

History of Ceylon: presented ... to the king of Portugal, in 1685 / translated from the Portuguese, by the Abbé Le Grand. Re-translated from the French ed., with an appendix ... by George Lee.

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Le Grand, Joachim, 1653-1733.

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Publication/Creation

Colombo : Government Press, 1847.

Persistent URL

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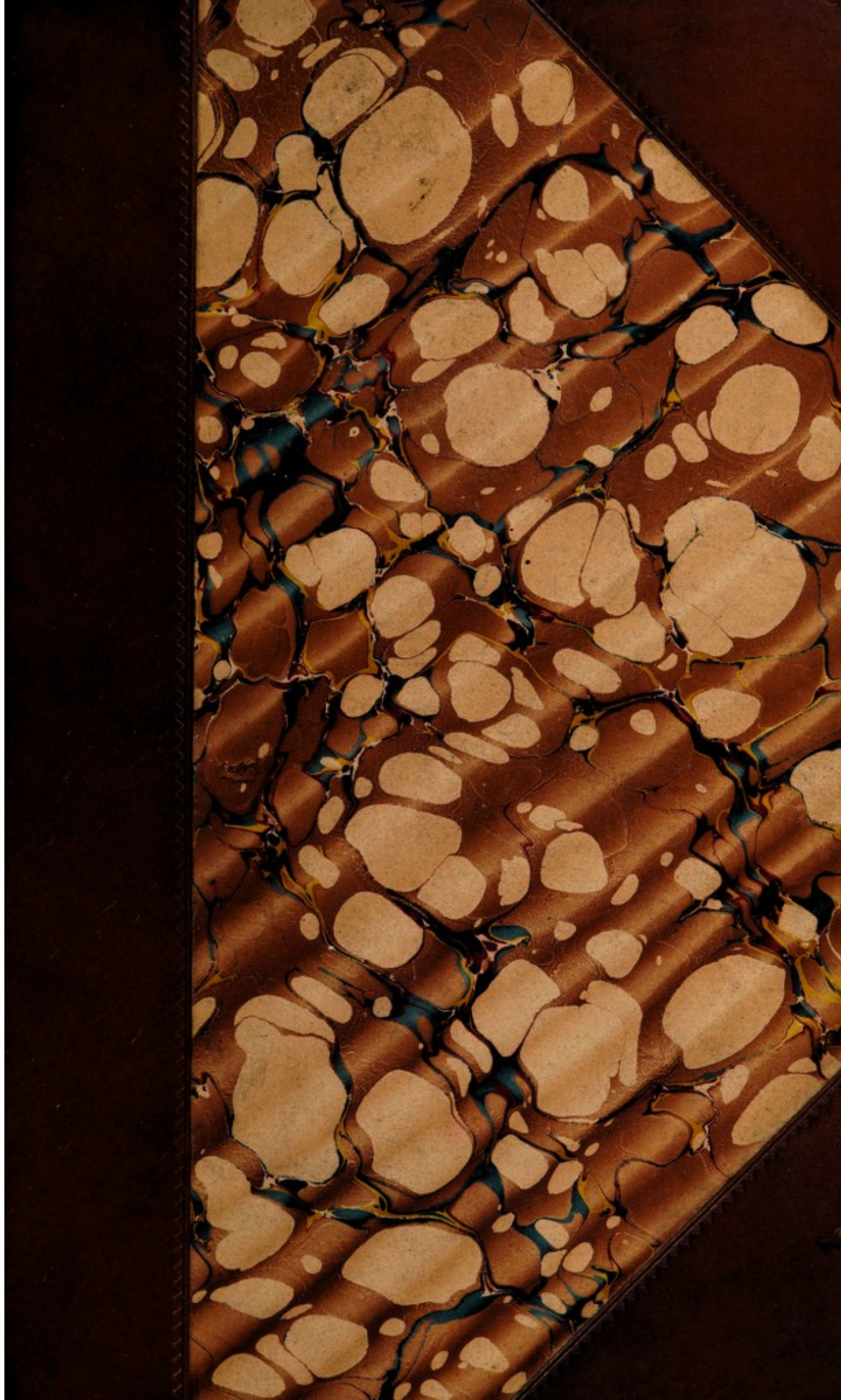
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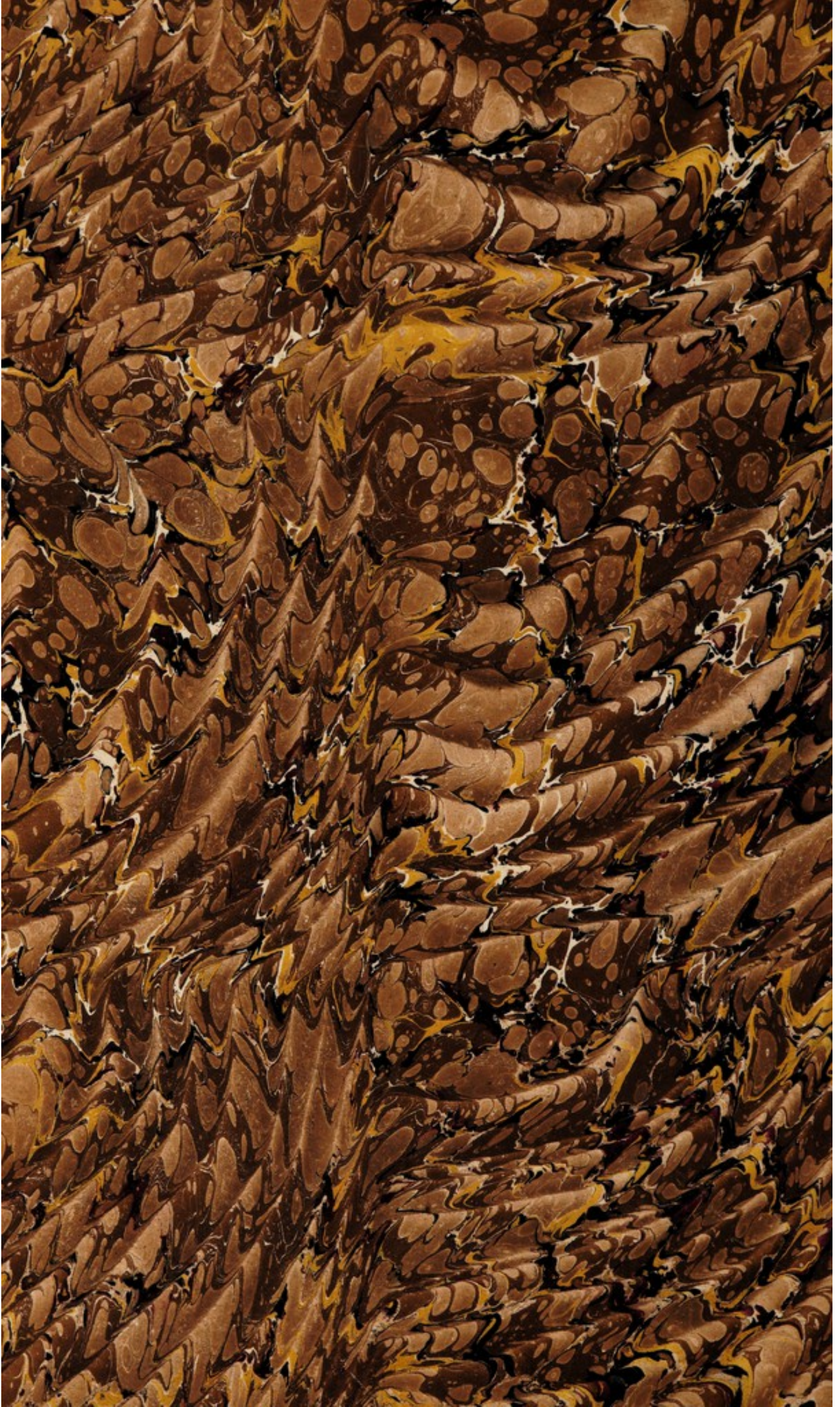
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COLOMBO

in the time of the Portuguese.

