a map. He thought that the Palace referred to was a *Gabaḍágé* to which the King used to retire. It was also noticeable that Johnston did not mention the wooden bridges which were destroyed only after the rebellion of 1817.

The Chairman remarked that Dr. Nell's suggestion was a valuable one. Johnston must have gone to Alutnuwara before he went to the Mahiyangana Dágoba. He thought the paragraph needed some revision.

Mr. Lewis said that Johnston himself did not go to Alutnuwara. He sent Lieut. Virgo there. The first place Johnston occupied was Pangaragamana. The palace at Alutnuwara was in fact an arsenal. He therefore destroyed it, but himself did not go there.

The Chairman: In that case why did he cross the Mahaweli-ganga?

Mr. Lewis explained that Johnston crossed it to avoid another difficult crossing. He said that a map that Mr. Codrington had would explain it.

Mr. Codrington produced the map.*

* Reproduced at page 69 below.

The Hon. Mr. W. T. Southorn said that many years ago he had read Johnston's narrative and found something therein which showed the character of the man. Johnston himself had written about clothes suitable for troops in the tropics. He recalled how his troops wore leather shakos, the brass plates of which got so hot that they damaged the leather. The troops were punished if their leather shakos were spoilt and to avoid such punishment, they used to take out the brass plates and carry them in their handkerchiefs. This showed that Johnston was a man who cared for the welfare of his troops.

Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana referred to some other passages in Mr. Lewis' paper as confirming the theory that Johnston captured Kandy.

Dr. Nell pointed out that Johnston approached Kandy not by the present route, but by the old road. The description given by Johnston could be followed even to this day. This showed the necessity for a map.

The Chairman said that it was clear that the result of the discussion indicated that Johnston got to Kandy. This was clear also from Mr. Codrington's map. Johnston did not go to Alutnuwara in order to avoid a difficult crossing of the river. As regards the point raised by Mr. Southorn, it was interesting to note that British troops had to fight in the same sort of uniform for nearly fifty years afterwards.

In conclusion, he proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Lewis presented to the Museum the photograph of Colonel Johnston to be kept with that of the unfortunate Adam Davy.*

His Excellency said he much regretted that this would be the last occasion upon which he would be present at a meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Having that fact in view the Council of the Society had asked him to deliver a farewell presidential address. He had felt constrained to comply with that request, but had done so with no little misgiving because he realised how little time he would have to do justice to the subject he had selected. He would have liked to have written out an address and to have read it, since what he had to say would then have been less discursive and more accurate. It would, too, have been a mark of greater respect for the Society. It was necessary for him to apologise for not having been able to consult his own desires in this matter, but he had had no leisure and the utmost he had been able to do was to find a short time that afternoon to put together his ideas on the subject upon which he wished to speak.

The subject he had chosen might be called "Prolegomena to the Scientific Study of the Sinhalese Language." He proposed to speak of the Sinhalese language, rather than of the Tamil language not because the Tamil language interested him less—in fact he had spoken with students in Ceylon who believed that Tamil was the oldest language in the world and therefore one which was well calculated to attract the special attention of one

* The photograph is reproduced below, at page 69.

who, like himself, had made a hobby of comparative philology—but, because, after all, Tamil was an Indian language. Any scientific study of the Tamil language ought to be undertaken by the Government of the Madras Presidency, which was certainly more wealthy than this Colony and to which the study of that language was obviously more appropriate. On the other the Sinhalese language was peculiar to Ceylon and had a unique claim upon the attention of the Colony as being a distinctively Ceylonese product. The Sinhalese language, for this reason, must clearly occupy first place in this Society's linguistic studies, both from the point of view of the Government and of the people. He had used the word "prolegomena" advisedly because he had, himself, no knowledge of the Sinhalese language. There had been a time on his first arrival in Ceylon, when he had thought he would like to learn Sinhalese, but he had soon found out that the Colonial Secretary in Ceylon had no time for extraneous occupations, that his nose was kept pretty constantly to the grindstone and that he must forego all literary and linguistic occupations whatsoever.

It was therefore, necessary for him to approach the subject from the outside. Now there were certain advantages in doing that because no language could be scientifically studied without a knowledge of other languages as well. Perhaps he could make clear what he had in mind by a simile. If they applied an eye to a telescope and looked through that telescope they saw in great detail that which came within the field of vision of the telescope, but they did not see the telescope itself. Similarly when studying a language such as Sinhalese through a Sinhalese medium they did not see the language itself, but only as it were, the field of vision represented by the past literature of the language and the knowledge embodied therein.

By way of example Mr. Clementi went on to refer to the Chinese language and to Sanscrit. No language had been the subject of such profound study as Chinese by those whose mother tongue it was, but the scholars who had studied it had been almost exclusively Chinese and men who often knew no language whatever except their own. A study of Chinese was of the utmost importance to a Chinaman for many reasons. Under Chinese Law almost every offence was punishable by a given number of blows from the smaller or larger bamboo. But every Chinese scholar who had attained to a standard of education which approximated to our degree of B.A. was exempt from any form of bambooning, unless an appeal was first made to the Emperor to deprive him of his degree. Therefore the goal of every Chinese man's ambition was to become a student and take the degree.

There were wonderful Chinese dictionaries, encyclopædias, and other works; the language had been studied backwards and forwards through a Chinese medium; the literature of the country was simply amazing; but, nevertheless, it was the fact

that no scientific knowledge of the language had been obtained until the latter half of the 19th century when European scholars had brought Western knowledge to bear upon it, and had studied it from the philological point of view. Then had opened an entirely new phase in the study of the Chinese language.

Similarly with Sanscrit. Sanscrit had a vast literature, numerous dictionaries and grammars of the language had been compiled and a great deal of ingenuity had been brought to bear upon the study of Sanscrit through a Sanscrit medium. But it was not until the second half of the 19th century that the principles of comparative philology were applied to the subject. Intellects trained in the West, and possessing a knowledge of Western languages both ancient and modern, were then brought to bear upon the scientific aspect of Sanscrit and it was only this had been done that any very great progress towards a better understanding of the science of that language was made.

Therefore, he said with great confidence, that if the Sinhalese language was to be studied scientifically, it would have to be studied not only through the medium of the Sinhalese language, but through the medium of English and other foreign languages as well. For this reason he had been very glad to see that in some of the Pirivenas in the Western and Southern Provinces the English language was now being taught. Until the students in the Pirivenas were able to make use of the vast store of knowledge which had been collected by Western students of comparative philology and until it was possible for them to apply this knowledge to the study of the Sinhalese language he did not think that very much scientific progress was to be expected.

In order that a language might be studied scientifically certain preliminary work had to be done. First of all inscriptions had to be collected, compiled, arranged and co-ordinated. This, he was happy to say, was being done already and he understood that the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* would be completed before long. He hoped the work would not fail to include a complete index of all the words occurring in those inscriptions.

Then it was necessary to compile a complete and representative corpus of Sinhalese prose and verse. What he had in mind was something much on the lines of the Loeb Classical Library in America. It would be necessary carefully to select the best Sinhalese historical records, prose works and poems and to publish the original side by side with an English translation and with a few absolutely necessary notes. Such a work as that was essential as a preliminary to any scientific study of the language. Here again a full and complete index of all the words contained in the prose, verse and other works was imperative.

When they had books such as these on which to found the dictionary of the Sinhalese language which the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society had in mind, they would be able to proceed from a firm basis and compile a really valuable and satisfactory work.

He felt very strongly that the dictionary must be an etymological dictionary, because it was only through such a work as this that they could hope to reveal the true and real meaning of words and illustrate their little understood historical origin. By way of illustration Mr. Clementi referred to the word "tea." There were originally only two parts of the world in which tea was indigenous—namely the Fukien coast of China and Assam. It was first "discovered" on the China coast and the Fukienese who inhabited that part of the coast used the word "tea" to describe the plant. Now the Northern Chinese who wrote the word in the same way pronounced it "cha." This accounted for both the English word "tea" and its wrongly pronounced equivalent "tay." It also accounted for the French form "thé" and the Russian and Italian variants which are derived from the pronunciation "cha." This one historical fact, therefore, threw a flood of light upon the word.

Mr. Clementi quoted a large number of other examples to prove the value of historical details as a guide to the proper understanding of words. He hoped this phase of the subject would not be overlooked when the proposed dictionary of the Sinhalese language came to be compiled.

If the dictionary was to be a success it would be necessary to bring to bear upon its compilation many men of trained intelligence and he was glad to know that the Colony would soon have the pleasure of welcoming Prof. Geiger, a very eminent Scholar who possessed a profound knowledge of the Pali, Sanscrit and Sinhalese languages. He hoped Professor Geiger would not be allowed to go away without giving the Society his views as to the lines upon which the dictionary could best be prepared.

When they had compiled their dictionary they would have to go a step further and prepare an historical grammar. There were, in existence, many notable examples of such grammars, notably Dr. Whitney's Sanscrit Grammar and Brochet's Historical French Grammar, and when they had a reliable etymological dictionary the preparation of such a grammar ought to present very little difficulty. The work might be well undertaken by the same body of men who had prepared the dictionary.

All this business of analysing a language and picking it to pieces should be, of course, preparatory to a wider process of synthesis. Having pulled the language to pieces, and having obtained a thorough grasp of its complicated mechanism, as it were, they would get to understand it and would lay the foundation for a fuller and wider comprehension of the language. This should lead to the building up of a really fine modern Sinhalese literature. A language was, of course, a vehicle through which they wished to express ideas and ideals which would be of lasting value to the race. He therefore hoped that, in years to come, they would raise up a new Sinhalese literature—both prose and verse—which would be entirely worthy of this Island and which would be based on a thorough knowledge of the language and its history.



Block by Survey Dept. Ceylon

Lieut.-Col. ARTHUR JOHNSTON.

In proposing a vote of thanks to the retiring President, His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, Dr. Paul E. Peiris said that the members of the Royal Asiatic Society wished to thank His Excellency very heartily for making time to be present there that night and after hearing his short address they realised more than ever how very much they should lose by his departure from the country. His Excellency had occupied that presidential chair for a very much shorter period than they hoped he would occupy it, when they unanimously invited him to be their President. As he pointed out, circumstances had been too severe, and he had not been able to give that personal contribution towards the labours of the Society as some of his predecessors had done. Yet as he was speaking that night it was borne home to them with very great emphasis that he had grasped one side of the East which the average public official did not grasp. There were many public officials who were masters of one phase of the life of the East, and it was not always the pleasant phase, that they were masters of. His Excellency with his great attainments and wide experience had grasped the finest phase of their Oriental life. (Applause.) They felt very much that if he had continued to stay with them, he would have got some good out of them yet. (Applause.) His Excellency was occupying the chair for the last time; he never again could be their President; but he (the speaker) was sure that he was voicing the hopes of every member of that Society when he looked forward to seeing His Excellency fill that chair many more times, but in another capacity. (Applause).

He moved that "this Society do place on record an expression of its lively and grateful appreciation of the services rendered by His Excellency the retiring President."

NOTES ON CEYLON TOPOGRAPHY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY, II.

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

In Volume XXIX, No. 75, of this Journal an attempt was made to investigate the topography of Ceylon as revealed by the civil wars leading to the union of the whole country under the sovereignty of Parákrama Báhu I. In the present paper the same line of enquiry is continued in connection with the great Ruhuṇa rebellion against the new king's authority, led by Sugalá Déví, mother of the late Mánábharāṇa. This prince had inherited the whole of Ruhuṇa, though the divisions of Doḷosdahās and Aṭadahās with their respective capitals Mahánágakula (Mánávulu) and Uddhanadvára (Udundora) still existed.

It is convenient to record the preliminary operations against the rebels before attempting to make any identification of the places named in the Mahāvamsa. We first of all read (LXXIV, 44) that the Sinhalese and Keraḷas at Koṭṭhasāraka and other places (Koṭṭhasārādhi vásino) with the Velakkára force, on hearing of the rebellion, rose against the king, but were reduced to submission and punished. Thereafter the Commander-in-Chief Rakkha set out from Poḷonnaruwa and gave battle at Barabbala to the Ruhuṇa soldiers, who declared "While we live he shall not cross the boundary of our country and come hither." Fighting also took place at Kaṇṭakavana (*Kaṭuvana) at Ambala and at the fortress Savan. In front of this last

*An asterisk before a Sinhalese name indicates a possible translation of the Pali.

(purato) lay the stronghold Divácandantabátava, and beyond this “seven strongholds that no man could reach, the one after the other, in a forest one or two leagues (*gávuta*) in extent; and both sides of the road that led thereto lay between great rocks, in the middle whereof they cut down great trees. . . . at certain intervals.” The fighting continued here “for many months” (LXXIV, 50-66). Bhútádhikári, “who lived in the king’s palace,”¹ was now dispatched to assist Rakkha: the seven forts were destroyed and the army fought its way to the village Kiṇṣukavatthu (*Kéla-watta), Vaṭarakkhathali (*Vaṭarakgoda), the village Dáṭhávaḍḍhana or Dáṭhácavaḍḍhana, and the village Sahodará. Thence Rakkha sent a division against the enemy force remaining at Lokagalla (Loggala). This force, though reduced to straits, was not conquered and the king’s troops therefore rejoined the main body, and the whole army marched to Majjhimagámaka (Meḍagama), and fought near the village Kaṇṭaka-dvára-vátaka with the enemy “who had made a firm resolve with their chief captains and officers at Lokagalla, saying ‘the venerable Tooth-relic and the sacred Bowl-relic shall we not allow them to seize.’” The next step was the capture of Sugalá Deví’s capital Udundora, whereupon the queen fled with the Relics to Uruvela (LXXIV, 67-88).

The “great tank Uruvela” was one of those “built” by Parákrama Báhu I. in Ruḥuṇa (Mhv., LXXIX, 83): the Sinhalese name given in the corresponding passage of the Pújávaliya is Eṭumala. It is therefore the great breached tank now called Eṭimolé, some five miles south-east from Monarágala. We thus have the *terminus ad quem* fixed. The capital Udundora cannot have been at a very great distance from Eṭimolé, and we are helped

1. For Bhútádhikári, see Ceylon Antiquary, vol. IX, p. 185.

to its identification by the statement in the Da'adá Pújávaliya in connection with this campaign that the Tooth and Bowl-relics were hidden in the neighbourhood of the mountain or hill Amaragiri of Udundora in Ruhuna.² The name Amaragiri has disappeared from common use, but Mr. C. W. Bibile, Ratemahatmaya of Wellassa, informs me that it was the old designation of Monarágala and supports this by the following verse:—

අමර ගිරි නමින් නිබු අරණෙහි පොර	ණ
මයුර ගිරි නමක් උනෙ කොහොමද කල	ණ
මයුර සත නෙරිඳු වැඩසිටියෙන් එ නැ	ණ
මයුර ගිරි නමක් නැබුණි ඒ බැව්	ණ

"Friend, how was the name Mayuragiri given to the forest in ancient time called Amaragiri? Because the Elder Mayura-sata (sic) dwelt in that place, it was called Mayuragiri."

We can now retrace our steps and endeavour to ascertain the route by which Rakkha led his army to Udundora. He must have advanced from Połonnaruwa either directly across country or along the valley of the Mahaweliganga. In either case he would have crossed the river at Dástota, as from general considerations of the history I think that we may take it as a certainty that the rebellion had made little or no impression in that part of Ruhuna immediately subject to the influence of Połonnaruwa. From the Mahaweliganga valley to Monarágala an army can only advance by two main routes:—(1) up the Badulla valley or that of the Loggal Oya, descending on Monarágala by the Passara gap, and (2) the Uraniya road through Hépola, once a *kaḍuwata*, to Medagama

2. Variants are :

රුහුණ උදුම්බරගිරි අමරගිරි පව්න සමීපයෙන්
 රුහුණ උදුන්දෙර අමරගිරි පුර සමීපයෙහි
 රුහුණ උදුන්දෙර අමරගිරි නම් සමීපයෙහි

Udumbaragiri or Dimbulágala is mentioned in the next section of the Da'adá Pújávaliya. It is clearly out of place in this campaign.

in Wellassa. This last route avoids the difficulties of the two valleys just mentioned and as far as Bibilé keeps to the foothills of the main mountain system. It seems very improbable that the royal troops would attempt to force the passage of these mountain valleys, held by the enemy, and we may dismiss this course from our consideration. On the other hand, the Uraniya road would have involved Rakkha in a march across the enemy's front, a difficult military operation. By the rules of warfare he should have reduced the rebels on his right flank first of all or have posted strong bodies of troops at the mouths of the valleys. But from the narrative he apparently did not undertake any operations against the enemy on the hills until he reached Sahodará, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Bibilé, and then without much success. The alternative and direct route from Dástoṭa to Meḍagama presents no difficulties on this score, but there would appear to be no situation where the road runs "between great rocks" and where an army could have been held up for many months. Further the army could hardly have remained for so long a time in a country impracticable to large bodies of men owing to its waterless state during a great part of the year. On the whole, I am inclined to the theory that Rakkha advanced along the line of the present Uraniya road, and that the rebels acted much in the same way as the Kandyans in later times, offering little resistance until they had involved the enemy in difficult country. I would locate the seven forts in the neighbourhood of Hépola. But the army clearly was not surrounded, as, had it not been revictualled, it would have been forced to capitulate. Why then was it not attacked in the rear by the rebels from the hills? And again why did it not try another route in the comparatively flat country? To the first

question we may reply that in guerilla fighting the rules of regular warfare do not always apply, and further for all we know Rakkha may have guarded the mouths of the valleys; the second may be answered by pointing to the waterless state of the country. One argument in favour of the Uraniya route has to be mentioned; this is that apparently it was a well-known road from Mágama to the King's Country (Appendix I). It must be admitted, however, that the royal army's route is still uncertain until it is found in the neighbourhood of Bibilé. The difficulties of a thickly wooded country are illustrated by the statement of Mahávaṇsa, LXXV, 73, as to the Doṇivagga (Denawaka)—Navayojana road, which does not run through any really difficult terrain otherwise.

One point requires elucidation. In the Ceylon Antiquary, vol. X, p. 95, I located the country of Koṭṭhasáraka or Koṭusara in this very locality, on the ground that the Koṭusaraṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota lay between Sorabora Paṅgaragammana and Uva and that Koṭasara Piyaṅgalu Viháre still exists in the Kehelattawela wasama of Wégam Pattu. Parákrama Báhu had quelled the insurrection of his mercenaries in Koṭṭhasáraka before Rakkha set out, and if this country lay where I had supposed there would have been no difficulty in skirting the mountains. At the time I felt that it was unlikely that a point so far away from the rest of the fortified posts mentioned in Mahávaṇsa, LXXXIII, 21, was occupied by Mágha's troops. Since making the above identification, which is, I think, correct for the Ruhuna Koṭusara, I have found a passage in the Mahávaṇsa (LXXI, 6), where it is recorded that the body of Gaja Báhu, who died at Gaṅgátatáka or Kantalai was taken by his ministers to Koṭṭhasáraka. This place, therefore, probably was not far from Kantalai and was in the King's Country.

If the present argument that the route taken by Rakkha was that by Hépola and Meḍagama of Wellassa is sound, Savan may be Hawana-veṇa situated some 5 miles E.N.E. of Paṅgaragammana, and a little to the north of the existing Uraniya road: I do not, however, press this identification. Lokagalla undoubtedly is the valley of the Loggal Oya with the Madulsima range and it was against the enemy lodged in these hills that the division was dispatched by Rakkha, perhaps from the direction of Bibilé. The expedition was a failure and the rebels poured down the Passara gap to attack the royal troops near Kaṇṭaka-dvára-vátaka. This place I take to be the still existing Kaṭupeḷḷella (“thorn-screen” = Kaṇṭaka-dvára, “thorn-gate”) just south of Daṁbagalla. Rakkha thus did not advance directly to the south from Meḍagama, but turned to the south-east. This, we shall see, was the then existing high road.

While these operations were in progress, the king sent Kitti Adhikári and Kitti Jívita-potthaki to reduce the enemy in Díghavápi, that is the country round the present Mahakandiya in Batticaloa District. They presumably passed to the north of Gunner’s Quoin, as they went through Eráhulu, the Erávulu raṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota, if, as seems probable, this name survives in the modern Éráúr. The places between Eráhulu and Díghavápi where actions are recorded are Givulaba village, Uddhagámaka (*Uḍagama), Híhobu and Kirinda (Mhv., LXXIV, 89-98). There are two mis-translations on the part of Wijesinha in this section: in v. 97 “three leagues” should read “one *gávuta*,” and in v. 98 for “returned to the place Díghavápi, and encamped there” should be substituted “encamped at Díghavápi.” The operations in this part of the country were brought to a close by an order of the king that

Kitti with his army should join Rakkha in order to seize the Relics, which it was rumoured the rebels intended to remove to India.

The men of Ruhuna, however, took the offensive and blockaded Udundora. But the royal general did not sit still, but fought actions in the neighbourhood at Maharívara, at Voyalagamu, perhaps the same place as Huyalagáma mentioned below, at Sumanagalla, possibly Haminagala south-east of Daumbagalla, at Badaguna, and finally at Uruvela-maṇḍala (Ētimolé), where they succeeded in capturing the Relics (Mhv., *ib.*, 99-126).

About this time one Súkarabhātu-deva, a chief (*sámanta*) of Mánábharana, escaped from prison and fled to Ruhuna. Mañju Adhikári was sent after him by the king and fought with the rebels at Sápatgamu or Hápatgamuwa³ in Wiyaluwa, where he stayed. He appears later. The chief, however, evaded capture and with his friends, who naturally objected to the loss of the Relics, raised the country and assembled at Bhattasúpa village. The royal generals, however, beat them and proceeded to Demaṭaval, by which name Okkampitiya Viháre is still known. Here they routed "the whole enemy that was at Vápi" who had hastened to Demaṭaval, and went on to Sappanárukokila village, where the Commander-in-Chief died of dysentery. The rebels naturally took heart at this event, and under the command of Súkarabhātu-deva assembled in Gutta-sálaka-maṇḍala, the district around Buttala, but on the royal troops' advance fled to Máhágáma-maṇḍala or Mágama in Hambantota District (Mhv., *ib.*, 127-158). We may here note that in the fourth and fifth lines of verse 138 the words "seized and" are a gratuitous insertion on the part of Wijesinha.

3. In verse 168 translated by Sakhápatta.

Parákrama Báhu disliked the idea of the Relics being carried about the country and gave directions that they should be sent to Poḷonnaruwa. This order was carried out, but so little was the effect of the recent royal victories that every step for some distance northwards from Hintálavana had to be won by fighting. The Relics on their arrival at Taṇḍulapattha were delivered to Mañju. This officer, as we have seen above, had pursued Súkarabhātu-deva into Wiyaluwa and had since been occupied in reducing Loggala and Dhanu-maṇḍala (*Dunumaḍulla); he now entrusted the Relics of Añjana Kammanátha⁴ to be taken to Poḷonnaruwa (Mhv., *ib.*, 159-170). The country north of Mēdagama seems to have been tranquil. We may now examine in more detail the passage of the Relics from Hintálavana to Taṇḍulapattha. We last saw the royal troops in the district of Buttala. As will appear in the sequel, Hintálavana (*Kitulkelé) became the temporary headquarters, and, as water is indispensable, we may locate it provisionally on a perennial stream, either the Kumbukkan, the Parapá Oya, or the Kuḍa Oya, and somewhere about the parallel of Buttala; it was 20 *gávutas* or about 40 miles distant from Díghavápi-maṇḍala (Mhv., LXXV, 12). The next stage was Khíragáma (*Kirigama). This place appears in the mediæval itinerary of Duṭugemunu under the name of Kirigama or Girigama, between Buttala and Mēdagama: it almost certainly was a royal village, and it was here that Parákrama Báhu's mother was cremated and that her son built the Ratanávali Cetiya, 120 cubits in height (Mhv., LXXIX, 72). Wéragoḍa or Atálé would suit. Parana Alupota, a little to the north, is traditionally connected with Parákrama Báhu. This, however, is no

4. This is the "Chief of the works" (Kammanáyaka) of Mhv., LXXII, 240.

real difficulty, as the old villages tended to disintegrate and the twelfth century Khíragáma may well have occupied country now divided among other hamlets. The presence of Ettalamulla to the south-east of Aṭálé, showing the site of the old elephant stalls, confirms this view. We may note that a hamlet of the name of Girágammana lies south-west of Aṭálé, but off the present track. Taṇagalúka and Sukhagiri from their position on the route taken may be Yakuráwa on the Kumbukkan and Guruhēla respectively: Sirigala is the name of an estate on Monarágala. Kaṭadoráva I take to be the same as the Kaṇṭaka-dvára-vátaka of verse 84: for the double form of the name should be compared Sápatgamu and Sakhápatta (Hápatgamuwa) already noted. Dambagallaka of course is Daṁbagalla, and Taṇḍulapattha (*Hálpota) must lie further to the north. The reason for the diversion from the straight line from Buttala to Meḍagama may have been due to the position then occupied by Mañju's army, or more probably to the fact that the main road ran direct from Meḍagama to the capital Udundora.

The war as it was being conducted might have lasted for years, had not Mañju seen the necessity of placing garrisons in the conquered districts, and so of preventing the enemy from reoccupying the country when the royal troops had moved on. With this view in mind, Mañju went to Bokusála and consulted with the other commanders. The resulting operations, which were intended to reduce Díghavápi-maṇḍala, are not clear, as most of the places mentioned have not been identified. But it would appear that there was a sweeping movement through the southern part of Batticaloa District. From the fort Balapásána the king's troops took Chaggáma (Sakámam), lying to the west of Tirukkóvil; later they attacked Málávatthuka-

maṇḍala (Malvattai), situated west of Nindaúr and south of Chadaiyantalávai. A circular movement then seems to have followed, bringing the army back to Hintálavana, which meanwhile had been occupied by the rebels in force. On being driven out they broke backwards in the direction of Díghavápi-maṇḍala, but were pursued thither and cut up, the royal troops having marched the distance of 20 *gávutas* in two nights. The victorious generals on their return with Hintálavana as their headquarters attacked the rebels in Buttala district at Ádipádaka-punnága-khaṇḍa and fought battles at Corambagáma, Múlánagáma, and Kuddála-maṇḍala. The first of these three places seems to be Horombáwa near Kawuḍáwa and Bútagolla, immediately south of Monarágala. Finally, moving camp, they fought their way through Kittirájaváluka-gáma, Uḷadá village, and Válukasa, and made their headquarters at Huyalagáma (Mhv., *ib.*, 171-181; LXXV, 1-19).

The approximate position of Adipádaka-punnága-khaṇḍa (*Épá-dom̃ba-kaḍa) is indicated also in Mahāvansa, LXI, 12 ff., in which the battles between Vikrama Báhu and his cousins are recorded. Vikrama Báhu, then in charge of Ruhuna, hearing of the death of his father Vijaya Báhu I., was travelling to Poḷonnaruwa, when he was met by his cousins' troops on their way to take him prisoner. The first battle was fought at Panasabukka (*Kosbukka) in Guttahálaka-maṇḍala (Buttala), the second at Adipádaka-jambu (*Épá-daṃba) obviously the same as *Épá-dom̃ba-kaḍa, others at Kaṭagáma, at Kálavápi, and at Udundora. Huyalagáma probably commanded the great road between Mahánágakula and Udundora. Here the royal commanders stayed, apparently for some time. The rebels were now confined to the low country south of

Buttala, if not to the maritime district and the adjoining parts of Uva. The rest of Uva was garrisoned; the Kataragama country seems to have sufficed to prevent the enemy from breaking back to Díghavápi in that direction, and Parákrama Báhu now began a great movement from the present Ratnapura and Kalutara Districts with the object of crushing them between the two armies.

The generals selected for this operation were Rakkha the "Tamil general" (Damiládhi-kári) and Rakkha the Chamberlain (Kañcuki-náyaka), who were given instructions to take Mahánágakula, the capital of Doḷosdahas. The rebels had intended to form a royal seat (*rájadháni*), presumably for Sugalá Déví, at Gimhatittha (Gintota), which they held in strength. Rakkha the Chamberlain at first dispatched against them the chief Devarája of Pañcayojana (Pasdun); but on their advancing under one command to the mouth of the Gálu river (Mahamodara), he himself attacked and drove them back onto their main army at Maháválukagáma (Weligama). Here they were again defeated, and on terms being offered many of the inhabitants put themselves under Rakkha's protection. The general then attacked with success the rebels at Devanagara (Dondra), at Kammáragáma (Kaṃburugamuwa), at Mahápanálagáma, at Mánakapiṭṭhi, at the ford (*tittha*) of the Nílaavalá river (Nilwalá Gaṅga) and at Kadali-patta village (*Kehelpatgama or Dalupatgama). In spite of these victories, "the rebels waxed strong" and determined to prevent the royal troops from crossing the river at Mahákhetta. A battle ensued in the middle of the stream. Going thence Rakkha's men attacked the rebels at Dígháli and drove them back to Suvanna-malaya. This also was cleared of the enemy; and the general departed for Málávaratthali (*Malwaragoda),

leaving instructions to his men to follow him thither (Mhv., LXXV, 20-69)

Suvannamalaya is Ranmalékanda, situated northwest of Kirama, or the range which includes this hill and divides the West Giruwa Pattu from Matara District. The identity of Mahákhetta—Dígháli is not clear: the first named place should be *Mahawela and the last *Dikēla. The two places were close together, apparently on either bank of the Nilwalá Gaṅga and are mentioned in Mahávaṇsa, LXXII, 87 ff. There is a Mahawela in Urubokka, some 3 miles from Ranmalékanda, but the river here is hardly wide enough to merit a special description of a fight in its bed. The late Mr. Ayrton thought that Dígháli was Dikwēlla on the sea coast and that Málávaratthali was Morawaka. The site required perhaps may be Paraduwa in Akuressa, where there is an extensive tract of paddy fields on one side of the river and a long channel (*dik-ēla*) on the other. The position of Málávaratthali will be discussed later. Meanwhile the other Rakkha, the Tamil general, reached Doṇivagga (Denawaka). The rebels intended opposition on the road from that place to Navayojana (Nawadun), "which is very hard to pass through." Defeated they fell back on Garuḷ-aṭṭhaka-añcha (Aṭakalan Panné).⁵ The royal troops took this and Rakkha returned to Denawaka. The enemy then continued hostilities from Púgaḍaṇḍakávāṭa (*Puwak-daṇḍáwala), perhaps Daṇḍáwa on the Wēgaṅga: they were dispersed and this fort became Rakkha's headquarters for the time being. Thence his men were sent to take Tambagáma fort, that is Taṃbagamuwa in Aṭakalan Kóralé, in later times a gravet on the road to Mágama. This operation ended, an army was dispatched to deal

5. The author of this part of the Mhv. has mistranslated *panné* by *garuḷ*, taking it to be the same as *parṇa*.

with the rebels hidden "in their own country" at Bodhiávāṭa (*Bówala), Hintálavanagāma (*Kitulkelégama), and Atarandā-Mahābodhikkhanda, perhaps Butkanda near Kélla in Kolonna Kóralé. This force returned and the Tamil general advanced to Súkaréḷi-Bheripásāna or Úrala-Beralapanátara, pacified the country, and so went to Símátalatthali, from its name perhaps on the boundary of Giruwa Pattu. The rebels now assembled and with their general came to Nadíbhanda (Óbaḍa in West Giruwa Pattu); Rakkha's troops, however, advanced and fought with the enemy at Mahāsenagāma, where the hostile general was slain and his army fled. The Tamil general thereupon entered the city of Mahánágakula (Mánávulu), where he was joined by the other Rakkha the Chamberlain (Mhv., LXXV, 70-119). The city is known from the Mánávulu Sandēṣaya to have been situated on the Vananadi, in the Sinhalese *sannaya* rendered Wala-hóya, that is the Walawé Gaṅga.⁶

The itinerary of the Tamil general from Denawaka to Beralapanátara is not clear. Two routes were open to him, the one through the mountains lying between Rakwána and Deniyáya, the other skirting the mountain system through Kolonna Kóralé. During the civil war between Parákrama Báhu and Mánábharāṇa the former had sent troops against Ruhūṇa under four generals, two of whom were in charge of the Mahāniyāma and Pañcayojana countries, that is of Māniyangama in Three Kóralés and Pasdun raṭa. They took Navayojana from Mánábharāṇa's forces, and having fought twenty battles on the borders of Kálagiri came to Díghálīka-Mahákhetta (Mhv., LXXII, 87-96). The Denawaka valley now is in Nawadun Kóralé, but in the

⁶. I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka for this information.

twelfth century clearly this was not so. In the fourteenth century Kaḍaim-pota the two were still distinct, and in the next century the Maha Saman Déwálé sannasa⁷ shows that at least part of the modern Kuruwiṭi Kóralé was in Nawadun raṭa. This last, therefore, seems to have included the valley of the Wégaṅga and other tributaries of the Kalugaṅga and may even have covered the lower part of Kukulu Kóralé. Kálagiri doubtless is the Kaḷugalboḍa raṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota and from its position was the mountain massif lying in the upper part of the present Kukulu, Aṭakalan, Kolonna and Morawak Kóralés. The difficulty of the country is illustrated by the twenty battles mentioned above; the fact that these were fought on "the borders of Kálagiri" leads me to the belief that Parákrama's army did not attempt to cross the mountains but kept to the low country, where, however, the foothills provided admirable positions for temporary fortresses. If Atarandá-Mahábodhikkhanda is Butkanda, the Tamil general followed the same route. From Beralapanátara his course is clear as the Urubokka Gaṅga valley leads straight to Óbaḍa. Continuing down stream he would have come to the old gabaḍágama of Márakaḍa with its centre at Wírakeṭiya and would have struck the Walawé Gaṅga not far from the sea. Local tradition places Mánávulu-pura on the right bank of the river in the present villages of Palle Roṭé, Mámaḍala, and Bēminiyanwila. The palace is said to have been on the mound Ellégoda-geḍiya, not far from the river and about a mile south of Weṭiya.

The rebels "with none to support them" (Mhv., LXXV, 121) now had retired to the country of Khaṇḍavagga. The two Rakkhas, however, remained at Mahánāgakula and spent their time in inducing the

7. Ceylon Antiquary, vol. II, p.45.

people who were in hiding to return to their homes. The Tamil general then attacked the rebels and beat them at Bakagalla-Uddhavápi (Koggala Uḍavewa), not far from the Walawé Gaṅga, and returned. Koggala thus seems to have been in Khaṇḍavagga. Sūkara-bhātu-deva now reappeared at Mágama, but his career was cut short by the Tamil general's army, which slew him and occupied Mágama. The word translated by Wijesinha in verse 135 by "returned to" is *upágámuṇ*, "entered." After three more defeats the rebels left the open country (*raṭṭhamajjham*) and hid themselves. The Tamil general, therefore, decided to entice them out into the open country and with this object withdrew to Púgadandávāṭa, which as we have seen was in Nawadun Kóralé. The rebels then reappeared and the general, beating them at Bodhiávāṭa village (*Bówala), Beralapanátara and Madutthali fort (Mígoḍa, a hamlet not far from Urubokka), went into the open country and sending his troops in various directions destroyed great numbers of the enemy. It was at this juncture that he received a message from Mañju and the other chiefs, who had made their headquarters at Huyalagáma in Uva. Accordingly he met them at Kumbugáma *alias* Kubbugáma, possibly a village near Kumbukanda about five miles south of Koslanda, but more probably on the great road between Mahánágakula and Buttala. The rebels driven out by the Tamil general had found a refuge in strongholds in the country held by the chiefs. Mañju now proposed to make an end of them before they made good their footing, to attack the stronghold of Atadahasa, and seize Sugalá Dévi herself. Rakkha thereupon searched the vicinity of the Walawé Gaṅga.⁸

8. The "stronghold" of Atṭhasahassaka, not the plural as in Wijesinha. The "Vana-nadi" of the text has been rendered both in the English and Sinhalese translations by "forests and rivers." According to the *sannaya* of the Mánávulu Sandésaya it is the Walahóya or Walawé Gaṅga. "Of that part of the country" (v.160) of Wijesinha is not in the Pali.

The rebels were on the Aṭadahas side of the river and, as the general was returning from the conference, his operations must have been in a southerly or south-westerly direction. The enemy, dislodged, made for Málávaratthali, so that they might reach the strongholds in the mountains, that is presumably in Kaḷugalboḍa, but being pursued “entered into the thick forest that covered the great hills” or possibly “the great hill” (mahá pabbata). The Tamil general surrounded “the wood and the mountain” and destroyed the rebels. The description reads as though the enemy had taken refuge on a particular hill and we may have to look for a Mahakanda or Mahagala. Rakkha now secured for the king the possession of Doḷosdahas raṭa, reducing it to submission by wholesale executions. The same policy was carried out in the neighbourhood of Mahánágakula. Sending news to the king, he remained in Doḷosdahas. The words “self same village” (v.169) of Wijesinha do not appear in the Pali. (Mhv., LXXV, 120-169).

Meanwhile Mañju and the other chiefs at Kumbugáma, with the object of seizing the person of Sugalá Dévi, left Harítakiváta (*Araluwáwa), garrisoned the towns there, and then went to Kaṇhaváṭa (*Kaḷuwala) and so to Vanagáma (*Walgama), where the old queen was captured. The remnant of her beaten forces, however, reassembled at Udundora, but were defeated and fled to Nigrodha-Máragallā, that is Máragala the eastern and highest peak of the Monarágala range, where they were killed or taken prisoner. The country was then pacified, hundreds being executed, and was left in charge of Bhútádhikári, while Sugalá Deví and her officers were sent to the king (Mhv., *ib.*, 170-203). Village tradition is said to locate the capture of the queen at Vehera-bēṇḍiteṇna, about 1½ miles south of Old Alupota. A

hamlet of the last named village is Aralugasmaḍa, and some four miles north of Old Alupota on the road to Meḍagama is a ford on the Kumbukkan Oya called Nilwala or Kaḷuwala. If the tradition be true, Sugala Dévi must have doubled back from the low country. But the relative situation of Veherabeḍditenna, Kaḷuwala, and Aralugasmaḍa is difficult to reconcile with any probable military operation, and it seems more likely that the queen was taken prisoner in the low country lying south of the Uva mountains. On the analogy of Vananadi being equal to Walawé Gaṅga, Vanagāma possibly might be Uḍa or Pallé Walawa.

It only remains to locate Málávaratthali, to which the Chamberlain went from Ranmalékanda. Wijesinha identified it with Márakaḍa, apparently because the two names began with the same syllable. This of course is impossible, as Márakaḍa lay directly on the route taken by the Tamil general from Beralapanátara to Mahánágakula, and it was only after he had taken the capital that he was joined by the Chamberlain. We are thus left with a location south or north of the Urubokka Gaṅga. The latter only fits in with the flight of the rebels on their way to the mountains after being driven out of the country on the left bank of the Walawé Gaṅga. This river can only be crossed at a few places and I would provisionally locate Málávaratthali in the neighbourhood of Taláwa in the East Giruwa Pattu, where an army would command the routes from the two fords near Tunkamé and at Liyangahatoṭa as well as the road from Mahánágakula to Beralapanátara. The object of the Chamberlain in going to Málávaratthali from Ranmalékanda perhaps was to prevent reinforcement of the Doḷosdahas rebels by their friends in Aṭadahas raṭa beyond the Walawé.

P.S.—Mhv. LVIII, 43. Maṇḍagalla=Maha Maḍagalla-veṇa on the head waters of the Mí-oya, not far from Polpiṭigama.

APPENDIX I.

The following is given as the route taken by Duṭṭu-
gemunu on his way from Mágama to fight the Tamils
in the King's Country.

<i>Mahávaṇsa</i>	<i>Thúpavaṇsa</i>	<i>Saddharmáláṅkára</i>
Tissamaharáma		Mágama
		(The halting places were :—)
		Kaḷuwala
		Éhala (night)
		Gíkitta
Guttahálaka (Buttala)		Gut-hala
	Kirigama	Girigama
		Niyamulla
Malaya		Meḍagam-Uyantōṭa
		Tungam-Kasaṭapīṭiya
		(here the army got ready to fight)
Mahiyaṇḡana		Miyuguna (first battle)

Mr. C. W. Bibile, Ratemahatmaya, gives the
following information :—

Meḍagam-Uyantōṭa.—At Meḍagama on the left bank of
Meḍagam Oya there is a place called Málīgátēṇṇa, where there
is a small dágaba around which there are stone pillars. The
story connected with the place runs as follows:—King Duṭṭu-
gemunu was proceeding to fight the Tamils and halted at this
place for his mid-day meal. While the meal was being prepared
he got his followers to put up a small dágaba with the available
stone to offer rice before he partook of it. This was put up
and the king, after offering rice, ate his meal and proceeded.
It is said that later he improved this place with the rock pillars
found there now. Opposite to this place on the other bank there
is a Viháre said to have been erected by Deveniṛētissa
and subsequently restored by Lajjatissa, nephew of Deveniṛētissa.

The Viháré is now known as Timbiriya Viháré. Between the place called Máligát nna and Timbiriya Viháré there is the gaṇsabháwa road passing; thus the place is called a *tota* or a ferry or ford.

Tungam-Kasaṭapitiya. In a direct north-westerly direction from Meḍagama 7 miles off there is a village at Ítanawatta called Egoḍa Ítanawatta or Ítanawatté Tánáyamgama village, in which there is a place called Tungampitiya *alias* Kahaṭapitiya and then from this there is a gaṇsabháwa road going through Kuruwambé on to Hépolā and the present road to Alutnuwara or Mahyangana.

The later tradition seems to make Duṭugemunu follow the well-known route through Wellassa, whereas the Mahávaṇsa distinctly says that he went through Malaya, the hill country, the most direct route and the most likely as that country was in his hands.

APPENDIX II.

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34	Rámucchuvallika	Rāmbukweḷla (Palispattu, Páta Dumbara)
33	Nílagallaka	Nilgala (Uḍispattu, Uḍa Dumbara)
35	Dhanuvillika	Dunuwila (Meḍasiyapattu, Uḍa Dumbara)
36	Majjhimavaggaka	Meḍiwaka (Gampaha Kórale, Uḍa Dumbara)

Mhv. LXXII, 34, 44, 53.