St. John's

St. Stephen's

the Ramparts

Church of
the Mother
of God

The Washers' Pond

Prison

San
Francisco

Santa
Cruz

the
Fortress

Mapassa Heights

FROM THE MAP OF THE PORTUGUESE IN 1585

PIRELLA

HISTORY OF CEYLON

PRESENTED BY CAPTAIN JOHN RIBEYRO TO THE
KING OF PORTUGAL, IN 1685,
TRANSLATED FROM THE PORTUGUESE, BY THE
ABBE LE GRAND.

RE-TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITION:

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING CHAPTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PAST
AND PRESENT CONDITION OF THE ISLAND,

BY

GEORGE LEE

POSTMASTER-GENERAL OF CEYLON; FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSAL
STATISTICAL SOCIETY OF FRANCE, &c. &c.

CEYLON:

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, COLOMBO,

MDCCLXVII,

LASCIAMI POR' NELLA TERRA IL PIEDE,
E VIDER' QUESTI INCONOSCUITI LIDI,
VIDER' LE GENTE, E IL COLTO DI LOR FEDE,
E TUTTO QUELLO ONDE UOM SAGGIO M'INVIDI,
QUANDO MI GIOVERA NARRARE ALTRUI
LE NOVITA VEDUTE, E DIRE "IO FUI!"

Tasso, *Gerus. Lib.*



E 4330

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

GEORGE, VISCOUNT FORBINGTON

GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ISLAND OF CEYLON

AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,

&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK

IS, BY PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE EDITOR.

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INTRODUCTION.

HAVING had more leisure-time in the course of 1846 than at any previous period of my fifteen years' residence in Ceylon, I thought I should perform a task acceptable to many persons here by preparing a translation of Ribeyro's History of the Island, and adding to it chapters illustrative of its past and present condition, which either my own experience might enable me to write, or the kindness of friends would supply me with.

A long array of subscribers' names proves to me that I have not been engaged on a thankless work; and I now offer to the Public Ribeyro's interesting little volume, with an Appendix, which I trust will be considered to enhance, in some degree, the value of the book. I doubt whether Ribeyro's History was ever published in the Portuguese language; it appears to have been presented in manuscript to his Sovereign, and to have been procured with other public memoirs, by the Abbè LE GRAND, in Portugal, through the kindness of the Dowager-Countess d' Ericeyra, the lady to whom he dedicates his translation, and whom he mentions as being descended from the illustrious house of Menesez, of which two members had been Governors of Ceylon.

The Abbè, in his Preface, points out the writers on whom he had relied for his information in composing several supplementary chapters: and the joint work of the original Author and first Translator is *generally* so correct as to have required only a passing note occasionally from my pen. The chapters descriptive of the warfare of the Portuguese with the Native Monarchs are evidently as true as if they had been written by an

unconcerned spectator, and at the same time they possess the attraction which only an actor in such scenes can infuse into a narration.

We might be disposed to wonder at the great importance which Ribeyro attaches to Ceylon, were it not for his statement that "nine hundred noble families were resident in the town of Colombo, and upwards of fifteen hundred families of persons attached to the courts of justice, merchants, and substantial citizens"; and this statement is supported by contemporaneous historians, who describe the impulse given to emigration from Spain and Portugal, by the discovery of America, to have been so great that cities were nearly stripped of their inhabitants, and Seville, the great port of embarkation, "was left almost to the women." A degree of indulgence is certainly necessary with regard to Ribeyro's descriptions of the natural riches of the island; he errs evidently from over-credulity, and although a residence of eighteen years in Ceylon might have made him more accurate, yet that time was chiefly passed in camps, and in the spirit of his age, he was perhaps not unwilling to increase the romance of his narrative by a ready belief of the wonderful tales which were told him.

I have, in some manner, connected the period of the History with the present times by the first five chapters of the Appendix; the Memoirs written by two Governors who ruled over Ceylon in the best years of the Dutch Government, will be found worthy of attention, being of that class of public documents which derive high value from the minuteness of the details and the means of information possessed by the writers.

I have to express my obligations to my kind friends Dr. Gardner, W. Austin Esq., the Rev. Mr. Gogerly and Mr. de Silva, for the readiness with which they acceded to my wish that they should contribute the chapters to which their names are prefixed: to the Collector of Customs, Mr. Saunders, for some valuable ex-

tracts from the records of his department; to Sir J. Emerson Tennent for permission to print this book at the Government Press; and to His Excellency Lord Torrington for his indulgent confidence in allowing me to present it to the Public under the sanction of his name.