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31	Mahárukka	Máráké
37	Yakkha-sukara	Yakkúré

*EXTRACTS FROM THE DAG-REGISTERS OF
BATAVIA RELATING TO CEYLON.*

TRANSLATED AND COMPILED BY

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DAG-REGISTER Ao. 1624—1629

PUBLISHED BY THE

DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

Mr. J. E. HEERES

Adjunct-Archivaris, Rÿksarchief, The Hague

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

Jhr. Mr. Ths. VAN RIEMSDÿK

Algemeen Rÿks Archivaris (1896)

INTRODUCTION

Anno 1624-29.

The *dag-registers* (journals) kept in the Fort of Batavia of what took place there and in the Dutch Indies, were since 1887 published by the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* with the co-operation of the Government of the Dutch-Indies and under the supervision of Mr. J. A. van der Chijs at Batavia. These registers, which are in the Government Archives of Batavia, begin with the year 1640, and form, especially

I am obliged to Mr. E. Reimers, Government Archivist, for checking the proof of this article—C.H.C.

after the year 1659, a more or less complete series which end with the year 1807. The aim of the *Genootschap* is to print these journals in order of date. In the *Ryksarchief* at the Hague there are also among the records of the Chambers Amsterdam and Zeeland of the East Indian Company, some of these journals which are missing in Batavia, and which include the oldest and most interesting. There can be no question that these latter should also be published. After the oldest register at Batavia (1640-41) was printed and the Committee had consulted me about the publication of those parts of the series in August 1887, I said that I would gladly supplement what was issued by the *Genootschap* by publishing for it what is to be found here. I however thought it advisable not to decide on this step until there appeared in Batavia some more of the series there. When the registers for 1640-1641, 1653, 1659, 1661, 1663, and 1664 had been successively published, His Excellency the Minister of the Colonies in 1894 declared that he was prepared to vote a sum for printing of the registers to be found here. Accordingly the publication of the oldest of these journals, under the supervision of Mr. J. E. Heeres, *Adjunct-Archivaris* of the *Ryksarchief*, charged with the care of the East Indian division of the old colonial archives, became an accomplished fact. The method of procedure adopted by him in this matter is explained by him in the Preface which follows. This summary gives an idea of the plan that he will adhere to in the publication of the parts that will follow. It is not necessary for me to touch on the nature and historical interest of the Batavian *dag-registers* and Mr. J. A. van der Chijs has done so in his preface to the *dag-registers* from 1640 to 1641.

Ths. van Riemsdyk.

PREFACE.

In the Preface with which Mr. J. A. van der Chijs introduced to the public the *dag-register* kept in the Fort of Batavia during 1640-1641 (the first of the series published by the *Bataviaansch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*) he was able to mention that the following of these in many respects remarkable documents are to be found in the old-colonial archives at the Hague: viz., for the years 1624-1629, 1631-1632 (3), 1634-1636, 1647-1648, 1656-1657, and 1766. In making an inventory of the Archives I came across that for the year 1793. Students of our colonial history are now offered the registers from 1624-29, bound together. Hereafter there will appear six parts: 1631-1634, 1636, 1647-48, 1656-57, 1766, and 1793.

* * * * *

J. E. Heeres.

12th March 1625.

Our people had on the 16th January last sent the ship, "Medenblicq" with the two frigates "Tannassery" and "Bon Remedia" together with two new *chaloups* brought there from the Fatherland with the "Leeuwinne" to Puncto de Gale under the command of the opperkoopman Libenaer to keep an eye on the Portuguese ships going from Maccau and Malacca to Goa.

* * * * *

8th September 1625.

There arrived in the harbour here to-day (Monday) from the Coromandel coast the ship "de Vreede" . . . by which the Director Marten Ysbrants advises . . . what little success has attended the mission to Puncto de Gale on account of the late despatch of the cruisers sent there, coupled with their long delay in the voyage from Arracan.

DAG-REGISTER Ao. 1631—1634.

PUBLISHED BY THE
DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN
UNDE THE SUPERVISION OF
Dr. H. T. COLENBRANDER

Adjunct-Archivaris, Ryksarchief, The Hague (1898)

PREFACE.

* * * * *

The task devolves on me as the successor of Mr. J. E. Heeres, . . . to continue the supervision of the publication of this work. . . The *dag-registers* now published bring us to the time of Governors-General Jacquis Specx and Hendrick Bromoer. . . As a supplement to the alphabetical index the following references to places are given. . . .

* * * * *

The weak condition of the Portuguese in Ceilon.

* * * * *

H. T. Colenbrander.

16th August 1631.

There comes again from Bantam the Koopman Josaphat Geerdinex with the sloop which left on the 12th, and reports that the Viceroy in Goa, through want of money and men, could not put out his fleet, having, besides a good number of men, 12 galleons ready in Goa, six being sent to the relief of the helpless condition of affairs in Ceylon.

4th September 1631.

* * * * *

There arrive here from Bantam two of our merchants with the English ships from Surat bringing with them

letters from the Director Jan van Hasel who advises His Honour . . . that as the Viceroy of the Portuguese had sent all his forces to the relief of the helpless state of affairs in Ceilon, our ships, to all appearances, have no reason to expect any resistance from the enemy.

* * * * *

29th September 1631.

Arrived from the Coromandel coast the ship "Warmond". . . . The Governor Marten Ybrantsen advises that. . . the Viceroy or his son with 80 to 100 sail, and among them some galleys and boats, had left Goa for the relief of Ceylon and was met on the way by a Malabar fleet of about 400 vessels strong and was so attacked that he was obliged with the loss of one ship to return to Goa, not to mention some ships which were also sent to the relief of Ceylon, and which, through fear of the Malabars had put out so far to sea, that they were wrecked on the Maldives and had sunk, for which reason Ceylon could not have been relieved and Colombo and Galle were besieged by the King of Ceylon.

* * * * *

10th July 1632.

Arrives here from the Straits of Sunda a sloop sent to His Honour by Heer Philipsz Luycassen . . . With the said fleet the Director van Hasel advises from Surat . . . that the Viceroy had as yet not received from Europe either galleons or *craecken*, by reason of which he has not been able, not only to equip himself against us, but also to send suitable succours to Ceylon.

* * * * *

31st January 1633.

There arrives here from the Coromandel Coast the *jacht* "Weesph". . . with a certain letter dated . . . written to us by the merchants Daniel Coller and Jaques Pars in which they advises . . . that the state of the Portuguese generally on the coast of India was

very bad, having had from Portugal this year only a large Spanish ship (*barcque d'advysso*) in company with another from Lisbon which arrived there in June, from which intelligence was received that there would soon follow, under the command of a new Viceroy, four big galleons and some smaller ships.

* * * * *

20th June 1633.

The condition of the Portuguese on the coast of India is reduced to a low ebb, and they have daily suffered great misfortune and disasters. . . . From six to eight Portuguese ships fitted for trade between Goa and Ceylon, were wrecked by storms and bad weather and five of the aforesaid were plundered by us, and the Captain-General of the Armada was in the encounter with the ship "Zeelandt" hit by a cannon ball. . . .

* * * * *

8th February 1634.

There arrives here from the Coromandel coast the *fluit* ship "Schagen". . . . According to the letters from Governor Marten Ybrantsen of the 9th ultimo. . . the *jacht* "Westsanen". . . arrived at Arsepoor on the 9th October. . . . the *jacht* "Vlielandt," at anchor in the river (at Paliacatte) to be overhauled and sheathed, was (in consequence of the storm) obliged to cut its three masts. . . . The aforesaid *jachts* "Westsanen" and "Vlielandt" were now again refitted and lay ready in the river to be brought out with the first spring, and notwithstanding that it was high time that we cruised about Ceylon and Nagapatnam, yet Governor Marten Ybrantsen was afraid to send them far out. . .

In Ceylon the Portuguese appeared to have made up their minds to secure and more firmly establish their position. For this purpose they had expelled all the Moors under their rule in Ceylon and sent them to Adrapatnam on the continent, fearing that they would

conspire against them, and having a secret understanding with the King of Kandy, would attempt at some time or other to injure them. But the Viceroy of Goa had also sent to Ceylon certain caffers whom he caused the *meesters* in Goa, Cochin and other places under his rule to get for him and to pay as he wished, with the intention of thereby going to war with the Sinhalese. The aforesaid Caffers, when they came to Ceylon, all deserted to the King of Ceylon.

* * * * *

14th August 1634.

There arrived here from Coromandel the ship "Utrecht". . . . According to the letters of Governor Marten Ybrantsen. . . . he had in February last, the *jachts* "Westsanen" "Vlielandt" and the large sloop manned by 110 men, to keep an eye on the enemy's ships about Ceylon. These cruised about Ceylon, Jaffnapatnam and Negapatnam till the 8th April and returned to Paliacatte on the 18th. They had intercepted and seized nothing (although they had pursued the ships) save only a *champan* and a *bastery*, both coming from Jaffnapatnam and laden with little trifles of no importance.

* * * * *

DAG-REGISTER Ao. 1637

PUBLISHED BY THE
DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

Dr. H. T. COLENBRANDER

Adjunct-Archivaris, Rijksarchief, The Hague (1899)

PREFACE.

KARLSRUHE.

In the *Hof- en Landsbibliotheek* at Karlsruhe there is under No. 483 a manuscript with the title "Verhael van den Standt van India gedurende 't gouverne

van der E. Hr. van Diemen, beginnende'' primo Januario anno 1637.'' (Account of the State of India during the Government of the Hon'ble van Diemen beginning from the 1st January 1637). It is a copy of the Batavian register of that year made for Artus Gysels and must have belonged to the manuscripts presented by that ex-Councillor of India to the Marquis Hernan van Baden. The title is not quite correct as the register really begins, in immediate continuation of that published by me in 1899 (No. 1636), with 29th December 1636. . .

* * * * *

The register suddenly breaks off at the 27th May 1637. At the end there is noted in the manuscript "see further in the continuation of the second book No. . . (blank). The continuation is not to be found among the manuscripts of the Karlsruhe library. Even the *Landsarchief* at Batavia or the *Ryksarchief* at the Hague does not possess copies of the *dag-register* of 1637 either before or after the 27th May of that year. . . .

* * * * *

H. T. Colenbrander.

There arrived here from the neighbourhood of Goa the *advijs jacht* "Cleen Rotterdam" sent here by the Commander Jacob Cooper from the Bay of Goa by which His Honour advises us in his letter of the 4th February that on the 16th December a certain Moorish ship, coming from Cochin before Goa, was seized by the ship "Vlissingen". With the aforesaid *jacht* "Cleen Rotterdam" there reached us here also some intercepted Portuguese letters written to the Viceroy and others in authority at Goa, which came into the hands of Commander Cooper from the aforesaid Moorish ship seized opposite Goa, from which can be fully understood the miserable condition of our enemies at Cochin. . . but also that in the island of Ceylon the garrison, not having received their pay, rebelled against the

Governor, plundering and robbing the citizens of whatever they could lay their hands on, and many other particulars, as appear more fully from the following translation. Extracts from various letters of the Captain-General Diego de Mello de Castros late Captain at St. Thome now residing at Malvana in Ceylon, from Antonio de Moura, Captain of Cochin, from Pedro Vaes Dabreo, merchant of the King in Cochin, from Francisco de Faria Lobo, Captain of Cranganor, to the Viceroy Pero du Silva and other persons of consequence and *padres* residing in Goa and Cochin.

* * * * *

Captain Diego de Mello de Castros writes in his letters of the 21st October and 13th November Ao. 1636, written in Malvana in Ceylon, to the Viceroy Pero da Silva, of the great wantonness, inexperience, disease, disgust and poverty of the soldiers, and complaining about some Captains in Ceylon; also about the want of money, ammunition and ther necessaries for the fortifications; that at Malvana he had made a strong bastion with beams and strengthened the walls of Colombo; that he could not prevent the sale by the King of Kandy of his elephants to the King of Thansiouwer by reason of the treaty of peace made at Goa between the Ambassadors of the King of Ceylon and the Viceroy Conde de Linhares, Don Miguel de Noronha; that the King of Kandy as desired by the Viceroy should, on account of his lucky successes against the Portuguese, be prevented from having the free right of selling and sending the elephants where he wished; that he would not in the least tolerate such a thing but would again break out in war; that the Moors also, by reason of what has been written to His Majesty and the Viceroy, could not be driven out of Ceylon, being now of greater strength; that there was great risk in attacking them although so ordered by the King; that the

important places and strongholds in the war with the King of Spain, viz., Manicavarie, Malvana, Balavie, Sofragan, Caleture which the enemy had before this destroyed, could not be rebuilt for want of money; the defeat of Captain Pedro Lopes de Sousa and Hironimo Dazevedo who, of thousand Portuguese soldiers, had left six hundred dead in the retreat from Balave to Malvana; that he did not refer to the reverses of the Captain-General Constantino Deza and the other Portuguese who died with him, which were still fresh in their memory; that the King of Kandy had the greatest part of his men, who are intractable, exercised in war and tactics; that the natives could not be trusted, the more so, as they were removed from office and Portuguese put in their place; that Mature, during the time of Hironimo, provided six thousand lascoreens but now only three hundred; that the people of the Naick of Tansjouwer had left without any elephants as the King of Kandy had asked sixty thousand *pataches* for them; also that not so much cinnamon could have been collected as before.

Lauwerenco Freica de Brito, Captain in the Fort of Gale in Ceylon, writes to the Captain-General Diego de Mello de Castros and complains in his letter of the 5th November written in Galle, that there were only nine guns there, that more were required, especially big guns, to use against the enemy from high platforms, and that they should get big ordnance for *falcaões*; that there was a dearth of chambers: that the previous Viceroy had sent eight which were too small for the large *falcaões*; desires that he may be allowed the continuance of the building of the walls and the fort; complains also much about (the want of) money.

DAG-REGISTER Ao. 1641—1642

PUBLISHED BY THE

DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

Dr. H. T. COLENBRANDER*Adjunct-Archivaris, Ryksarchief, The Hague (1900)***PREFACE.**

The Batavian *dag-register* that now appears is in the *Ryksarchief* (Hague), but has been so far overlooked, that the publication could not be announced in the Preface to that published in 1896. (No. 1624-1629). It was then thought that the *dag-register* of 1647-1648 as the next oldest extant should follow that of 1636. It was however forgotten that by a Resolution of the Governor-General and the Council of India of the 1st February 1642 the task of keeping the *dag-register* having become too great for one person was divided among five Councillors of India. . . . Cornelis Witsen was entrusted with the work of noting the occurrences on the coast of India and in Ceylon

H. T. Colenbrander.

* * * * *

15th December 1641.

There arrives from Malacca the *jacht* "Venhuysen" with the Sergeant-Major Johannes Lamotius. The Vice-Governor Johan van Twist advises under date the 25th November that the ships "Bergen-of-Zoon" "Franecker," "Arremuyden," "Aeckersloot," "Bredam," and the *jacht* "de Sterre" arrived there on the 15th October and 7th November and left on the 15th with the Commander Dominicus Bouwens for Ceylon The Ceylon Ambassadors were, on their arrival in

Malacca, welcomed with all honour, feasted in the city, shown round the ramparts, bastions, etc., and they were full of admiration and praise of the Dutch, promising that their King also could undoubtedly accomplish such a glorious victory. Of the four elephants bought by the Koopman Jan Harmans for 2087 $\frac{3}{4}$ rix dollars in Queda, one had died on the voyage, and another in transshipping fell by accident into the water and was drowned, so that only two were safely landed at Malacca and they will be sent by the first opportunity to Batavia. Heer van Twist was of opinion that if any Sinhalese elephant-catchers of experience could be brought to Malacca they would be of great service to the General Company in catching these beasts which abound in the surrounding jungles.

* * * * *

21st October 1641.

On the 21st there left the Bay of Batavia Heer Pieter Boreel Extraordinary Councillor of India with the ship "Banda" and the *jachts* "Leeuwerck" and "Delfshaven" for Malacca, Ceylon, the coast of India, etc., to publish in these places the notification of the ten-years treaty of peace between our republic and the Kingdom of Portugal. . . .

* * * * *

24th December 1641.

Don Philipppo de Mascarines, General of Ceylon, had written to the Viceroy that there being various nationalities in our garrison at Punte Gale, he had caused them to be bribed with money and had distributed 8,000 pagodas to surrender the fort as soon as possible, but that in order to accomplish this without danger more men were necessary. For this purpose the Viceroy had got ready some frigates and men and had advised that the work should be undertaken if possible before the confirmation of peace, which was daily expected in India.

26th December 1641.

On the 26th December there arrived here the ship "Amsterdam" from Coromandel with a letter dated 14th September from the President Jan Thyssen from Ceylon in which he advises as follows:—

That in consequence of the misfortune and loss of Captain Walraeven de Riviere with 27 men and the many invalids, who daily increase in number, the garrison is much weakened, thirty persons having died since the departure of the "Waterhont" and the *fluit* "Cappelle," and it was feared that this state of things would continue, the garrison in Galle consisting of 355 men, among them being about 80 invalids, and as to garrison the place 400 or more men were required, it was intended to inform Governor Gardenys, by the *jacht* "Leecq," that if he could spare from 20 to 25 men that he would oblige them by sending them to him.

Of the fugitive soldiers who escaped from the detachment of Capt. Riviere, 2 were condemned by His Honour and Council to be shot (as an example to others) but on the entreaties of the Sinhalese sabandars and some mudalyars and the promises of the whole garrison of improvement in the future, the matter was left in abeyance.

On the 28th (August) there was received a letter from Colombo from General Don Philippo saying that His Honour will only send our prisoners there (Galle) when we released his prisoners and that he did not intend to pay 1,000 reals for Ignatio () to which His Honour could by no mean consent.

Don Philippo does not in his letter make mention of any prisoners taken in the encounter of Captain de Riviere's detachment, but His Honour understood from the letter-carrier that 8 persons were brought to Colombo and the rest were dead, but whether there were any officers among them did he not know.

The traitor St. Daman does not desist from daily writing letters containing large promises to the soldiers with the result that two Scotch sentries, scoundrels that they were, deserted to him.

Copy of a letter from the scoundrel and traitor St. Daman addressed to Jan Thyssen and other officers of the City of Galle:—

I cannot refrain from congratulating you on the splendid victory over the Fort of Amboyna and the other forts of the said island, and would have done so earlier had it not been that I always thought that you had already heard about it. But being given to understand by the two soldiers Jan Pietersen and Thomas Pietersen that you have not heard of the same I inform you of the same in a friendly spirit, saying further that I am surprised at the great audacity of Captain Riviere who presumes to deliver me into the hands of Heer Antonio van Diemen. I want to know how he has become such an experienced soldier. I cannot conceive how except it be with strumpets or the arrack pot with which he has been all his life a brave soldier. I say this as knowing him well and shall in good time make him know, this guardian of strumpets, seeing that our prisoners there are put in chains which is against right and reason, which shows that you know more about rigging a ship than military rules, and how you wish that we should treat your people. Still another copy, addressed to all gallant soldiers of the fortress of Galle, free convoy for all soldiers, the contents being also written in French. I cannot refrain from regretting the death of so many brave soldiers who had better died in the service of the King. It is high time you opened your eyes and not shed your blood and live only for the profit of a few merchants who deceive you in every way. I, on the contrary expect to receive you into my arms and show you all favours, and those who serve His Majesty will get every satisfaction,

and those who want to go to their country can go there as they like, with payment due to them as promised in the other letter. The roads are everywhere free and all blacks have orders to assist you in every way, as they have already done to the two Scotchmen, viz., Jan Pietersen and Thomas Pietersen of whom one will voluntarily serve the King here, and the other, with payment for the four years which he has served the Company, goes back to his country.

As regards provisions His Honour can go on with the rice for nearly another year, but as regards beef, bacon and arrack, cannot go on longer than next January, by which time His Honour expects to be further provided, and in order that the rascally letters of St. Daman may not hinder the men, this is not the time to give them less than ordinary rations, so that they may have no reason or occasion to flee to the enemy through want of food.

His Honour had for the last $4\frac{1}{2}$ months received no intelligence from Baticalo or the Kandyan King, except that he learnt from the aforesaid letter-carrier that an Ambassador from Kandy has been twice in Colombo.

Those in Colombo gave out that they were expecting 18 to 20 *fusten* in October with a large force of soldiers from Goa, when they intended to make the most of their opportunity. And as His Honour understood from our letters that no reinforcements of any consequence will be sent there this year, he desired that two or three well-equipped *jachts* may be sent to prevent the designs of the enemy on the coast line. His Honour had appointed the Lieutenant Jan Symonsen van der Laan in command of the military in the place of Captain de Riviere till further orders and until the appointment of any other officers by us.

On the 5th (December) His Honour had received by the *jacht* "Limmen" our letters of the 20th September

together with the 24 soldiers, provisions, munitions of war and other necessaries except the rice which according to the invoice was 6 loads short. And His Honour sent the aforesaid ship with 50 men and letters to the commandeur outside the bay respecting the state of Galle and the enemy's forces and condition in Ceylon, to the roadstead of Goa.