G. L.

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT has cost me far more time and trouble to acquire a knowledge of the facts detailed in this volume than to write them down, as my acquaintance with them was the result of long experience and considerable fatigue.

I composed this history whilst I was fully occupied with other business, and as the greater portion of my life has been spent in camps, my readers will not expect that the style should be very polished or fluent. Indeed I only decided on publishing what had come to my knowledge, when I saw that no other person was prepared to give a detailed account of what the Portuguese had done and suffered in the island of CEYLON, and that there existed no accurate description of that beautiful, rich and fertile country, where we sustained a war of several years' continuance against two powerful enemies.

On the other hand, whilst I here narrate our deeds of glory, I do not shrink from mentioning our bad success and the causes which led to it. I note down faithfully that which my memory reminds me of, and I do not think it deceives me, since I am not impelled to write by any motives of discontent or revenge. I have not indulged in digressions, but have only studied to make myself understood and to explain the circumstances connected with each fact.

I have divided my book into three parts—in the first I give a precise description of the island, and the claims which the Kings of Portugal have to the sovereignty over it; in the second I relate the wars which the Portuguese sustained there; and in the third I endeavour to shew with how little discretion we have governed our possessions

in India. I sincerely desire that this warning may guide those who have succeeded us, and that they may adopt more prudent measures to retain the places we still hold in the East, and to derive from them greater advantages than we did. Should I succeed in this object, I shall be amply rewarded for having written this volume.

J. RIBEYRO.

THE FRENCH TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

I should not think it necessary to add a preface to the preceding one written by JUAN RIBEYRO, if I had merely translated the description which he wrote of the island of CEYLON; but as I have increased his work by several additional chapters of my own, I am desirous to point out the names of the authors from whom I have drawn my information.

The first and principal of those authors is PHILIP BOTELHO, a Singhalese Priest, who wrote a narration of the war in Uwa, which was lent to me by the MARQUESS DE FONTES. BOTELHO acquaints us that his uncle was Grand Chamberlain of the Christian Emperor JUAN PEREA PANDAR, and that he was Supreme Judge of his several kingdoms—that his grandfather DON EMANUEL, was one of the most zealous defenders of the Catholic faith, having contributed very large sums towards the propagation of the same, and that he was killed at the feet of his master—that his mother's brothers, DONS LUIS and FRANCESCO, were killed because they would not acknowledge the Appoohamy DON JUAN as King of Kandy—and that he himself was the last of 24 boys whom his mother had by one husband, who died at the age of 93. He was in CEYLON, when General CONSTANTIN DE SA perished with the entire Portuguese army; and he gives a much more full and detailed account of that event than is given in the present volume, or even in the life of CONSTANTIN DE SA himself. He gives also an account of the consequences of that defeat, which are nowhere else to be met with. In the first chapter of his work, he promises to publish a history of the antiquities of CEYLON, but I do not know if he has fulfilled that promise.

I am also indebted to the MARQUESS DE FONTES for having communicated to me many other manuscripts, among which were a History of the Indies written by GASPAR CORREA, Secretary to ALFONSO D'ALBUQUERQUE—the tenth decade of DIEGO DE COUTO, and a continuation of the same author by BUCARO. These two last works are likewise to be found in the royal library at Paris.

The COUNT D'ERICEYRA lent me several memoirs, which served as the groundwork of his late father's important history "*Portugal Restaurado*," in two large volumes folio; which contains a narrative of all occurrences from the time when JOAO IV was proclaimed king

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to the conclusion of the peace in 1668, by which the King of Spain acknowledged the house of Braganza as true and lawful heirs of the crown of Portugal. I found among these papers several journals kept by Father DAMIAN VIEIRA, who, although a priest and a jesuit, rendered his name famous by his defence of Colombo, and afterwards of Cochin. I have also in my possession several original manuscripts of the same Father, among which are extensive memoranda respecting the ecclesiastical and civil governments of India, which have supplied me with many particulars relating to CEYLON.