His Honour says also that to besiege Colombo the forces should consist of two divisions, the one on the Negombo side and the other on the Galle side, and each division, to be fit to attack the enemy, ought to be not less than 2,000 men.

With the reinforcements of 30 men from Paliacatte and 10 soldiers from Batticaloa the strength of the garrison was 395 with which His Honour, with God's help, hoped to defend himself against the enemy. His Honour had on the 2nd sent the opperkoopman Gerrit Moutmaker with the *jachts* "Leecq" and "Liefde" to Colombo to find out whether any exchange of prisoners could be agreed on, when at last he succeeded so far that the Ensign *Westrenen* and 7 sailors were exchanged for five of their prisoners with a promise of liberating three more of their prisoners in the fleet at Goa, there remaining unreleased Ignatio Sermento with us, and the onderkoopman Oudermeulen who they say had offered much money for his ransom.

On the 10th His Honour sent Moutmaeker again to Colombo expressly to see whether any money could be received for the ransom of Ignatio; otherwise to exchange him for Oudermeulen, also to send the letter of Francisco Sousa Castro to Don Philipppo.

The King's brother the Prince of Uva had been some days in Colombo, being it is said very hospitably entertained by Don Philipppo at a place called Malvana a little outside Colombo.

On the 18th September there died the *schipper* Hans Arentsen, and His Honour had appointed *schipper* Frans Maetsuyeker to the *jacht* "Leecq" in his place and the opperstierman Adriaen Bollaert appointed Captain of the said *jacht*.

The opperkoopman Marschalck advises under date 14th October from Batticaloa to President Jan Thyssen as follows.—

That since the departure of the "Waterhont" and "Cappelle" the Prince of Matale had conquered the whole country Coutiazum and had appointed a new Governor in his name at Camandare over all his chiefs in all the villages, so that the land and the laws appear to be altered, but after the King had collected and sent from 5 to 6,000 men to Coulassen, the Prince's Governor had fled with his following to Uva and on the way most of His Majesty's people had been killed, so that things are now in a better state, but not as they should be.

His Honour, whilst the Prince was so raging, had received various letters from him full of courtesies and compliments expressive of his good disposition towards him with offers of safeguarding his interests in every respect if he will protect and assist him against his brother Raga Singa, and among other things being desirous to know His Honour's real intention whether he was minded to assist him or not. Whereupon the koopman Marschalck had replied that he did not require his services and that he acknowledged in Ceylon no other than Raja Singa who would provide him with all necessaries. His Honour had sent all the letters received from the Prince of Matule with an express courier to Kandy and had, on the 30th August, been honoured for this with a gold chain from His Majesty.

Nicolaas Holsteyn, by various letters from Kandy of the 19th September and in the Emperor's camp of the 12th and 23rd August, advises Marschalck.

That on the 1st August the three dissavas that were sent out, with their force of about 400 men had obtained a glorious victory close to Pargangaine in Vienterre against those from Uva, and had defeated about 600 men, among whom were some of the highest rank, as *Singa Apules*, and some dissave chiefs whom they had brought to Kandy.

On the 21st His Majesty's brother at Uva had sent an ola to His Majesty with half an arecanut as a token of assurance, which meant nothing more than a pretence of making peace with His Majesty.

The inhabitants of Uva had all fled to His Majesty and therefore His Majesty was about to send some heathen priests to Alubassa to bring his brother into friendship with him. The 33 Portuguese who were released by His Majesty's brother (to bring him a reinforcement of 300 Portuguese to Uva) were murdered on their way to Colombo by the Singalese people of Saffragam.

His Majesty had received from Colombo a letter from Antonio Marschado de Silva, by which His Majesty is requested that he (Antonio) and some of his followers may be spared when we conquered Colombo and therefore he would be pleased to recommend them to His Honour the President or Admiral and other chief officers.

His Majesty's garrison was thought to be 15,000 strong and everyone was ordered on pain of death not to leave the camp.

* * * * *

28th January 1642.

On the 28th January 1642 there arrives here the *fluitschip* "Dolphyn," bringing a letter from Commander Cornelius Blaauw, dated 7th December, in which he advises. . . . that he had received a letter from the President Jan Thyssen giving in detail the state of affairs in Galle.

There arrived by the "Dolphyn". . which were transshipped in the *jacht* "Venlo" and sent to the Vice-Commander. His Honour had, with the approval of the Council and on the report of Sr. Blocq (regarding the news from the priest) about the designs of Mascarins on Punte Gale, sent the said *jacht* to President Jan Thyssen, but through the thoughtlessness of the Commanders of both the *jachts* viz., "Venlo" and "Limmen" coming from Punte Gale and meeting each other at Cabo de Comarin were foiled in their good intentions, for the "Limmen," coming from Punte Gale with letters from the President in which the condition of affairs (in Galle) was fully stated, and which could have been verbally communicated to our friends, resolved, with the others, as the "Venlo" maintained that she was sent there to receive this information, to return together to the Bay (Goa) and the President was deprived of these important despatches (from Batavia). For this His Honour caused them to be prosecuted by the Fiscal as an example to others, and, in order to secure that his instructions were better obeyed in the future.

* * * * *

The President Jan Thyssen advises from Galle the Commander Quast under date 12th November 1641 concerning the enemy's force in the Island of Ceylon (according to some Portuguese deserters) to consists of 900 Europeans divided into 22 companies and about 3 to 4000 Sinhalese divided into 3 camps, under the command of Don Antonio Mascarinis brother of the General Don Philippo who was with his force at a place called Mancquirewaere, the third under the command of Antonio de Motta was at Saffragam, the other under the command of Antonio Admiral about Gale, being 14 companies of Europeans and from 1 to 1,200 Sinhalese, who since the 12th May up to date were occupying the

jungle to prevent provisions being brought by the natives to the Fort of Galle. And they had succeeded, as those at Galle had not, within $5\frac{1}{2}$ months received anything in Galle (except what the people had brought in with great risk) so that His Honour had to be satisfied with what was sent from Batavia.

He also says that there are about 4 to 5,000 *Casados* in Colombo, and he believes, although Don Antonio had asked the Viceroy for reinforcements from Goa, he will not leave the place, as this Genearl is firmly convinced that so long as Raja Singa's Ambassadors from here do not appear there, a great force (Dutch) from here (Galle) may go there (Colombo) against which he is daily fortifying himself. Therefore His Honour was of opinion (if Commander Quast and his Council think fit to make any attempt on Colombo) in such a case not less than 2,000 men would be required not only to resist the Portuguese but also the Sinhalese. For no reliance can be placed in King Raja Singa (who gives out that he is at war with his brother) and therefore cannot assist Galle, but says that as soon as the desired reinforcements shall arrive from Batavia, he (the King) with in all haste unite his forces with ours. Which, however, is a mere promise without performance as was the case opposite St. Cruz de Gale, for the Sinhalese (after we had through God's help and the bravery of our soldiers taken the place by storm) soon came to the works to share in the booty, so that His Honour maintained that we could not depend on the King. The Portuguese had, through fear of the arrival of our reinforcements, caused to be sent to Colombo, as soon as the same was cut and ready, all the cinnamon, lest it should fall into our hands, so that this year (unless Colombo is conquered) there is no chance of our getting any cinnamon, and if last year Raja Singa had adopted a similar course (of sending the cinnamon to Gale) the Company would have received not less than 700 *bhars*.

His Honour says that the only way to get the cinnamon when our reinforcements arrive (if there is yet any landwards which there is not) would be to give the King an opportunity when we besiege Colombo to cause the same to be brought to us by the natives, for if we rely on getting it with our force, we shall, being half suspected by the King, be altogether tied down, and it is not possible, without being guided and helped by the natives, to get any cinnamon at all. And to make them favourably disposed to us we cannot, in the Portuguese way, bring it about by force, as the inhabitants of the low lands where the cinnamon grows are all again under the rule of the Portuguese, without the King making any reference to this fact, viz. the 4-7 Corles and also Satrigam with its dependencies. So it is not possible in the first instance to bring this people over to us except by means of a large force sufficient to vanquish the Portuguese. For the tendency of these people is always towards the winning side. The Portuguese who have been so many years in this island and ought to have a good knowledge of the country, themselves cannot, without the help of the natives, obtain the smallest quantity of cinnamon. They have therefore taken all the cinnamon peelers with their wives and children (as they are now masters of the field) from Gale and Mature to Colombo. Negumbo, as His Honour learns, is garrisoned with a small force, and most of the guns have been taken to Colombo. They hold this place merely as a defence against the natives. They do not suspect that we shall again undertake to capture it, but if we make any attempt in that direction, they think that they can resist us with their whole force which they can collect within 2 or 3 days. His Honour however thinks that if we could effect a sudden landing they would not succeed in their hopes. But it would be a difficult place to hold.

The enemy have stationed themselves with their force of 350 Europeans and 1,000 Sinhalese about two miles from Gale on the other side of a river, and had devastated as much as possible everything they could get at, so that all about here landwards is waste, in consequence of which the enemy also are in want and can get nothing unless it is brought from a distance.

On the 30th August, as we could get from outside no provisions (except what had to be got by foraging parties, with great risk, from the jungle) Captain Walraven de Riviere, Lieutenant Jacob Gants, the provisional ensign Adam Halvinck with the sergeants by name Casper Homan and Hendrick Claessen were sent out with a party, altogether consisting of 90 men, and having come to a narrow pass about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles outside Gale, were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the enemy who were in ambush, so that we lost 28 men of whom 8 were taken alive to Colombo, and 20, among whom were Captain Riviere, Lieutenant Gants, Ensign Helvinck, killed, and a Sergeant, who after his return to Gale died the same day, by which loss, together with 40 persons who died of dropsy, dysentery and other ordinary diseases, the garrison is much weakened. His Honour therefore thought fit (on account of the great boasting of the enemy about their reinforcements which they said would reach them by October when they would in earnest attack us) to send the *jacht* "Leecq" by way of Baticaloa to Coromandel to the Governor Gardenys and to ask him if he could spare some men from there to send them to him, whereupon His Honour had sent by the said *jacht* "Leecq" on the 28th October lost and by the *fluitschip* "Capelle" a reinforcement of 40 persons with supplies of provisions, ammunition and other necessaries. His Honour had also from here by the *jacht* "Limmen" received some supplies of provisions and ammunition so that as yet they are well provided

till further relief, the garrison in Gale consisting of 396 men of whom 30 are down with dropsy and other ailments, there remaining the *jachts* "Lieffde" and "Leecq" manned by 72 persons, with which force His Honour hoped, with God's help, to be able to defend Gale against the designs of the enemy. And His Honour does not make much of their arrival so that if the Commander Quast has thought of undertaking anything as regards Goa, His Honour need not be anxious so far as he Thyssen was concerned.

With the ships "Waterhont" and "Capelle" there were sent to His Honour 6 Portuguese prisoners for the release of the onderkoopman Anthonio van der Oudermeulen and the ensign Jan van Westrenen hostages from Negumba, which release could not be effected before His Honour had sent the koopman Gerrit Moutmaccker with *jachts* "de Lieffde" and "Leecq" before the bay of Colombo to see whether nine of our prisoners could not be released, which the said Moutmaccker had succeeded in doing. He received back eight of our prisoners against whom five of their imprisoned were released on the condition that we should owe them three more, and in order to carry this out before the bay of Goa, His Honour requested Commandeur Quast at the earliest opportunity, to fulfil his request by landing these three persons at Goa. The enemy were not willing to pay the sum of 1,000 reals fixed by the General for the ransom of the son of Loope Sermento (senior) but pretended that they would exchange the onderkoopman van der Oudermeulen for him, who, they said, had promised 2,000 reals for his ransom, which condition of the General's could not be accepted by His Honour.

Our prisoners in Colombo declared that the brother of King Raija Singa had landed there in the enemy's

quarters with some lascoreens or Sinhalese soldiers whose arrival can cause us little profit and still less for Raija Singa.

The people in Colombo were daily working hard in fortifying the city but understanding that a new King had been chosen in Portugal and that already there was a truce with the Dutch in those parts, had ceased this work, firmly believing that this Treaty of Peace will bind us and them here in the Indies.

The onderkoopman Claes Cornelisen Blocq advises under date 25th October from Ragies Bach. . . that the enemy having sent most of their men to Ceylon, had made soldiers of 1,000 papists with which force, together with the burglary and natives (expecting peace), it seemed that they had to defend themselves and to pay little regard to the threats and fine promises of the Moors.

* * * * *

21st February 1642.

On the 21st February there was received by the *caraecq* a letter from the Commandeur Cornelis Leendersen Blauw of the 27th December written on board the “’s Hartogenbosch” opposite Goa, by which he advises that the *jacht* “Limmen” was sent to St. Cruz de Gaele to acquaint the President of his arrival with the ships “’s Hartogenbosch,” “Wasse-naar,” “Valkenburgh” and the *jacht* “Roemerswael” with 160 soldiers and 400 sailors so that he may consult with him as to where the most profit can be derived from the enemy, also to inform us where His Honour would arrive with his fleet in Ceylon. His Honour also intended and it was so resolved in Council (seeing that nothing could be accomplished in Goa or its Fort on account of its strength and consequently his whole fleet was not required there) to try his luck with the aforesaid ships in Ceylon and to leave on the 5th January, leaving for

the blockade of Goa the ships "Hollandia," "Harderwyk," "Egmond" and "Venlos" manned by 333 whites, 115 Portuguese prisoners and 17 blacks, which His Honour thought was a sufficient force with which to engage the enemy in case of attack, over which ships he had appointed as Commandeur the opperkoopman Claes Cornelissen Blocq. . . The skipper Roemert Roemerssen and onderkoopman Antonio de Boey, as they had not carried out the orders of the Commandeur and Council to convey important despatches to the President *Jan Thyssen* and had not acquitted themselves as they ought to have in the encounter with the caffilas (about 44 frigates) were dismissed from office by the Council and their pay confiscated. . . . On the 11th February at night there passed the coast and arrived opposite Cananor the *caffel* from Ceylon and Cochin. . . .

On the 24th April 1642 there arrived here the *jacht* "de Zeeuse Nachtegael" bringing a letter dated 16th March from the Commandeur Cornelis Leendertsen Blauw written on board the "'s Hartogenbosch" in the Bay of St. Cruz de Gaelle by which he advises as follows:— . . .

During the voyage His Honour had much to contend against. . . . so that he did not reach the Island of Ceylon before the 10th February. On his arrival close to Negumbo His Honour met there the *jachts* "Lieffde" and "Nachtegael", also opposite Colombo the Commandeur Bouwens with the ships "Bergen op Zoom," "Armuyden" and "Bredam," and there came in the evening to him the President Jan Thyssen with the *jacht* "Iimmen," whereupon His Honour at once sent the *chaloup* with the Secretary on board to ask whether His Honour would like to come on board or wished that he should go to him. Finally the President with the Commandeur Bouwens came on board His Honour's ship, and after some discussion as to the command of the fleet, as the Council were divided in opinion on this

point, it was finally decided that the President Jan Thyssen (so far as Ceylon affairs were concerned) should have precedence and command, the Commandeur Blauw taking the second and the Commandeur Bouwens the third place. . . . The President Jan Thyssen advises by the said *jacht* in a letter dated 16th March from Ceylon:—

That there appeared there on the 30th November the *jacht* “*Franiker*” with some tin, and on the 16th December the ships “*Bergen op Zoom*,” “*Armuyden*” and the *jacht* “*de Cleyne Sterre*” and on the 20th the *jacht* “*Bredam*” by way of Baticalo (where one of the Ambassadors of the King of Kandy was landed) and also the *jacht* “*Ackerslooth*”. That our letters and other connected papers were received from the “*Bergen op Zoom*” and handed by Commandeur Bouwens to His Honour but in consequence of his small force he could not carry out his designs.

On the 10th February there appeared before His Honour the Commandeur Blauw with the ships “*’s Hartogenbosch*,” “*Valkenburgh*,” “*Wassenaer*,” and “*Roemerswael*” with whose arrival His Honour’s force consisted of 12 *jachts*, good ships, amounting to about 1100 men of whom roughly speaking not more than 600 could be landed (putting aside the disabled sick and infirm) with which force it was not possible to undertake anything against Colombo seeing that the enemy’s force consisted of 1,500 Europeans and about 2,000 Singalese.

The enemy (relying on the Treaty of Peace made in Holland between us and them) had put off the fortification of Colombo, but as soon as they became aware of the arrival of our ships, had begun it again, and had (notwithstanding that the fleet of the Commandeur Bouwens had arrived here) returned to Colombo only in the beginning of January, when a day before their

departure a certain soldier of the ship "Bergen op Zoom" deserted to them. His Honour had resolved (seeing that all places where people could land were defended with a large force of the enemy) to go with the whole fleet to Alycan (where the King's Governor was with 3 to 400 lascoreens) to gather what their intentions were. The enemy had at once gone to Caleture and more than half of the King's forces had fled into the jungle so that His Honour said that no reliance could be placed on such people.

His Honour had also decided to sail with his whole fleet out of sight of land and then afterwards land before the wind at Paneture (being about 4 miles south of Colombo) but in consequence of contrary north winds and currents he could not get out of sight of land and was obliged to keep close to land.

His Honour however had caused his whole fleet to get into the small *jachts* and when they had for reconnoitering purposes anchored beyond range of the enemy's guns from the fort opposite the river, with the intention of landing with his entire force, the project was vetoed by the whole Council from the ensigns upwards, and it was not considered advisable to land as the enemy was lying under cover in the jungles at all points of entry so that (in view of the enemy's large force) they had there to altogether desist from their designs which was not what His Honour expected would happen.

On the 27th February His Honour received a letter from the King desiring us to land with our force, under promises of much assistance, which request was as politely as possible refused by His Honour, seeing that the sea was getting rougher every day and it was not possible to land, and that nothing could be done without a long siege, being somewhat weak to withstand the large force of the enemy.

It is was therefore thought advisable (as nothing could be done there) to go with the whole fleet to Galle and from there (with previous intimation to the Governor Gardenys) to leave for Coromandel with hope of doing something better to the advantage of the General Company.

The request of the King's Ambassador that we should land the soldiers from the ships and join them to the King's forces on land, was refused on the condition that His Honour would inform the Governor-General of the proposal and request him to allow 500 soldiers to be used here about the middle or end of June in return for which they promised to deliver a good quantity of cinnamon by November, which His Honour says will be brought about when he is master of the field.

His Honour had also on the request of the Ambassador (but on the condition that we should be provided with a shipload of cinnamon) and with the advice of Council thought fit, in order to divert for some time the attention of the enemy, to allow the ships "Bergen op Zoom", Armuyden", "Wassenaer", Valckenburgh" and the *jachts* "Lieffde," "Limmen" "Leecq", "Roemerswael" and the "Cleyne Sterre" to remain under the command of Dominicus Bouwens opposite Colombo till the 20th March when he would sail for Galle with the aforesaid ships to proceed from there on the 25th to Coromandel. On the 5th there appeared in the Bay of Galle sent by the Governor Gardenys to His Honour, the ship "'s Hartogenbosch" with the Commandeur Blauw from the Bay of Colombo in company with the *jacht* "Lis" with a cargo of and the aforesaid *jacht* "Lis" left on the 9th with His Honour's despatches on the state of affairs there and as to when the fleet should start from there to Coromandel to get His Honour's despatches concerning Negapatnam.

The port of Baticaloa was in the name of the Governor-General offered to the Kandyan King undertaking to remove the garrison therefrom and it was intended to surrender the same to him (in spite of non-delivery by him of the 1000 bhares of cinnamon) which offer His Majesty accepted. It was therefore resolved, with the advice of the Council, to remove from there the guns, ammunition of war and other things found there of use to us.

His Honour had up to date received at a guess not more than 25 to 30 bhares, and is doubtful whether more will follow, as the rainy season for peeling cinnamon was past.

Further His Honour thinks (if 500 soldiers could be sent there by the end of May or middle of June) when they are joined to His Majesty's forces they could obtain most of the cinnamon, which arrangement His Honour sought of the Governor-General. But, on the other hand, so long as the enemy remained master of Colombo and the field there was little or no cinnamon to be got by us.

The present and letters sent from here to the Kandyan King still remained at Galle, the reason being (says His Honour) that no one can be found willing to take the same to His Majesty for fear of being detained. His Honour had therefore written to His Majesty to send someone to receive the aforesaid present and hand it to His Majesty as the roads were unsafe for our people. Thereupon His Majesty replied that as it was a present it ought to be presented to him and not be fetched by his people, so that His Honour would be obliged to resolve to send someone with it to the Court.

His Honour also intended to keep there the *jachts* "Limmen," "Roemerswael" and the "Cleyne Sterre" and to send here the "Lieffde" and "Leecq" which had to be overhauled, and to increase the garrison to the

number of 450 men, hoping that the said project, being necessary, would be favourably entertained by His Honour.

They had not as yet been able to get in the *catas* money for the relief of the garrison, and only recovered 7 per cent from three *champans* from the coast which arrived with some cloth. But they objected to this saying that it is not customary to levy customs duty at two places, whereupon His Honour told them that it was not a toll but a fixed duty.

His Honour states that about 800 men (among them being included 33 from Baticalo) would sail from there to the coast with the fleet under the command of Commandeurs Blauw and Bouwens.

His Honour says that if the Portuguese are driven away from the country he would set about engaging some Singalese (as soldiers?) if this would be agreeable to the King and that there would be no lack of natives, but he thinks it not advisable at present to disclose this project to anybody.

His Honour would land from the ships six iron guns for which he could find suitable places, against which 10 from Baticalo should be brought on board, the garrison being tolerably well provided with ammunition and provisions. The mortars and their belongings and the gunner would also be sent here. His Honour also requests that another person should be sent in place of the deceased proponent Jacob Pieterssen authorized to administer the Holy Sacrament and to perform the ceremonies of baptism and marriage. His Honour had kept there the Predikant Marines but feared that His Honour would take this amiss.

The Commandeur Dominicus Bouwens advises by letter dated 5 March from Ceylon in substance as follows:—

After taking leave of the Governor of Malacca Jan

van Twist on the 14th November to proceed to Ceylon His Honour resolved to make for Poulo Laeden. . . and on the 2nd December left for Ceylon. On the 4th His Honour had sent to Baticalo with the *jacht* "Bredam" one of the Ambassadors of the Kandyan King with a letter to the *operkoopman* Laurens de Marschalck, asking the aforesaid Marschalck that as soon as the Ambassador shall have landed, to send the said *jacht* to Galle as soon as possible with the soldiers ordered and news of what has taken place there.

On the 12th His Honour passed the Great Basses experiencing there variable winds and calms and arrived on the evening of the 16th in the harbour of Galle delivering the letters of the Governor-General to the President Jan Thyssen.

As regards the Portuguese His Honour says there are in the island about 1,500 European soldiers, besides the Singalese and caffres. That they have by the river Gindere, about 2 miles from Galle a force of about 400 whites and 2,000 blacks, with which they as good as hold Galle in siege. Besides the Portuguese rule all the low lands, so that they have all the cinnamon in their hands.

His Honour also thinks that we can never more expect any favours from the King there, and that without a large force (which His Honour reckons at least at 2,000 men) nothing of any importance can be accomplished.

On the 10th December there arrived there the *jacht* "Bredam" with some provisions and on the 23rd the *jacht* "Ackersloth" with various merchandize which left on the 28th for Souratte and Persia with a letter from the President Jan Thyssen to the Commandeur Quast.

On the 31st the *jachts* "Lieffde" "Leccq" and the "Sterre" were sent from the harbour of Galle to cruise

about Colombo and to prevent the enemy's succours arriving there from Goa or Cochin.

On this date His Honour, in company with the President in a small boat and a company of 100 soldiers by land, left for the river Gindere. Having come there they found that the camp and paths were blocked by hewn trunks of trees. His Honour with the President and two or three musketeers went across and set fire to a watch house of the enemy, they having fled from there on hearing of our arrival, which created suspicion in their minds, thinking that we intended to cut off their approaches to Colombo and then attack them. Thereupon the Portuguese and their followers retired from Mature and Bolligam and the camp by the river Gindere was so hastily broken up in confusion that they left behind a part of their baggage.

On the 5th January the President, at the request of the Ceylon Ambassador embarked in the *jacht* "Franiker" and directed their course to the bay of Colombo their force consisting (with the 80 soldiers from Galle, 30 of the Governor Gardenys and 15 from Baticalo with 100 of the fleet among them some disabled, sick and youths) of 225 soldiers and 481 sailors.

On the 8th His Honour anchored in the roads of Colombo, finding there the *jachts* "Lieffde," "Leecq," "de Sterre" and the "Zeeuse Nachtegael" and causing at once with appropriate signal the President on board the "Bergen op Zoom" to hold his Council, and it was resolved by them, as the Zealand *jacht* "Ackerslooth" could not sail, to tranship the merchandize from the said *jacht* into the "Franiker" and send the same to Persia. .

At the request of the Singalese Ambassador, they sailed on the 10th to $7\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms within cannon shot of the enemy before Colombo and fired at the city. The enemy in answering the fire fired too short, with the intention of drawing them closer, but seeing that this

did not take place they trained most their guns on the "Bergen op Zoom" (as they saw that the Ambassadors were on board that ship) and fired four rounds and one into the gallery of the aforesaid Bergen, so that the Ambassador Condenerael nearly lost both his legs, whereupon, being alarmed, they ran out of the gallery and betook themselves to another *jacht*, so that after that there was no more talk of lying close to the city.

Those of the *jacht* "Bredam" had also received two letters written to the soldiers by a deserter Jan Stancke, the contents of which were the same as those of St. Daman. These letters were put in a pot on a float with a little white flag and allowed to drift to the ships. On the 18th June there reached by the ship the "Engelsen Swaen" by way of Batavia, a letter from Claes Cornelissen Block *via* Coromandel dated 16th February Ao. 1642 on board the ship "Hollandia," lying opposite the bay of Goa, advising as follows:—

That on the 18th January the *jacht* "Franicker" coming with a cargo which was transhipped from the "Zeeuwsche Nachtegael" to be taken to Surat and Persia, in the fight with 16 Portuguese frigates, drifting quietly at night, caught fire and was destroyed, killing all except 3 sailors and 2 cabin boys. According to the surviving sailors this wreck was occasioned by the fire reaching the grenades in the gun room and afterwards the gunpowder.

The *jacht* "Ackersloth," which had passed Ceylon on the 21st and was proceeding on its journey to Surat and Persia on the 22nd, had unexpectedly met 16 Portuguese frigates and if the Portuguese had then the courage to attack her, as the ship, according to the captain, was in disorder at the time and in imminent risk before she could sail away, we should have been subject to much peril.

On the 14th July there arrived here the *jacht* "Venloo" bringing two letters one dated 31st March and the other the 22nd May from the President Jan Thyssen from the city of Galle in Ceylon wherein he advises us as follows:—

That on the 23rd March the Commandeur Dominicus Bouwens with the ships "Bergen op Zoom", "Armuyden", "Wassenaer", "Valkenburgh", the *jachts* "Bredam", "Lieffde", "Limmen", "Leecq", "Romerswael" and "de Clene Sterre" had arrived there from the bay of Colombo, on whose departure all the inhabitants took to flight, some to Galle and others to the jungle, so that the whole country is to the benefit of the enemy and we are deprived of the supplies which were available to us since the 1st January. Therefore His Honour, with the advice of the Council and at the request of the King's Governor there, had sent 150 soldiers to the pass of Vacquerelle, being two miles from Galle, to prevent the enemy from crossing the river, so that the approaches for bringing us provisions may be safe for the natives: otherwise there would be no means of getting anything there.

The present to the King was sent by His Honour with the interpreter Pieter la Faber by way of Baticalo, as the other roads were unsafe, with orders to ask for a short answer to the letter of the Governor-General.

The Fort of Baticalo would be delivered over to the King by the Commandeurs Blauw and Bouwens, after removing everything belonging to or useful to us. What merchandize should be delivered as a return for and reduction of the expenses borne by us, will be announced in due course by the Commandeurs.

By the *jacht* "Valckenburgh" His Honour sends 78 bhares of cinnamon which is all they could get, with the excuse that all the cinnamon peelers had run away through fear of the Portuguese, expecting however to

send a large quantity by next August or September, of which however His Honour could see no chance unless the garrison was so strengthened that we could by our arms obtain the required means.

The Portuguese in the field were 2,200 and more whites and 2,000 Singalese, so that they are now as powerful as ever they were in the Island and without a considerable force nothing of any consequence or profit can be accomplished as regards Colombo. All Singalese refugees desirous of coming inside the Fort were allowed to do so, and if the Singalese Governor, with his 200 Singalese who are thereabout, desires it, they would also be received. And although there were about 1,000 Singalese in Galle there was nothing to fear, for they can do little harm as the walls are all closed.

The garrison was strengthened by 450 men, and all time-expired men and those who did not wish to remain were discharged, there remaining the *jachts* "Limmen," "Romerswael" and the "Sterre" manned by 96 men provided with supplies for 6 months.

The ships "'s Hartogenbosch", Bergen op Zoom", "Armuyden", "Wassenaer", "Valckenburgh", the *jachts* "Bredam", "Liefde" and "Leecq" manned by 743 men, would leave by the first opportunity, and on board the "Bredam" His Honour was sending besides a mortar with 51 grenades together with the gunners.

The Dissave, who with his people and 150 soldiers was to prevent the enemy crossing the river at Vacquerelle had fled, so His Honour learnt on finishing this letter, with all his people to Matara, so that his projected designs remain frustrated.

By a letter dated 22nd May His Honour advises by the aforesaid ship that the enemy is again at Matara with 14 *distancies* of soldiers to prevent any provisions or other necessaries being brought by the inhabitants of Galle, so that in two months we have not received

anything from outside. The enemy's force, so far as His Honour could gather from the news from Colombo, consists of 28 to 29 *distancias* of soldiers divided into two divisions of which one consisting of 14 *distancias* was under the Command of Anthonio de Motta and the other of like strength under the Command of Anthonio Mascarines in Manicreware, there being further a *distancie* in Alican, this being all the force (except the burgers in Colombo) which the Portuguese had in the said Island.

His Honour maintained with rice at the Company's cost, 150 Singalese lascoreens and some coolies or cinnamon peelers with their wives and children to (as the results wonderfully justified) encourage and draw them to us.

By the *jacht* "Venlo" there was sent to His Honour by the Director Croock from Surat by way of Goa 292½ lbs. of opium amounting to the sum of F559.7 and they were abundantly supplied with it and for the present they would not want any more, seeing that no natives come there to ask for anything from outside.

By the *jacht* the "Zeeuwsche Nachtegael" he had asked for such things as were then necessary, but as the garrison was somewhat larger, His Honour asked that the following should be sent:—

- 50 pieces ordinary plain satin,
- Some good coloured do,
- Some double damask,
- 300 pieces of sarsenet,
- 300 ordinary plain hats,
- 300 silk socks or at least some woollen yarn,
- 50 coloured buttons,
- 300 dried leather shoes,
- 40 hides of Spanish leather with some leather to make sheaths of

10 hides of sole-leather,

30 pieces serge or *sempetranen* and some flints for the fire-locks.

His Honour also writes that in addition to the distilling cauldrons already sent, two more should be sent, as the whole garrison of Galle could be provided with arrack.

The King's brother who had gone over to the Portuguese in Colombo in October was suspected and almost kept as a prisoner by them, and it is said that he intended to return to Kandy.

His Honour caused the fort of Galle on the land side (as there were now natives there) to be fortified and the moat, which was 30 feet wide, was made 10 feet wider and 3 feet deeper.

The President sends with the said ship a letter to him of the 26th March and another to the Governor-General dated the 20th from the assistant Holstein in which *inter alia* he states that he had often asked of the King for the cinnamon, elephants and other things which he had promised in return for the great expenses incurred in his service, when His Majesty had always promised to give the same, and as regards the price, as soon as our army appeared before Colombo, he would liquidate the debt to the Governor-General's satisfaction.

Further the said Holstein apologized for the wrongly recorded agreement with many protestations that it was due to hasty translation. He also sends a forged letter addressed to him purporting to be written by Jan Thyssen under date 26th August 1642:—

Dear Friend,

This is to inform you of the great want which kills me through sickness and hunger. And besides most of our men were out with Captain Riviere and were overwhelmed and killed by the Portuguese. We doubt whether reinforcements will arrive from

Batavia in consequence of the larger numbers who fell before Malacca, not to mention the bad news received from Ambon that that fort was attacked and taken by the Spaniards. And so, dear friend, if you could by some device flee to Baticalo, and, if not, to the Prince of Metalee, who is close by here and who has already sought our friendship, it would be a good thing. We can no longer rely on the King of Kandy as he is treacherous. Herewith dear friend I command you to the lap of the Almighty who will grant us this blessing. Done in the city of Galle on the 26th August 1642.

Your dear friend in everything,

Jan Thyssen.

* * * * *

On the 3rd November there was received by the ship “’s Hartogenbosch” by way of Coromandel, a letter from the President Jan Thyssen dated the 1st September 1642 by which His Honour advises:—

That nothing remarkable or worth writing about occurred since his last letter of the 22nd May written to the Governor-General. The Captain van der Laen with 150 soldiers and as many Singalese were sent to Cogili, Vacquelle and Arragone to get provisions and had brought about 50 buffaloes and some paddy. Further our people had not suffered as last year with dropsy, beriberi, diarrhoea and sore legs so that this year (thank God) we had few deaths.

The enemy kept themselves very quiet without snorting at this and that, and no letters, like in the previous year, were sent here by Don Philippo. His Honour says that if the King is seriously minded towards us, it will not be difficult to drive the Portuguese from Matura and Bellingam. It appears that he seeks to smother us under his burden and to side the Portuguese.

Notwithstanding that the President has often written to His Majesty he has not for the last six

months received any answer or the slightest information from His Majesty, so that the position is not cheerful.

His Honour had sent the *jacht* "de Sterre" to Coromandel to get the clothes for the garrison asked from Governor Gardenys last March and also to get from him 200 *lasts* of rice and other necessities, as many inhabitants (without bringing anything with them) had come within (the fort of) Galle. So that they felt greatly the want of rice and were obliged to sell publicly 22 *lasts* at 40,000 per *last* (as it cost in Batavia) for their money, but the lascoreens, who were from 125 to 170 adults were maintained at the expense of the Company.

How much we are suspected by the Singalese nation could, says His Honour, be easily gathered from the expedition of the Captain vander Laan on the 17th of last month. The Captain wished with his 130 soldiers and all the Singalese lascoreens there, to take an unknown road, to see the lay of the land. For this purpose the Captain desired that some lascoreens should go with him in order that, if he lost his way, he may be guided in the right direction. The lascoreens were willing to do this but a certain *modeliaar* there hearing of this, caused the said lascoreens to return, except one who did not regard the command of the *modeliaar* so that the Captain carrying his intentions into effect and returning reported to have discovered an excellent piece of country with fine meadows and flat fields, and the Singalese, through fear or jealousy that we should on this account be minded to conquer Ceylon, were not willing to make the same known.

His Honour was provided with rice for not more than 5, and with bacon and beef for 4 months. In the meantime His Honour hoped to be provided from the coast of Coromandel and from Batavia.

Some parts of the ramparts of the Fort of Galle had come down in consequence of the heavy rains so that

he could not get anyone to repair the same, unless satisfied with rice, as the people there do nothing without food. That there are many coconut trees thereabout is a great boom to the people, as they mostly depend on them for their sustenance.

Many of the Company's slaves, caffres as well as Canarese, whom they had in Galle, died in consequence of the continuous work and discomfort, so that His Honour out of 90, was left not more than 50.

* * * * *

On the 31st August there arrived the *jachts* "Armuyden" from Palliacatte. With the said "Armuyden" the Ceylon Ambassadors or rather the letter carriers sent by Raja Singa arrived with a letter of little interest addressed to the Governor-General and Council.

EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired).

No. 4. A DESCRIPTION OF THE MÁLDIVE ISLANDS:
CIRCA A. C. 1683.

Foreword.

Thirty years ago that indefatigable Orientalist, the late Mr. D. W. Ferguson, ever keen to snap up all unconsidered trifles of value in his spacious net, as Editor printed in the *Ceylon Monthly Register*, Vol. III, N.S., 1895, pp. 188-9, under the designation of "Olio," copy of an extract ("*A Description of ye Maldiva's*"), which he had himself made from the Original Correspondence of the old East India Company in the India Office.

Mr. Ferguson offered no comments on the Paper; beyond stating that it was "entered in the O.C. Catalogue as written subsequent to 1682"; and that the "timorous old man" of the narrative was "probably Íbráhím Iskandar, who according to Máldivian history reigned from A.C. 1648-9 to 1686-7."

The Paper is of sufficient quaintness and historical interest to warrant its re-publication, with explanatory Notes, in the Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society. It is here printed *verbatim et literatim*.

This "Description of the Máldives" may well have been obtained from the Captain of the "Britannia", which reached Calcutta on July 1st, 1683 from the Máldive Islands, and reported the exciting experience there of the British vessel "Charles".

The episode is related in "*The Diary of Sir William Hedges*", 1681-87 (Hakluyt Society, No. 74, p.96):—

"July 1.—The Ship *Britania*, belonging to Mr. Dowglass, &ca., from ye Maldiv Islands arrived before ye Factory, bringing advice of ye Charles (a ship belonging to ye Honble Company) arrivall there: and that at their first going ashore, their first salutation from ye Natives was a shower of Stones and Arrows, whereby 6 of their Men were wounded, which made them immediately return on board, and by ye Mouths of their Guns forced them to a compliance, and permission to load what Cowries they would at Markett Price: so that in a few days time they sett sayle from thence for Surrat, with above 60 Tunn of Cowries."

A DESCRIPTION OF YE MALDIYA'S.

The Maldivia Islands are said to contain 72,000 Islands¹ that are above Water, with many Shoals and Banks whereon they take their Cowries having on ym. 2, 3 or 4 foot Water. *The King's Island* or *Residence* is called *Maliva*² from wch. all in gen'rall are by us so called, Altho' improperly; Saving that one may term ym.ye Kingdom of *Maliva*.

The King's Island lies in Lattd. No. 4°. 10'.³ It's Steep too, so yt. we ride at Anchor in 30 fathm, half a Cable's length off Shore in smooth water by 2 *Maquas*⁴ ye one provided by ye King & for ye other we comonly pay a *Cady* of Rice (containing 7½ Bengall maunds) they yt. have not Rice pay ye value in othr goods.

The aforesaid *Maquas* are made of wood (being whole trees well trench-nail'd together like a Pyramid) & fill'd full of stones, & swepled round wth large Cables, each of them is carryed off betwixt boats, and sunk where ye Capt. of ye Ship pleases to ride: one of them holds 4 or 5 Tuns of stones and are fit to ride by only Rocky ground.

The East-side of those Islands are bold enough, either one degr. to ye Norwd. or one degree to ye Soard of ye Kings-Island; but to fall to ye Noard is best in ye months of Nov. Xber, Janry. Feby.; and to Soard at

other times.—So soon as you can discern ye Islands, you are sure of a boat or *Gunderah*⁵ (so called by ye natives) who will take care to anchr. you in clean ground, and ye *Hoveldor*⁶ or *Governour* of ye place where you anchr. sends speedily to ye *King*⁷ to acquaint him; & in ye mean time will sell you fowles, Fish Coaker-nuts and Plantaines, but dares not deal in any considerable comodity. *The King* so soon as Intelligence is given thereof, Orders his own *Pilotts* to bring you up: for 'tis not safe to do it your selves, Altho' you are never so well acquainted. To fall directly in wth. ye *Island* is not safe but rathr. 8 or 10 Leas Noery or Soby. *The Currents* set many ways amongst ye Islands very strong and ye wind variable. And Wly variation about 10°,—*The Pilott* yt. carries you in Can't demand above 10 Rupees for ye biggest ship that comes hither⁸ and ye greatest caution to take care you come not among them in ye night, thereby to be flung from one to the other, by Tempest's, Storms and Eddys:—

Wood is very scarce upon ye Islands, for they abound with Little more than wth Coaker-nutt & Plantain Trees not fit for fireing. You must not Water upon ye *King's Island* Altho' there be great store of water, for 'tis unhealthy,⁹ most of ye Wells being shoal and amongst graves of dead Carkasses of wch this Island is very full.¹⁰ But there is good watering upon many other Islands and very safe fetching it: but best when fetch'd by your own people

They have no *Coyne* of their own, save *Larrees* of Silver, being very Course and passe for ye value of a Shilling: 5 is 2 Rups. and sometimes 6, by reason good Silver is very scarce.¹¹

The Gold that comes from *Acheen* in uncoyn'd. *Gold Ingott* is better then Coyn'd. *Silver* in *Span*: plate ye *Mexico* is best.

(Merchandize.) Strong water¹² in Cases. A good quantity of broad Cloth, red and green. Knives and Scithers.

*Cowries*¹³ are to be had at any time of ye year, but in Novbr. and Decmr. most, by reason they are brought to ye *King's Island* to Lade ye *Bengall* Shipping. But if you deal wth, ye *King* or his *Noccady*¹⁴ there needs no stay, save ye counting them for they have Thousds. of Tuns buried in ye ground for Store, (and for want of Ware-houses) in this Island wch. is not above 4 English miles in Circuit. Altho' ye 10th part of his Treasure is not here; yet there is sufficient in *Cowries*, *Amber-grease*¹⁵ and *Sea-Coco*.¹⁶ He is a timerous old man¹⁷ (especially of ye *English* and *Dutchmen*) therefore hides most of his Treasure on some remote Island by *Cowries*.

And to buy ye *Cowrie*, one *Cowrie*¹⁸ qt. 12,000 *Cowries*; they are worth 2 Rupees ₹ *Cowrie*¹⁸. they bale them up in bagvs made of *Coire*, or you may throw them into ye Hould loose.

They are admirers of fine silver-wyre-work'd chains wch can't be made of bad and drossy Silver.¹⁹

They speak a *Language* call'd (*Calko*)²⁰ but yr. gentry speak *Arrabick*, many speak *Moor's*²¹ and are addicted to lying; but have not ye courage to steal, being very effeminate. We never sell except ye *Noccady* engages for them. He & many of them speak *Portugues*,²² but few or none *English*.