Besides these manuscripts, I have taken advantage of the "Life of CONSTANTIN DE SA," written in Spanish by his son JUAN RODRIGUEZ DE SA and MENESEZ—the "Decades of JUAN DE BARROS"—of DIEGO DE COUTO and BOCARO—the voyages of Spielberg, Wibrand van Warwijk, and Walter Schutzen—of the History, which PHILIP BALDEUS has published in a folio volume, of the Coast of Malabar and the Island of CEYLON, at which latter place he was ten years a Minister of the Protestant religion.

The collections of travels and voyages made by RAMUSIO, PURCHAS, and THEVENOT; have also been exceedingly useful to me; and I have spared no trouble to render this narrative interesting and profitable. I have consulted the best maps and plans, and have copied some which were lent to me by M. DE GUENEGAUD; I have obtained some plans from Holland, and M. DE L'ISLE, who has, for so long a time, applied himself to geographical studies, has kindly drawn up the map which is prefixed to this work.*

Lastly, I now add to the Translation which I have enlarged from the abovementioned sources, the opinions of some ancient authors respecting the island of CEYLON.

* This is unfortunately wanting to my copy. L

OF THE DIFFERENT NAMES OF THE ISLAND OF CEYLON.

Abridged from the accounts given by ancient writers and by authors of the middle ages.

CEYLON has, at various times, had various names. The Portuguese authors JUAN DE BARROS and DIEGO DE COUTO inform us that it was first called *Lança Lançao* or *Lanças*, which signifies "the land of delight," "the terrestrial Paradise;" that the Malabars afterwards named it *Illanare*, which means "the island kingdom;" and that it was subsequently called *Tranata*, *Hibenaro*, and *Tenarisim*.

PLINY and PTOLEMY name this island *Simondi*, *Palai Simondi*, and *Saliké*, and its inhabitants *Salai*; but the three appellations by which it is best known are *Taprobane*, *Serendib*, or *Serendiul*, or *Serendive*, and CEYLON or ZEYLAN. The Greeks and Romans knew it only by the first of these three names; and modern writers who incline to think that Sumatra is the ancient *Taprobane*, are compelled to urge that PLINY and PTOLEMY are in error, which we want other proofs before we believe. They might as well ascribe error to STRABO, MELA, and DIONISIUS PERIEGETES, who, as well as PLINY and PTOLEMY, have described *Taprobane*, and mentioned concerning it many particularities which only apply to the present CEYLON. The greater number of these authors place it in the neighbourhood of Cape Coli, which can only be Cape Comorin; they call it the "mother of elephants," and STRABO adds that it produces great quantities of cinnamon. PTOLEMY mentions the towns of Sindo-Canda, and Rodogani, which are very probably Kandy and Raygam; and the inquisitive reader may obtain further proofs on this subject by consulting the "PHALEG" of the learned BOCHARD, in which he will find a long parallel between *Taprobane* and CEYLON.

Writers of the middle age, such as AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, COSMAS the Hermit, and Eastern authors generally, call CEYLON *Serendib* or *Serindiul*; COSMAS calls it *Seilideba*, by changing the R into L, an alteration which easily takes place, even in conversation, and I have no doubt that this was the origin of the name of ZEYLAN. MARCO POLO and AYTON the Armenian are the two oldest authors whom I can ascertain to have employed that name.

There is some probability that the discovery of the island is due to ALEXANDER THE GREAT; as that Prince, whose genius and courage went beyond the extent of his conquests, when he arrived at the extreme end of India, was desirous of exploring if another world existed. NEARCHUS, one of his pilots, offered his services on a voyage of discovery; ONESECRITUS was sent with him, and each was ordered

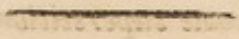
to write a journal of occurrences. Their writings, however, have not come down to our times and DIODORUS SICULUS is the oldest author now extant who has described CEYLON, and it is singular that he has most accurately marked its extent, by assigning to it a circumference of 5,000 stadia, which is rather more than 200 leagues. If, therefore, it be true that the sea, from time to time, washes away a portion of the coast to the north, as most accounts agree in saying, we shall find the difference very inconsiderable between the measurement of DIODORUS, and the island's actual extent at this day.