The Port charges are Large Toll great men, being ye chief of ye Officer's; (Vzt.) The *Treasurer*,²³ *Noccady*, *Householder*,²⁴ and other's; To each must be given 150 Bambooes of Rice, wch. are as follows. 14 Parrass in one Cady²⁵ (or $7\frac{1}{2}$ Hugly maunds) 22 Bambooes in one Parras. They weigh ye Goods by ye Maund and Colung,²⁶ being $7\frac{1}{2}$ galls. to ye maund of *Maldivia's* qt. 122 galls.²⁷ More Port charges to each of ye eleven Officer's aforesd. 14 Covett's²⁸ of Course Callico of a Rupee price To ye *Shabander*²⁹ a Cady of Rice. To ye *Maabar*³⁰ a Cady of Rice wch. he claims for ye Shipsruddr. To ye *King's Sallareens*³¹ (or Life Guards) a Cady of Rice. A Ship of 80, 90 or 100 Tuns pays ye half of these aforementioned charges.

Notes

1. *The Máldive Islands*. The number of these Islands (Plate I). has been variously stated by old writers:—

Suleimán, Arabian traveller of the Ninth Century, records that “the Islands amount, so it is said, to 1,900”. Ibn Batúta (at the Máldives in A.C. 1343-4) says “about 2,000”. “The Moors report that they number 12,000” (Barbosa, A.C. 1518).

According to Pyrard (French captive at Mále, A.C. 1602-7) the Máldive Sultán claimed to rule Twelve Thousand islands and Thirteen Atols. (*Ceux du pays me disoient qu'il y en avoit jusques à douze mille. J'estime quant à moy, qu' il n'y a pas apparence d'y en avoir tant. Bien est il vray qu' il y en a une infinité de petites, qui ne sent quasi que des mottes de sable toutes inhabitées. Davantage le Roy des Maldives met ce nombre en ses titres, car il s'appelloit “Sultan Ibrahim dolos assa ral tera atholon”, c'est a dire “Ibrahim Sultan Roy de treize provinces et de douze mil isles.”*)

The total number of *inhabited* Islands at the present day is 217.

2. *Maliva*. Sc. *Maldiva*.

3. Lat. $4^{\circ} 10'$, N. Long. $73^{\circ} 30'$, E.; about 415 miles S.W. of Colombo in Ceylon.

4. *Maquas*. Probably corruption of M. *Má-faná* “large coral and wood anchors” The *faná* (coral lump with stick through,) is still so used by Máldive boats in shallow water.

5. *Gunderah*. Arabic, *kundara*, pl. *kanádir* (Ibn Batúta); Tamil, *kuntará*. Portuguese Historians speak of Máldivian “*gundras*”; and the term “*Gundara-kárayó*” is applied by Sinhalese in Ceylon to the Islanders and their boats (M. *dōñifaharu*, *oñifaharu*).

6. *Heveldor*. Persian *Haváldár*, “one holding an office of trust.” Probably the *Atolu-veri*, or Chief Headman of an Atol, is here meant.

7. *King*. M. *Rasgefánu*; but the Arabic title “Sultán” is more correctly applied to the Rulers of the Máldive Islands from the Muslim Conversion in A.H. 548 (A.C. 1153-4) onwards.

8. *Pilotage*. Foreign vessels trading to Mále now-a-days have to pay Rs. 5 to the *Míru Baharu* (*Amír-al-Bahr*), or Harbour Master, and a further Rs. 5 to the *Bođu Badéri-ge* (Kachchēri) for Clearance Papers on leaving. All charges formerly paid to other officials.

have been abolished; but, as Harbour Dues, from every Foreign vessel is recovered the sum of Rs. 40 per trip for anchorage in the Outer Harbour, which lies between Mále and the islands Fonadú, Dunidú, Fédú and the Galufalu reef. Vessels electing to shelter behind Dunidú island during the S.W. monsoon are charged Rs. 25 extra.

9. *Water at Mále.* The well-water at Mále has been more than once strongly condemned. Water, "taken from a well said to be one of the best", when analysed by Staff Surgeon P. H. M. Starr (H.M.S. "Proserpine"), in 1909, was found to be "quite unfit for human consumption, showing contamination, by sewage matter." Of late years a Rain-Water Storage Tank (M. *Fen-tági*), with wide catchment roof, has been built in two of the four Wards, and the erection of a couple more in the others is contemplated.

10. *Graveyards.* "Into 'Sultán's Island'—an area roughly one mile in length, East and West, by half a mile across,—there are crowded at this day no less than twenty-nine Mosques, to the majority of which are attached burial grounds. . . . There can scarcely be six feet of Máldive earth (with the exception of the Palace Enclosure and the sites of the more revered Mosques and *Ziyárats*) but have at one period or another held the dead laid 'beneath the Churchyard's stone.' (C.A.S. Journal Vol. XXIX, No. 77, 1924).

11. *Coinage.* Cowries were the sole Máldive currency until the issue in the Sixteenth Century of the *Digu Lári*, or "long *larin*" (of doubled silver wire stamped with the Sultán's name), copied from the Persian *larin*. These elongated coins were certainly struck (*teste* Pyrard) by Sultán Íbráhím III (A.C. 1583-1607), if not earlier; as well as by his successors S. Shujá'í Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I (A.C. 1620-1648) and S. Iskandar Íbráhím I (A.C. 1648-1687).

To this last named Sultán is assigned the credit of first issuing circular coins. Specimens of his silver *Lári* of A.H. 1075 and 1086 (A.C. 1664-5; 1675-6), 73 grains in average weight, are known. The first known *Kuḍa Lári*, dated A.H. 1105 and weighing $36\frac{1}{2}$ grains, was issued by S. Muḥammad (A.C. 1693-1701) in the year of his accession. (Plate II.).

In A.H. 1146 (A.C. 1733-34), a *Boḍu Lári*, or double *lári*, (146 grs. average weight) was introduced, and ruled with *Lári* struck decennially (A.H. 1153, 1163, 1173) and termed "*Iskandar*" from the original issues; but apparently at the fictitious ratio values of 4 to 1 (*half rix-dollar* to *schelling*).

From A.H. 1184 (A.G. 1770-71), the coinage settled down to *Boḍu Lári* and true *Kuḍa Lári* (weight much as before) at recognised one-fourth ratio. The weights of *Boḍu Lári* and *Kuḍa Lári* have varied since, falling gradually, and are now down to less than half in each case.

12. "*Strong Water*". The Máldivians being staunch Muḥammadans, spirits can hardly have found a sale at Mále.

13. *Cowries*. (See *Hak. Soc. Pyrrard*, II pp. 429, 452, 444, &c., &c.) Some particulars regarding the trade in Cowries between the Dutch in Ceylon and the Máldives are given under "Trade and Commerce" in "The Máldive Islands" (*Sess. Paper XLIII*, 1881 pp. 98-101).

The Dutch were quick to gauge the advantage of complete control over the trafic in Cowries. Throughout the latter part of the Seventeenth Century, and much of the Eighteenth, they attempted to establish a monopoly, whilst paying less than other nations.

The price to the Dutch in 1669 was 1 $\frac{1}{5}$ Rds. the *kotte* of 12,000, weighing 24 lbs. In 1697 it rose to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rds., and up to 1718 fluctuated between that rate and 2 Rds. In 1723 (Sultán's Missive in Portuguese) 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kotte* of Cowries were changed with Dutch vessels for a candy (8 Bengal maunds) of rice.

In 1740 the price was fixed at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rds., the *kotte* of 24 lbs.; but had fallen in 1764 by half a rix-dollar.

For the next twenty years the annual Netherlands' demand for Cowries diminished from 500,000 lbs. (20,000 *kottes*) to as low as 150,000 lbs. or 6,000 *kottes* (now raised to 25 lbs. the *kotte*), needed only if to fill the lower tier of vessels as ballast!

But the Máldive price had risen considerably. Whilst the Dutch Governor in 1777 refused the Sultán's request to raise the price to 2 Rds. per *kotte*, English and French vessels paid as much as Rs. 4 at Mále. Owing to other foreigners entering the market, the Dutch in 1795 had perforce to pay Rs. 3 per *kotte*.

In 1836 the price of Cowries at Mále was Rs. 2 per *kotte*; in 1880, nearly half a century later, it had come down to Rs. 1.50; but after forty years further interval, in 1920, stood at Rs. 2.50.

The present quotations are Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per cwt. at Mále; and Rs. 7 to Rs. 8 per *maund* (84 lbs.) at Calcutta.

Cowries are chiefly gathered in Haddummatí, Huvadú and Ari Atols; the fewest come from Tiladummatí (extreme Northern) and Addú (extreme Southern) Atols.

14. *Noccady*. Persian *Ná-khudá*, the Master of a native vessel. At the present time there is but one recognised *Nákudá*, a post of some responsibility, at the Máldives.

15. *Ambergrease*. M. *goma* (raw ambergris); *mávaharu* (prepared ambergris.)

Ambergris is known to be a secretion formed in the stomach or intestines of *Physeter macrocephalus*, or spermaceti whale. It is opaque and soft, and when heated gives out a peculiarly agreeable perfume. Now used only for perfumery, it was formerly freely employed as a medicinal nostrum.

Three grades of ambergris are recognised at the Máldives—*hudu mávaharu* (white), *kalu mávaharu* (dark), and *bimbi mávaharu* (speckled). Barbosa (16th Century) specifies these varieties under the terms *ponabar* (white), *puambar* (greyish) and *minabar* (brown).

Large lumps are occasionally washed ashore. The Máldive “*Tárikh*” Chronicle records quaintly how the Islanders bought off their French allies against Ali Rája of Kanṇanúr, circa A.C. 1753, with a huge mass weighing more than 3 cwt. found at Málosmadulu Atol—ambergris being then valued at Rs. 10 per one rupee weight!

In somewhat recent years a similar exceptional “find” was made; regarding the ultimate disposal of which discreditable rumours still exist.

Ambergris and sea-coconut are Máldive royalties, and highly valued. At least as early as 1706 Rs. 1 to Rs. 2 weight of each of these rarities was included among the Annual Presents to the Colombo Governors and Galle Commanders; and the practice, is believed to be still in force.

16. *Sea-Coconut*. M. *távakkári*, “the hard (shelled) coconut” (cf. Sin. *tavara*, “firm”). This, the double-coconut (*Lodoicea Seychellarum*), from its fruit being carried by currents from the Seychelles and cast ashore frequently on the Máldive Islands, obtained the names *Coco-der-mer* (“sea coconut”) and *Cocos-des-Maldives*.

In olden days it was highly valued as an imagined sovereign remedy for all sorts of ailments. (See *Hak. Soc. Pyrrard*, I., 229-231; *Hak. Soc. Barbosa*, II, 106 regarding ambergris and sea-coconut.)

17. Mr. Ferguson was right in identifying the "timorous old man" then "King" with Sultán Iskandar Íbráhím I (A.C. 1648-87). He was son of S. Shujá'i Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I and Aishá Kabáfánu, widow of that Sultán's two immediate predecessors, Sultán Íbráhím III, (killed by the Malabar Expedition of A.C. 1607), and Sultán Husain II Fámudéri Kilagefánu, who died at Guraidú (S. Mále Atol) in A.C. 1620.

In point of fact Sultán Iskandar Íbráhím I, perhaps now in his dotage, had proved himself a masterly Máldive Ruler. His long reign lasted over 39 years, covering, with that of his father, two-thirds of the Seventeenth Century. Skilled in arms and other manly exercises, this versatile Monarch, further, encouraged learning and directed the 'Ulumá to instruct the people; besides appointing salaried teachers.

Many Foreign vessels visited the Máldives during this reign. Trade thrived exceedingly; the more so as Sultán Íbráhím put a stop to the exaction of grinding dues and monopolies, formerly levied by grasping officials.

The Sultán went the *Hajj* twice, in A.H. 1078 (A.C. 1668) and again in A.H. 1093 (A.C. 1682). At Mále his religious zeal showed itself in the improvement of the *Hukuru Miskit* (*Jum'a Mosque*) in A.H. 1085 (A.D. 1674-5), and the erection of its bold cylindrical tower, the *Munnáru*, or Minaret, the most characteristic architectural feature of "Sultán's Island" at this day and represented on Máldive stamps. (Plate III).

Sultán Íbráhím is said to have been poisoned by a slave girl who bore him a son. This luckless boy succeeded as Sultán Kuḍa Muḥammad (A.C. 1687-1691), at the age of six and a half, with his mother as Queen Regent. Both met a tragic death together some four years afterwards.

18. *Cowrie*. The seventh word in the first and second lines, is a misprint in the original MS. for *Cotte* (M. *kotte*).

Cowries are still put up in packages of woven coconut leaves, triangular in shape, tightly stitched with coir at the base or mouth. Each *kotte* contains 12,000 (M. *bára fá*) cowries, and averages 25 lbs. in weight.

19 The handsome gold and silver jewellery of the Máldives is of choice workmanship, and distinctive in design.

20. *Calco*. Manifestly an error. At the Máldives the language of the Islanders is regularly termed "*Divchi bas*"; though at Minicoy (Máldivian in race and speech, but for

centuries held by the Rájas and Bíbis of Kannańúr, and now grouped by the Indian Government with the Lakkadives) a form of Máldivian is used called "*Máhl*".

21. *Moor's*. Hindustáni; "the Industan language, commonly called Moors". The term became obsolete during the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

22. *Portuguese*. This language was greatly in vogue at the Máldives as late as the Eighteenth Century. Three Portuguese Missives of Sultán Íbráhím Iskandar II to the Dutch Governors of Ceylon, dated respectively A.C. 1723, 1734, 1735, are extant.

23. *Treasurer*. M. Bodu Bađéri. See *Sess. Pap.* XV, 1921 p. 25.

24. *Householder*. Very probably Má Bađéri, the Officer in control of Palace affairs. (*Loc. cit.*)

25. *Cady*. "One *Candiel* is little more or less than 14 bushels" (Linchoten). "*Parra*" = bushel; "*bamboo*" = seer (Máldive *náli*.) The Máldive *fara* = 12 *náli*.

Taking one seer as weighing 2 lbs., 22 "*bamboos*" \times 14 "*parras*" would total 308 seers, or 616 lbs., for the "*candy*" of $7\frac{1}{2}$ "*maunds*", at $82\frac{2}{15}$ lbs., per maund of $41\frac{1}{15}$ seers.

At the Máldives the ruling Dry Measures are:—

Láhi

4 = *Náli*

16 = 4 = *Kotu*.

48 = 12 = 3 = *Fara*.

192 = 48 = 12 = 4 = *Muli*.

1200 = 300 = 75 = 25 = $6\frac{1}{4}$ = *Kađi*.

Of recent years 50 *náli* have been reckoned broadly, as = 1 *muli*; and 300 *náli*, or 6 *muli*, = 1 *kađi*.

26. *Colung*. Perhaps the Máldive *kuladu* (Sin. *kalańda*) is meant; but this weight = *bai tola*, half *tola* is used only by Jewellers. The Máldive *manu* (maund) = 84 lbs.

27. Some uncertain writing here. "Maund" dry measure; "gallon" usually liquid measure. The Máldive *adubá* (liquid measure) = 2 quarts, or half a gallon.

28. *Covett*. The more familiar corruption of the Portuguese *covado*, cubit, is *covid*. The term has gone out of use.

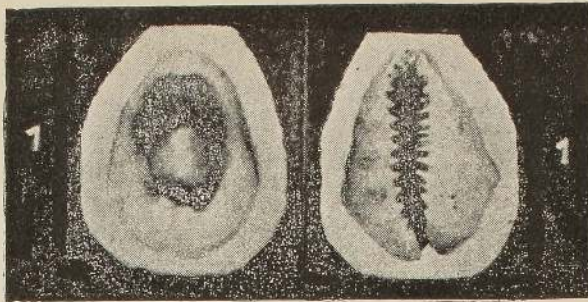
29. *Shabander*. This title of *Sháh Bandar* has long lapsed at the Máldives. His duties (cognizance of all matters

concerning Foreigners and Foreign Trade), devolved at times on the *Velána Vazír*, or the *Bođu Badéri-ge*.

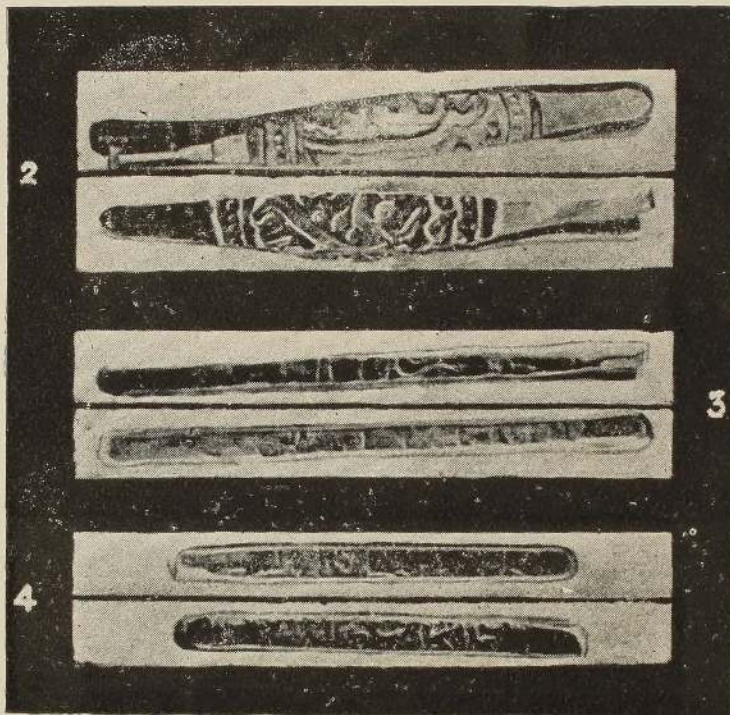
30. *Maabar*. M. *Míru Baharu* (Arabic) *Amír-al-Bahr*. The custom of removing the rudder of native vessels until their departure is still practiced.

31 *Sallareens*. Sc. *Lascarins*. The Máldive term for the Militia at Mále is *Hagu-bé-kalun*. They receive certain allowances in rice, &c., from the Government.

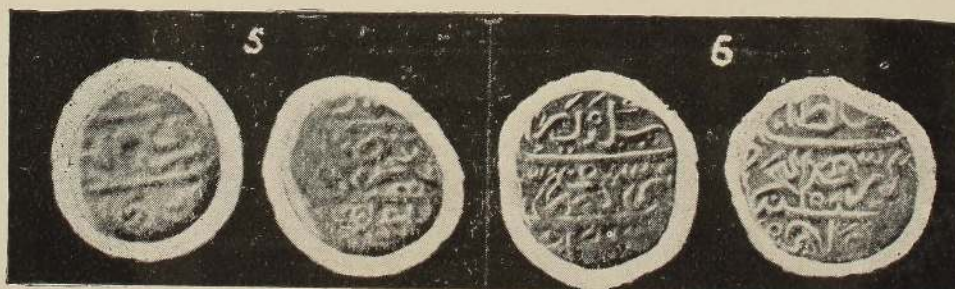
Maldive Currency (Seventeenth Century).



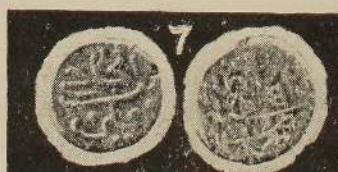
1. COWRIES.



2, 3, 4. DIGU LARI.



5, 6. LARI.



7. KUPA LARI.

Scale : Actual Size.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SOME PORTUGUESE PLANS.

By P. E. PIERIS

I wish to draw the attention of Members to the photographic reproductions of a series of Portuguese Plans of Ceylon, which have been secured for the Museum. The originals form a Manuscript set sold by Messrs. Maggs Bros. of London to the Library of Congress, Washington D.C., and are now numbered 293660/22; the photographs have been secured through the great courtesy of the Librarian. The volume contains 2 leaves, 33 plans and one folded map.

The title of the work, "Plantas das Fortalezas, Pagodes, & ca da Ilha de Ceilaõ," with the date 1650, is written on the first leaf. On the second leaf is the Portuguese coat of arms.

The folded map, "Planta da Ilha de Ceilaõ," measures $11\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ inches. On it the island is almost divided in half by a river rising in the southwest and emptying into the ocean 'at "Triqvillimale" in the north-east; this is the Mahaweliganga. The central portion of the island is marked, "Reino Decandea," and the southern, "Riino de Hvva." The following names occur on the map: Iaphanapatam, Ponta das Pedras, Sete Corlas, Manar, Cadiva, Caimel, Negvmbo, Colvmbo, Qvatro Corlas, Balane, Candea, Pico Dadaõ, Araial, Seita Vaca, Malvana, Panatvre, Calatvre, Alicam, Gale, Sofragao, Beligaõ. Matvre, Dvas Corlas, Valave, Magama, Cvvicanve, Iala, Espesvra dos Bedas, Bate Calov, Triqvillimale, Rio da +

The following are the titles of the Plans:—

- No. 1.—Colvmbo,
- No. 2.—Nievmbo,
- No. 3.—Planta da fortaleza de Necvmbo,
- No. 4.—Chilao,
- No. 5.—Pvtalam,
- No. 6.—Iaphanapatam,
- No. 7.—Forma da fortificação de Iaphanapatam,
- No. 8.—Ponta das Pedras,
- No. 9.—Rio da Crvs,
- No. 10.—Planta da fortaleza de Triqvillimale,
- No. 11.—Triqvillimale,
- No. 12.—Forma do pagode de Triqvillimale,
- No. 13.—Batecalov,
- No. 14.—Paneva,
- No. 15.—Rio Decvvicanve,
- No. 16.—Rio Daialla,
- No. 17.—Rio de Magamma,
- No. 18.—Marinha do sal,
- No. 19.—Rio Devallave,
- No. 20.—Galheta,
- No. 21.—Forma do pagode de Tanavare,
- No. 22.—Tanavare,
- No. 23.—Beligaõ,
- No. 24.—Planta da fortaleza de Galle,
- No. 25.—Matvre,
- No. 26.—Planta da fortaleza de Panatvre,
- No. 27.—Galle,
- No. 28.—Alicaõ,
- No. 29.—Calatvre,
- No. 30.—Malvana,
- No. 31.—Panatvre,
- No. 32.—Manicavare,
- No. 33.—Planta do forte de Sofragam,

Some of the Plans, such as those of Colombo and Menikkadawara, are of exceptional beauty and interest. The plans of the Forts are a useful corrective to our somewhat exaggerated ideas of the importance of the Military operations of the Portuguese in the country. But what will be appreciated by everyone here, are the two illustrations of the Dewale at Devundara and the Kovil at Tirukona malai, which were destroyed by these Vandals.

Our knowledge of Portuguese times is rapidly growing more precise. The Portuguese Forals are now available, as well as a large portion of the Tombos. I hope to complete translation of the letterpress of the Resende *Mss* on my next visit to Europe.

JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION TO KANDY IN 1804.

BY D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S., in his paper¹ on Johnston's famous march to Kandy in 1804, says that he has not been able to gather full materials for a biography of Johnston—chiefly information as to the exact date of Johnston's return to England.

It may therefore not be uninteresting to note here a few particulars on the subject, which may in some measure supplement the most interesting contribution of Mr. Lewis on one, who, in the words of Bennett,² is "second to none in the annals of Ceylon for the bravery and cool determination of a British Officer." and "the fortitude of a soldier in any part of the world."

Lieut.-Col. (then Major) Johnston's "Narrative," which Sir Emerson Tennent describes as the most thrilling military narrative on record,³ was published in London in 1810, and it contains a map of the part of the Island showing the route taken by him. A reprint of the book, which Mr. Lewis believes was produced by some of Johnston's friends or relations, appeared in Dublin in 1854, in which the map is wanting, but there is prefixed a Memoir which is neither full nor complete.

Lieut.Col. Arthur Johnston, it would seem, entered the Army on 9th May, 1794 as Ensign in the 87th Foot. On the 17th of the same month he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in the 102nd Foot. On 3rd September, 1795 he was transferred to the 19th Foot,

1.—Paper entitled "Johnston's Expedition to Kandy in 1804," read at the General Meeting of the Society, on Wednesday, October 7, 1925.

2.—Ceylon and its Capabilities—p. 419.

3.—Ceylon Vol. II. p. 85.

and with this regiment he came out to Ceylon in 1796⁴. In 1809 Johnston applied for and obtained a Majority in his Regiment. The following is an extract from his Memorial:—

“That your Memorialist has served in the Army nearly 16 years, 13 of which have been mostly passed in active service in the East Indies and particularly in the Kandian War.

That so far back as 1804 your Memorialist had the honour of commanding one of the 6 Divisions ordered to march on Kandy, a command adopted to the rank of Field Officer, the other 5 Divisions being led by Officers of that rank. That in the execution of this service your Memorialist penetrated unsupported to the Capital in Kandy, kept possession of it for 3 days, and forced his way back to Trincomalee, a distance of 142 miles, through a country full of mountains and defiles and opposed by the natives at every pass.”

On 11th May 1811, he left the Island, having obtained an exchange into the 3rd Corsican Rangers. On 25th July 1816 he retired on half-pay, having been appointed Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet. After his retirement he was employed as a Professor in the Royal Military College for some time. He resigned this post soon after and settled at Shalden where he died on June 6th, 1824 of some disorder in the throat.⁵

Apropos of the subject it may be mentioned that Mr. Lewis' paper discloses the fact that Lieut.-Col. Johnston married Martha Smith, daughter of Thomas Smith of Shalden after his retirement from the army.

4.—There is, however, a reference to Johnston's arrival in “Ceylon in Early British Times,” by the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., C.M.G., according to which Johnston arrived in Ceylon in 1801 (2nd Edition p. 39.). We believe this is an error, as Johnston commanded in 1800 a corps of pioneers which opened a road for General Macdowal's Embassy to Kandy. (Johnston's Narrative, p. v.)

5.—For full particulars—see Ceylon Literary Register (weekly) Vol. III. pp. 267—269.

The suggestion seems therefore irresistible that this in his second marriage, as the sequel will show.

There is a striking anecdote that has not received the publicity it deserves. It is one connected with the family of Hon'ble Henry Matthews in Ceylon. And our authority recounts it in this fashion. During his official career Justice Henry Matthews⁶ had occasion to visit Galle frequently and during these visits he was entertained by Mrs. Gibson⁷ of Buona Vista fame. Here Justice Matthews became acquainted with *the only daughter* of Lieut.—Col. Johnston, Miss Susan Johnston.⁸ Justice Matthews offered her a place in his house at Mutwal to teach his children on a liberal allowance. She accepted the offer and for about two years⁹ was in the family. During his last days⁹ Miss Johnston was his constant attendant and nurse, Mrs. Matthews being too much distressed and overwhelmed with grief to be of any assistance. Soon after her husband's death, Mrs. Matthews left Ceylon with her children. She offered Miss Johnston a passage to England, but she refused it. A month or two after this she married at the Wesleyan Chapel, Colombo, Mr. A. W. Jansz,¹⁰ the father of late Mr. W. Jansz, Head

6.—Brilliant humourist, and author of "The Diary of an Invalid." He was appointed Advocate Fiscal, Ceylon, (Attorney-General), in 1821, and in 1827 Puisne Justice. His son Henry (born in Colombo in 1826) rose to be M.P. for Birmingham East and Secretary for the Home Department from 1886—1892, and in 1895 was raised to the Peerage as Lord Llandaff—"Ferguson's Early British Rule in Ceylon."

7.—This is, we believe, the wife of William Carmichael Gibson; who was Master Attendant of Galle from 1796—1803, and at Colombo till 1816, but resigned "to follow mercantile pursuits."—Lewis' Tombstones p. 184.

8.—Born in the year 1808 (probably). Died at Galle at the age of 89 on May 16, 1897; buried at Galle in the Dutch Presbyterian Cemetery in the family vault of the late P. Bulkhuisen. The death entry shows her nationality as "Burgher". Her Mother was probably a Burgher lady, whose name we have not yet been able to trace.

9.—He died on May 20, 1828. He is buried in St. Peter's Church, Fort, Colombo. For a sketch of his life, see Lewis' Tombstones and Monuments pp. 13 and 14.

10.—Died in 1873. His marriage register could not be traced, as the records for 1828 are not available for search.

Clerk of the Batticaloa Kachcheri,¹¹ and grand-father of Mr. Charles Alexander Jansz, retired Inspector of Telegraphs, Selangor, and presently of Bambalapitiya, Colombo.¹² Papers in Mr. C. A. Jansz's possession show that Susan Johnston had been in communication with her benefactor's son, Right Hon'ble Henry Matthews, when she was a widow. We shall here extract a passage from a Memorial addressed by her to His Excellency Sir Arthur H. Gordon, K.C.M.G., on March 15th, 1890. She says:—

“Your Excellency's Memorialist is the only daughter of the late Col. Johnston by whose marvellous bravery Kandy was captured for the British in 1804. The glorious possession of the honours he had so splendidly won was duly applauded by the Commander of the Forces as will appear from the two following extracts from letters furnished to your Memorialist by the Right Hon'ble Henry Matthews, Home Secretary, dated respectively, 8.9.1804 and 22.2.1805:—

(a) The Commander of the Forces directs me to say he has received the report of the attack you made on the Kandians under the Dissave of Uva and highly applauds the gallantry and judgment of it. The success arose entirely from your activity and conduct which was exactly what the Commander of the Forces expected at your hands.

(b) I am directed by the Commander of the Forces to acknowledge your letter stating your attack on the enemy who received it with warmest terms of approbation.”

Our endeavours to secure a photograph of this lady

11.—Born on I.V. 1829.

12.—For a fuller account see Ceylon Literary Register (weekly) Vol. III. pp. 79—80. We are credibly informed that Mr. C. A. Jansz's services were requisitioned by Government in the year 1892 when the present Governor Sir Hugh Clifford took a leading part in the suppression of the Pahang Rebellion.

who linked with the past of Ceylon proved unsuccessful, though we have come across a photograph taken on her funeral day. As this photograph is much faded and her facial lineaments are not quite visible, we have refrained from reproducing it here.

In regard to Lieut.-Col. Johnston's portrait which Mr. Lewis has been able to secure it may be pointed out that a similar portrait appears in the Monograph of the Batticaloa District. Mr. S. O. Canagaratnam, the author of this work, in an article contributed by him to the "Ceylon Morning Leader" of October 16th, 1925, mentions that it was supplied to him by Mrs. Benson, a near relative of Johnston, who was at one time a guest of Sir W. H. Manning, the late Governor of Ceylon.

Mr. Lewis' paper has so greatly stimulated an interest in Johnston's expedition that it seems essential before concluding this note to bring to notice a remark made by the author of that famous work—"Eleven Years in Ceylon." Major Forbes, writing on the expedition in 1804 says that Captain Johnston "entered the Kandian country, traversed its most difficult defiles, crossed its largest river, *took its Capital*"¹³ and "then fought his way down the Etgalla pass through the forests of Matale, and finally, after encountering and overcoming every species of hardship, conducted *his victorious party* to Trincomalie,"¹⁴ (the italics are ours).

Be that as it may, after a perusal of the information available at our disposal, we are inclined to believe that Major Forbes was not correct in thinking that the Capital was taken by Johnston and his party. It seems to be the more reasonable to believe that Johnston crossed the Mahaveliganga and *entered* Kandy. Indeed that Johnston's "Narrative" warrants such a view there can be no doubt. These are his own

13.—Eleven Years in Ceylon, Vol. I. p.39.

14.—Ibid Vol. II. p.118.

words—"Our troops once more took possession of the Capital, which they found as usual, entirely deserted by its inhabitants."¹⁵ That that portion of the town in proximity to the Palace had been evacuated as was usual on the approach of war, is certain, for Johnston entered the Palace as its situation was most favourable "for resisting any immediate attack," and "looked with great anxiety for the arrival of the other detachment."¹⁶ Then we know that, according to the "most secret" communication of September 3, 1804, addressed to Captain Johnston, he had been directed that his detachment should proceed to Kandy and that six other detachments from Colombo, Hambantota, Trincomalie, Negombo, Chilaw, and Puttalam should meet it and proceed to Kandy for the purpose of "the destruction of the enemy's Capital."¹⁷ It is therefore most improbable that a cautious soldier like Johnston would have precipitated an action, which was, according to instructions received, to take place by the conjoint forces. Parenthetically it may be stated that during his stay in Kandy, Johnston did not "concert such measures as would best tend to effect the greatest devastation and injury to the enemy's country,"¹⁸ for, as Mr. Lewis puts it, "he scrupulously avoided destroying or damaging any of the enemy's houses or property, and the town was left in peace and quietness." Johnston says that he abstained from destroying or even injuring the town in order that the other troops coming up might not be deprived of shelter.

It is also noteworthy that Forbes' remarks referred to do not compare favourably with what several other writers have to say on the matter.

15.—Narrative, 2nd Edition p. 61.

16.—Ibid p. 61.

17.—Ibid p. 39.

18.—Ibid p. 43.

Bombardier Alexander,¹⁹ who had the oral testimony of soldiers who belonged to Captain Johnston's detachment, says that "Captain Johnston and his army *reached* the Capital in safety without opposition, and found it deserted."²⁰

Dr. J. Davy in his account of Ceylon remarks that Johnston penetrated into the interior and without any of the support and co-operation which it had a right to expect, marched through the heart of the country from Batticaloa to Kandy, which it *entered*, and from Kandy to Trincomalie.²¹

Dr. H. Marshall in his impartial account observes that after much hard fighting and surmounting innumerable obstacles in the woods and mountains of Uva Johnston *reached* Kandy.²²

C. Pridham seems to have held the same view when he says that Captain Johnston "crossed the Mahaveli-ganga unopposed and marched direct upon the Capital which he found deserted by the inhabitants."²³ Not wholly deserted, though Bombardier Alexander points out that when the soldiers entered Kandy they saw only "a little boy weeping, a woman and a white rat." Johnston's "Narrative" does not justify the belief that the Capital was wholly abandoned at this time for he significantly remarks that the Kandyans "were in great force in the neighbourhood and delayed their attack only until the climate should begin to take effect upon the soldiers."²⁴ Bombardier Alexander also adds that the enemy were collecting in great numbers upon the

19.—Bombardier Alexander arrived in the Island when Hon. F. North was Governor and Major-General Macdowal, Commander of the Forces. He left Ceylon on 15.3.1811 on board "Thomas Granville" which conveyed Governor Right Hon'ble Thomas Maitland.

20.—Life of Alexander written by himself and edited by John Howell—1830—Vol. I., p. 149.

21.—Ceylon p. 316.

22.—Conquest of Ceylon, p. 123.

23 —Ceylon Vol. I. p. 175.

24 —Narrative 2nd Edition p. 62.

adjacent hill," so much so that "the enemy could be seen thickening on every side. "The little army was completely surrounded by overwhelming numbers." Johnston being therefore unable to account for the delay of the other divisions which ought to have come up before this time started a precipitate retreat from Kandy "in silence, keeping close together and waiting for each other," and the party "at length reached Trincomalie, cold, dirty, and lousy; almost naked, many barefoot and maimed; officers and all were alike starved and shrivelled, their countenances haggard, forming an assemblage of the most miserable looking men it is possible to conceive."²⁵

Dr. Marshall, speaking on this retreat of the English forces, says that it was nearly as fatal to the Europeans of the detachment as the massacre of 1803 had been for almost all died in the Hospital, few, very few survived.²⁶

It was perhaps in recollection of these events that Sri Wickrama Rajasinha exultingly remarked within the hearing of Dr. Marshall—"Twice during my reign have you obtained the possession of the town of Kandy and twice have you been very glad to get out of it."²⁷

In conclusion we may quote here the official account of the inroads into the Kandian territories in 1804, as this account is not familiar to many in its entirety.

"When I was writing my last General Letter," says Governor Frederic North, "various detachments were in the field, but a general union of them at the Candian Capital was thought by Major-General Wemyss not capable of being carried into execution without greater preparation. That plan therefore which had once been adopted, was renounced, and the different detachments entered the country on different sides and directed their attack to different objects.

25.—Howell's *Life of Bombardier Alexander* Vol. I. p. 164.

26.—*Conquest of Ceylon* p. 127.

27.—*Marshall's Conquest of Ceylon* p. 171.

“Major Beaver with a force consisting of 90 Europeans and 250 natives left Colombo on the 20th September and directing his march to the South-East traversed the Saffregam Corle, having forced innumerable batteries and dispersed all the obstacles which the face of the country and the exertion of the Adigar opposed to him, and having burned the residence of that minister, nearly taken his person, and laid waste the country from which he draws his principal resources entered the District of Matara on the 5th October, with the loss of only 1 native wounded and what is still more remarkable without the desertion of one single cooly.

“Captain Blackall with a detachment from Negombo composed of 90 Europeans and 110 natives and supported by two smaller ones from Puttalam and Chilaw, commanded by the respective Commandants of those places, Lieutenants Purdon and White, laid waste the whole province of the Seven Corles to within a day's march of Candy, and proved the advantage of our small body of cavalry in the terror which they inspired, and in the capture of a great quantity of cattle, which they brought down to the great benefit of our settlements, and the irreparable loss of the enemy.

“Captain Honner overran the Soorely District, with equal success from Trincomalie.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Maddison attempted to penetrate into the Saffregam Corle by Kattergam, but the drought of the country obliging him to enter it more to the South-ward, he soon after joined Major Beaver's Detachment and returned with it to Matara.

“But the most remarkable march was that of Captain Arthur Johnston from Batticaloa. That officer, not having clearly understood the letter by which the Major-General countermanded the junction at Candy marched to that Capital by a new and untried road of 180 miles in length at the head of a Detachment consisting of 60 Europeans and 220 natives and reached the

Capital without any loss. He would have forced his way down again with equal success, had he not waited three days at Candy, in hopes of being joined by the other Detachments of our troops. The enemy in the meantime assembled in great force at the passage of the river on the road to Trincomale, which, however, Captain Johnston forced, with the loss of a considerable number of men, and two officers of the 19th Regiment—Lieutenants Vincent and Smith who were severely wounded and obliged to be carried forward in doolies. Having passed the river he continued his route and would have made it good into our territories, with very little additional loss, notwithstanding the scarcity of ammunition, had not his coolies been terrified, and the Bengal Sepoys thrown into some confusion. These circumstances prevented his retreat from being so successful and so glorious as it otherwise would have been, and I am sorry to add that the two wounded officers were left behind by the fault of a Sergeant of the 19th who has since been sentenced by a Court Martial to be transported for life to Botany Bay. On account of his conduct, Captain Johnston arrived in our territories at Candelay Lake on the 16th October having lost 9 Europeans, 60 natives and 76 coolies killed and wounded.

“The brilliant and adventurous spirit which our troops displayed in this extraordinary march has, notwithstanding the unfortunate circumstances which accompanied it, had the greatest effect upon the Candians, as it has proved, what I have always indeed maintained, that any compact body of soldiers well equipped might pass through any part of the Candian territories and that several such bodies acting in concert, during the healthy season, would soon drive the people and its Government to desperation.”²⁸.

28 —Governor North's General Letter of 8. 2 1805 addressed to Earl Camden, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

**A NOTE TO Mr. F. LEWIS' PAPER ON
"JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION TO KANDY IN 1804"**

By F. A. TISSEVERASINGHE.

I would wish to add a few particulars to the account of the above expedition furnished by Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S., in his excellent paper read by him at a General Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held on the 7th October last.

A sketch of the life of Lieut.-Col. Johnston appears in Volume iii of the Ceylon Literary Register. It is said to have been compiled by one Mr. E. Reyhardt.

From the Memoir prefixed to the 1854 edition of Johnston's book and the Inscription on his Monument, the year of Johnston's birth would be 1778, or to be precise, 7th July, 1778, whereas Reyhardt gives it as 1779.

He entered the army on 9th May 1784 as Ensign in the 87th Foot. His promotion seems to have been rapid for on the 17th of the same month he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant in the 102nd Foot. On the 3rd September 1795 he was transferred to the 19th Foot, and with this regiment he came to Ceylon in 1796.

There seems to be some difference of opinion, says the writer, regarding the letter countermanding the order of 3rd September 1804 from Trincomalie. One writer (Forbes) says that "by some strange accident the letter countermanding the order was omitted." Another, the Editor (Donald Ferguson) of the Literary Register seems to think that it did not reach him, while others are of opinion that the letter did reach him but was misinterpreted by him. "The first statement" Reyhardt

says, "appears to be the correct one." "It was afterwards attempted," proceeds Reyhardt "to prove that the letter in question was the one countermanding the original order." Reyhardt says that "there is not a single sentence which can be understood to revoke the previous order." Johnston himself expressed his surprise at the construction attempted to have been placed on the letter. And Mr. Lewis is equally vigorous in asserting that, "no analysis is necessary to show that the orders given to Johnston could in any way bear any other construction than that placed on them by Johnston himself."

The letter countermanding the original order is, according to Johnston, dated 14th September, 1804. In another part of his narrative quoted by Mr. Lewis, Johnston refers to the order of the 8th (September 1804). To this Mr. Lewis appends a foot-note "it is not clear to what order this refers." It is curious to note that the second letter in Reyhardt's account in the Literary Register is dated "Jaffnapatam, 8th September 1804." Apparently 14th September is an error either of Johnston or of the printer, for 8th September 1804.

Reyhardt quotes extracts of two letters from copies of War Office despatches sent by the Right Hon'ble Henry Matthews to Mr. W. Jansz, of whom later.

From the Major of Brigade to Capt. Johnston
(undated)

Sir,

The Commander of the Forces directs me to say he has received the report of the attack you made on the Kandyans under the Dissawa of Uva and highly applauds the gallantry and judgment of it. The success arose entirely from your activity and conduct which was exactly what the Commander of the Forces expected at your hands.

From the Dep. Adj.-General, Colombo, 22nd
February, 1805 to Capt. Johnston.

I am directed by the Commander of the Forces to acknowledge your letter stating your attack on the enemy who (*sic*) received it with the warmest approbation."

Reyhardt adds "that this expedition forms one of the most brilliant episodes of English warfare in the East."

In 1809 Capt. Johnston applied for and obtained a majority in his Regiment. In his Memorial to the War Office on that occasion Johnston refers to this expedition as follows:—

"That so far back as 1804 Your Memorialist had the honour of commanding one of the 6 divisions ordered to march on Kandy, a command adapted to the rank of Field Officer, the other 5 divisions being led by officers of that rank.

That in the execution of this Service Your Memorialist penetrated unsupported to the Capital of Kandy kept possession of it for three days and forced his way back to Trincomalie, a distance of 142 miles through a country full of mountains and opposed by the natives at every point."

This passage incidentally disposes of the doubt raised by a member at the Meeting on the strength of an observation by Marshall that Johnston did not enter Kandy. Johnston penetrated to Kandy and kept possession of it for 3 days.

"The exact date of Johnston's return" says Mr. Lewis, "I am unable to trace, but I find that he later held the appointment of Assistant Commandant at the Royal Military College at Farnham."

Reyhardt gives us the exact date. "On May 11th, 1811, he left the Island having obtained an exchange into the 3rd Corsican Rangers. In confirmation of this

fact, we find in the Inscription on his monument the following: "late of His Majesty's Regiment of Royal Corsican Rangers."

On July 25th, 1811, he retired on half pay having been appointed Lieut.-Col. by brevet.

After his retirement he was employed as a Professor in the Royal Military College for some time. He resigned the post soon after and settled at Shalden, a village in Hampshire where he died on the 6th June 1824 of some disorder in the throat.

Extracts from the register of deaths in the Parish of Shalden, 1824:—

Name	Abode.	When
Lt. Col. Arthur Johnston.	Shalden	June 4.

How a grateful country treats its heroes is seen from the following "His pension appears to have been insufficient to meet his expenses as an application was made by him to sell his Commission, but this was refused on the ground that it was contrary to regulations."

Further information "which is as startling and interesting as it was unexpected" in the words of the Editor (Donald Ferguson) of the Ceylon Literary Register, is furnished by a Galle Correspondent to the same volume of the Register which contains the sketch of the Life of Johnston already referred to.

In the course of some interesting reminiscences of the Right Hon'ble Henry Matthews, Home Secretary, son of Justice Matthews of Ceylon, the Correspondent says:

"All visitors to Galle had to avail themselves of Mrs. Gibson's hospitality." It may be mentioned by

the way on the authority of Mohotty Modeliar F. E. Gooneratne that Mrs. Gibson was the wife of a Civil Servant and her bungalow is the present "Buona Vista Orphanage." She was, according to another account the widow of William Carmichael Gibson to whom she was married at Madras in October 1794 and died at Galle in August 1858 aged 85 (J. P. Lewis' Inscriptions on Tombstones).

"Here" proceeds the Correspondent, "Justice Matthews became acquainted with Miss Susan Johnston the only daughter of Captain (afterwards) Major Johnston who conducted the ill-fated expedition to Kandy from Batticaloa in 1804 and who was second in command of the later expedition that started from Galle under Colonel Murray to co-operate with the seven divisions that started simultaneously from Colombo, Batticaloa, Trincomalie, and Negombo for the capture of Kandy."

"Struck with her beauty and intelligence" the Correspondent proceeds, "Justice Matthews offered her a place in his house to teach his children on a liberal allowance. She accepted the offer and for about two years was in the family teaching the future Home Secretary of England and his sisters the rudiments of their language" "Impossible" interposes the Editor "as the Home Secretary was only born in 1826, the sisters were no doubt older"). About the end of 1830 Justice Matthews died of consumption (the Editor believes of dyspepsia in 1828), according to the late Mr. J. P. Lewis on 24th May 1828. During his last days Miss Johnston was his constant attendant and nurse, Mrs. Matthews being too much distressed and overwhelmed with grief to be of any assistance. He died one night at 8 o'clock, Miss Johnston and Mr. Vanderstraaten, his Private Secretary ministering to his wants. The book from which she read the prayers to her dying benefactor

is still in the possession of her family being carefully preserved as memento of her connection with that distinguished family.

Soon after her husband's death Mrs. Matthews left Ceylon with her children. She offered Miss Johnston a passage to England, but she was obliged to refuse, having a much more important engagement to fulfil. A month or two after this she married Mr. A. W. Jansz at the Wesleyan Chapel, Colombo. She is still (1889) living and in the pride of Great-Grand Motherhood. Her eldest son is our much respected townsman Mr. William Jansz the well-known Head Clerk of the Batticaloa Kachcheri. Many of her sons and grand-sons are in Government employ holding important places, while others are employed beyond the seas."

The Editor expressed the hope that a photograph might be taken of the Lady who links so curiously the warlike past with the pacific present of Ceylon.

THE PORTUGUESE CHAPEL IN THE KALPITIYA FORT.

BY REV. S. G. PERERA S. J.

In the old Dutch fort of Kalpitiya there is a small Portuguese chapel which has weathered three hundred years and more. For many years past it did duty as a salt store, but now the inevitable has happened. The chapel has been found unsafe, and the Public Works Department is engaged in dismantling it as well as the other buildings in the fort. On hearing of the impending fate of the old chapel, the Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington did me the kindness to send me word of it. And as it was a Jesuit Chapel, built and served by members of the Society of Jesus, I hastened to secure some photographs of the relic.

This chapel, dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, was built in the beginning of the seventeenth century. When the Jesuits were invited to open a College in Colombo for the education of the young, the Kalpitiya peninsula, which the Portuguese called 'the island of Calpety' and sometimes 'the island of Cardiva', was gifted in emphyteusis copyhold to the Society for the maintenance of the College. The peninsula was then 'uninhabited and jungle for the most part,'¹ though to judge from the number of gold and copper coins and buried treasure found in its neighbourhood² the town of Kalpitiya seems to have been a busy port in ancient times.

The Jesuits soon set to work to cultivate the lands. Father Gaspar de Abreu was sent there in 1606, and in the course of a few years, he not only converted the sparse

1.—Queyroz Conquista, 871.

2.—Journal, C.B. R.A.S., VII. 57.

population, but even brought a colony from the Fishery Coast to cultivate the lands. At first he erected three chapels in the peninsula, but soon the number of chapels increased to five and finally to seven, the chief ones being those of Kalpitiya and Etalai, at each of which was a resident Jesuit. The town which the Dutch called Calpentyn was in those days called Arasadi by the inhabitants,⁴ after a large *arāsu* tree, (*ficus religiosa*,) which stood there. These Residences of Kalpitiya are thus described in a Jesuit Report of 1644:—

Ilha de Calpety

Vendo de Chilao p^a a p^{te} do Norte correndo a praya está a Ilha de Calpety, na qual estão duas Resd^{as}, e dous Pes^q corre cō ellas. A Prim^a, Arezari, Orago. Assumpsã de N.Sora, tẽ xpaõs 400, destes virão a doutr^a cada dia mininos 40, na schola 17. Tem esta Resid^a annexa a sy a Igreja de Tatāya, Orago S.Pedro São Paulo, tẽ xpaõs 450, destes virão a doutrina cada dia 60. Residencia de Etaly em Calpety. De Tatāya duas legoas p^a a p^{te} do Sul está a Residencia de Etaly, Orago São Fr^{co} Xavier, tẽ xpaõs 200, destes virão a doutr^a cada dia mininos 30. Tem esta Resid^a annexas a sy as Igrejas seq^{tes}; [1^a] Nalequilim, orago S.Crus, tẽ xpaõs 33, destes virão a doutr^a mininos 5, : a 2^a Navelcaru ,orago Assumpção de N.Sõr^a, tẽ xpaõs 100, destes virão cada dia a doutr^a mininos 20: a 3^a Maripo quarto legoas de Navelcaru ,orago S. Crus, tẽ xpaõs 50, destes virão a doutr^a cada dia mininos 6. Tem mais perto de Etaly em varias pouoacoẽs algũs xpaõs ,em Telle, xpaõs 30, em Palicure xpaõs 40, em Cureçure xpaõs 18, destes vẽ a doutr^a mininos 5; Perto de Navelcaru em Tetapuly xpaõs 28, destes vẽ a doutr^a mininos 8. Em Puldevael xpaõs 50, destes vẽ a doutrina mininos 20, na schola 4.

3.—Letter of Christopher Joam, S.J., 1609, Ceylon Antiquary, II. 23.

4.—Pridham, Ceylon 644.

A esta Rerid^a pertence a Igreja de Putalão q está na Terra firme de fronte de Calpeti orago, S.Fr^{co} Xavier. Tem xpaõs 400, destes virão a doutr^a 5, Tem esta Resid^a de districto 8 legoas e 20 Alders. O P^e desta Rend^a sempre anda de Igreja em Igreja e mt^o ariscado p^r cousa dos mt^{os} Elefantes, Tigres, Ursos, e Chingalas inimigos q andão p^r aquelles matos.”

“As you go from Chilao towards the North, along the seashore, there is the Island of Calpeti in which are two Residences and two Fathers in charge of them. The first is Arezari, patron the Assumption of Our Lady: it has 400 Christians, of whom 40 children come daily to catechism, 17 to school. Annexed to this Residence is the church of Tatâya, patron SS. Peter and Paul; it has 450 Christians, of whom 60 children come daily to catechism. The Residence of Etaly in Calpeti: Two leagues to the South of Tatâya is the Residence of Etaly, patron St. Francis Xavier; it has 200 Christians, of whom 30 children come daily to catechism. Annexed to this Residence are the following churches: [1st] Nalequilim, patron the Holy Cross; it has 33 Christians of whom 5 children come to catechism; the 2nd Navelcaru, patron the Assumption of Our Lady; it has 100 Christians, of whom 20 children come daily to catechism. the 3rd Maripo, four leagues from Navelcaru, patron the Holy Cross; it has 50 Christians, of whom 6 children come daily to catechism. Nearer to Etaly there are a few Christians in several villages, [i.e.,] in Telle, 30 Christians, in Palicure 40 Christians, in Cureçure 18 Christians, of whom 5 children come to catechism. Near Navelcaru in Tetapuly [there are] 28 Christians, of whom 20 children come to catechism, 4 to school. To this Residence belongs the church of Putalão which is on the mainland in front of Calpeti, patron St. Francis Xavier; it has 400

5.—Breve Relacao das Christandades de 1644, Andre Lopes: MS. in the Archives of the Society of Jesus, f.533.

Christians, of whom 5 [0] come to catechism. This Residence has as its district 8 leagues and 20 villages. The Father of this Residence is constantly going from church to church and is in great danger on account of the many elephants, tigers, wild boars, and hostile Sinhalese, who roam through these woods."

Shortly after 1644, on the recapture of Negombo by the Dutch, the Jesuits had to quit the peninsula. The revenues of Kalpitiya, however, did not remain in the hands of the Jesuits even when they were there. For as soon as the lands were cleared and cultivated, the covetous Portuguese officials of Ceylon wrested the lands from the Society, although the grant had been solemnly confirmed by the King of Portugal. But the Government farmers of revenue soon reduced them to their former state, whereupon they were restored to the Society, only to be withdrawn again by the Captain-General Don Philip Mascarenhas, who, as a Jesuit writer pointedly observes, was wrecked off Kalpitiya when he was returning to India as Viceroy.⁶

The Dutch do not seem to have occupied Kalpitiya even after they had expelled the Portuguese from the whole Island, for the English sailors, who survived the wreck of the "Persia Merchant" put into Kalpitiya in 1658, where they were "seased on by the Malabars." One of the sailors describes Kalpitiya as a "verey good harbor for smale barkes or shippes, and a plase of Trade the River beinge great and goinge 4 miles up into the Lland may serve for a plase of Residen[se] if yor worppps thinke it Convenient, for ye Duch are not settled nor beloved by the natives wch if ye English ware would be of greate consernment to our Nation."

6.—Queyroz Conquista. 872.

7.—Letter of Jonatan Trevisa to "The Right Worlls ye Governer Depety & Comittee of ye Honnorabell Comp.^a of East India Merchants, &c., London: (Received 24th June 1659). M.L.R. IV., 10-11.

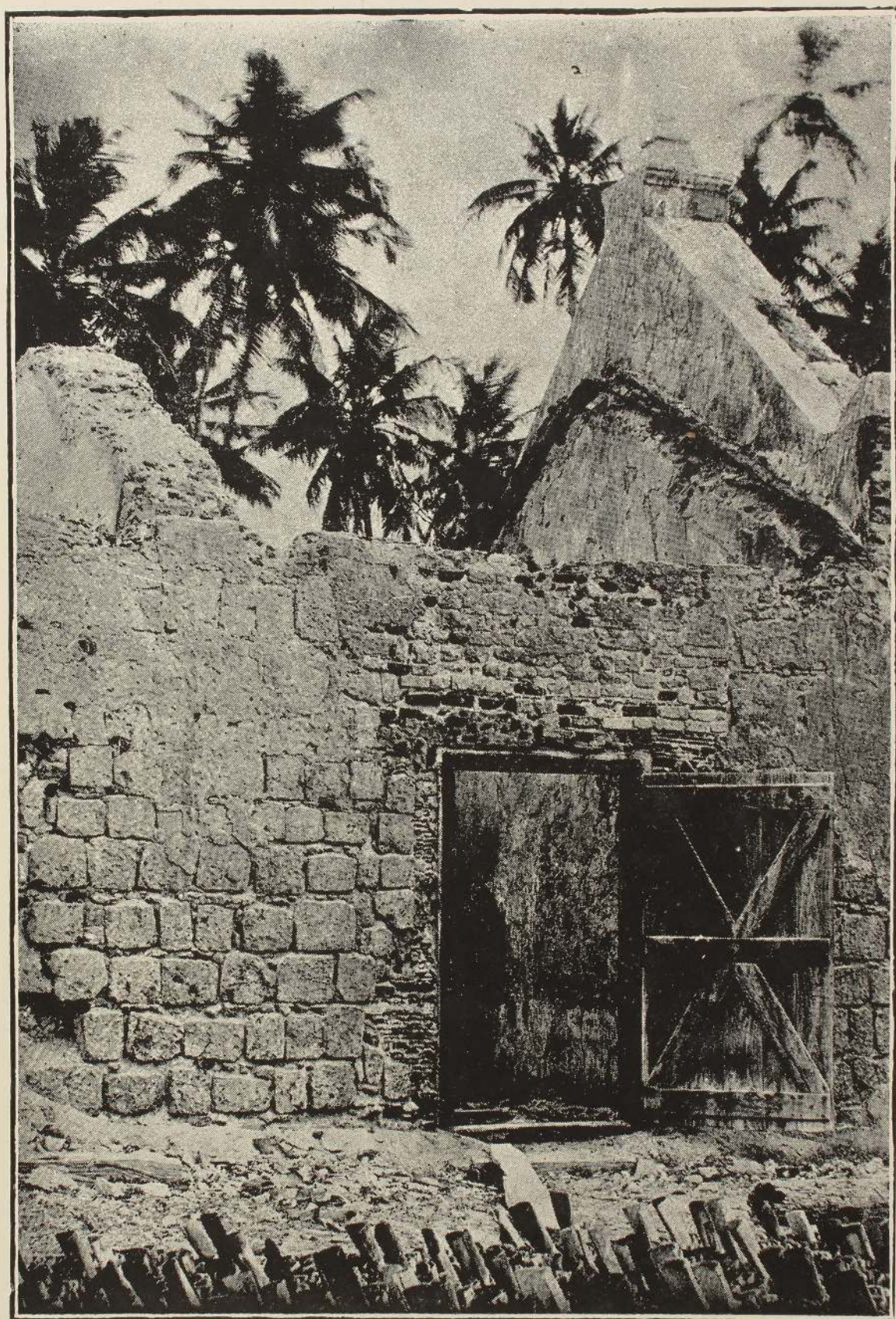
But Raja Sinha forestalled the Dutch and sent his troops to fortify Navakkadu and hold Kalpitiya. Thereupon Adrian Van der Meyden marched upon it in 1659, routed the Kandyans and fortified the Chapel of Arasadi.⁸ Under the Dutch the peninsula was again "inhabited and cultivated," and when Albrecht Herpot visited it in 1663, the church was still occupied by the Dutch. In 1670⁹ the Dutch built their fort on the earlier fortification, and the chapel became a part of the barracks. It does not seem to have been used for divine service, for according to Cordiner (1,335), "over one of the barracks of the fort is a room fitted out as a chapel where divine service was regularly performed during the Dutch Government."

Photo I¹⁰ gives a view of the chapel as it is now after the removal of the roof, the open door showing a niche. No. 2 shows the left niche about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $1\frac{1}{2}$, which has been turned into a cupboard with shutters, the wooden frame of which is seen in the photo. No. 3 shows the right niche and a part of the central niche (now blocked with concrete) which has been called a "piscina" but is evidently not a piscina. No. 4 shows this central niche, about 4 ft. by 3, which was probably intended to hold an image. No. 5 shows the façade, of which a full view could not be taken on account of the position. The plan annexed is a rough sketch made for me by the photographer, who gives the following indications. "A" is the wall on which the niches are, "B" the same showing the position of the niches. The doors appear to have stood at "C" & "D" on the Northern and Western walls, "C" about 5 ft. by 2, & "D" 5 ft. by 3.

8.—"der Kerk de Calpentynsze Noordhoek" Valentyn, 148.

9.—Which is the date on the gate, but Pridham (644) says: "A small square fort was built here by the Dutch in 1696, but it is now chiefly used as a salt store."

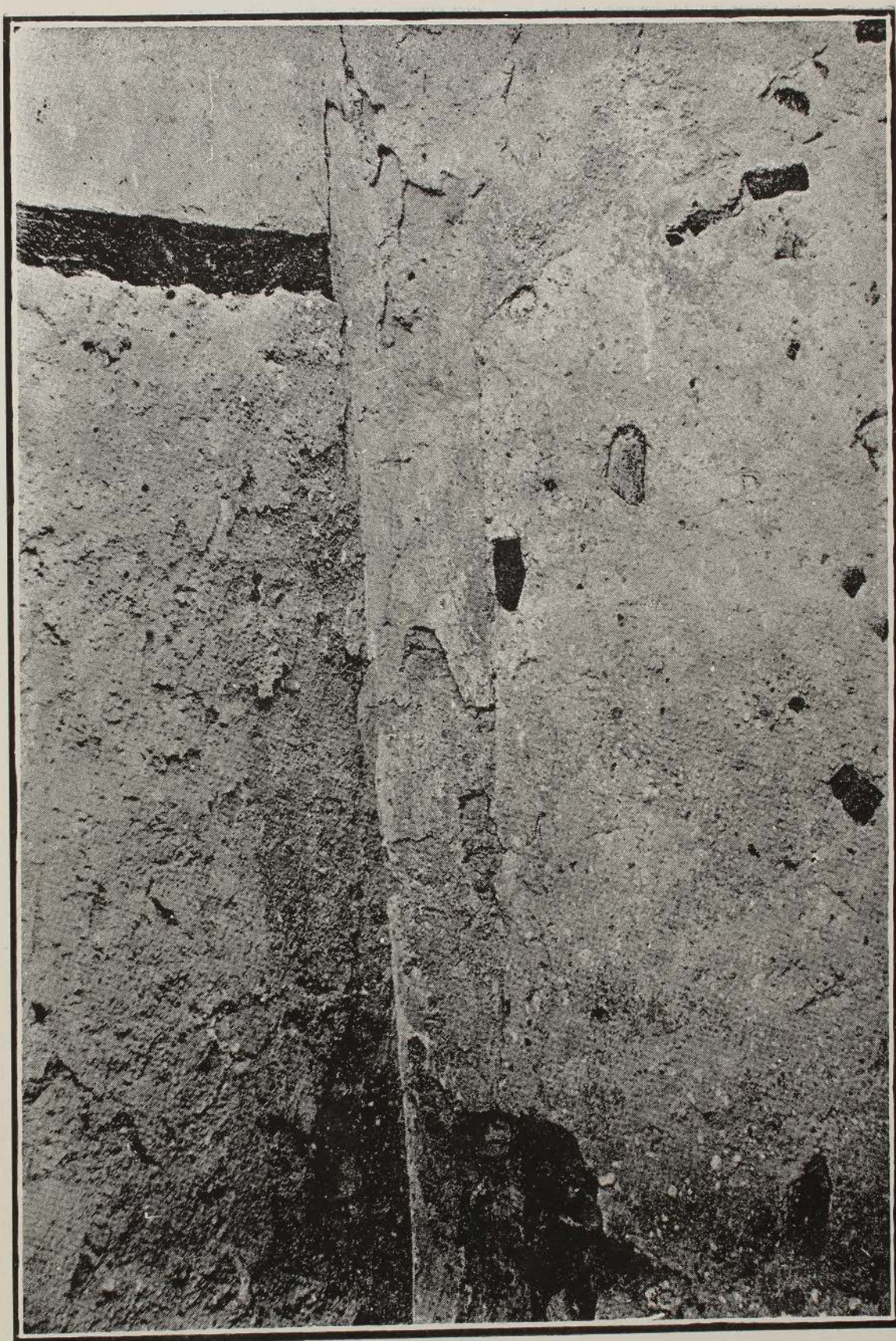
10.—Taken by Mr. M. P. Costa, Photographer, Puttalam.













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