STRABO makes CEYLON larger than Britain; MELA calls it another continent; PLINY says it is 10,000 stadia in length; PTOLEMY gives it 900 miles—all this proves that the knowledge of the island possessed by the Greeks and Romans was, at the best, very inaccurate.

If we may believe the Portuguese histories, CEYLON was first colonized by Chinese, and this was effected in the following manner: the Chinese were the entire masters of trade in the east; some of their vessels were driven into the undeeps near the place which has since been called Chilaw: the crews escaped by swimming, and finding the country good and fruitful, established themselves there. Soon afterwards they made an alliance with the Malabars, who sent their convicts to CEYLON—these people were called *Galas* and the union of the names of the two people formed that of *Chingalas*, the name which the natives still bear. But PHILIP BOTELHO repudiates this derivation, and assigns the origin of the name to the word *Singha*, a lion, as shewing the courage and valour of the islanders. It is true that many of the native kings have borne the name of Singha; and it is also true that the Chinese were, for a long time, masters of the seas in the neighbourhood of the island, and that the Persians and Arabs subsequently shared the commerce with them, and that these people generally dealt largely in elephants and cinnamon, of which CEYLON furnishes the greatest quantity. COSMAS the Hermit says that, in his time, the Christian merchants coming from Persia had a church in CEYLON, and I have little doubt but Christianity was known to the inhabitants of CEYLON long before the Portuguese discovered the island.

EXPLANATION OF NATIVE TITLES USED IN THIS WORK.

- Appoohamy means General,
- Dessave Governor of a province,
- Modiliar Colonel,
- Arachy Captain,
- Lascarin Native Soldier,
- Topaz Creole or Coloured man,
- Adigar Judge of the Supreme Court,
- Bandigaralla Principal Magistrate,
- Mareillero Councillor charged with the decision of law-suits
and arbitrations,
- Changaar Priest,
- Atapata Captain of the Governor's Guard.
- Bandanezes Soldiers from Banda.



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XIV—How the Hollanders made good their landing at Negombo, cut the Portuguese to pieces and killed their two Field-Marschals Antonio Mascarenhas and Antonio Motta Galvaon.

XV—The Dutch fortify Negombo, and appear before Colombo. The Portugese send an embassy to the King of Kandy and lay siege to Negombo.

XVI—The Truce between the Portuguese and Dutch is made public. Don Philip Mascarenhas is appointed Viceroy of India. and Manuel Mascarenhas Homen is named Captain General of Ceylon in his place.

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HISTORY

OF THE

ISLAND OF CEYLON

WRITTEN BY CAPT. JUAN RIBEYRO, AND PRESENTED BY HIM

TO

THE KING OF PORTUGAL

IN 1685.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Island of Ceylon.

THE Island of Ceylon extends from the 6th to the 10th degree of north latitude. Its length is reckoned from Point de Galle to Point Pedro, which are sixty-two leagues the one from the other; its breadth from Chilaw to Trincomalie is 47 leagues, and its circumference 190 leagues. It lies 45 leagues eastward of Cape Comorin, where the coast of the fisheries commences; and the sea forms between that coast and the island of Ceylon a strait 57 leagues long; the breadth of that strait is not equal throughout; in its centre are the islands of Ramanacoil and Manaar, 12 leagues from each other: the channel is so narrow in that place, and the sea so shallow and full of islets and sandbanks which choke up the passage, that only small vessels can pass backwards and forwards between Ceylon and the Coromandel coast. Ships trading in these seas are obliged to sight Point de Galle which is the southernmost point. As Ceylon is the key to India, it appears as if God had taken pleasure in enriching it with earth's choicest treasures, and in placing it under the most favored sky.

But that we may give a better and more ample idea of the country, we shall describe each province separately, pointing out its situation, its riches, and peculiar productions, its fortresses and strongholds; and we shall place on record the rights of the kings of Portugal to the possession of this powerful island, the laws, customs, usages and ceremonies of its inhabitants; and we shall give our opinion on all these subjects with greater confidence on account of our having spent 18 years among the Singhalese, 14 of which were passed in their forests during a tedious and cruel warfare, amid sufferings which it would be difficult to detail fully.

* The distance between these two distances by the sea-coast is 294 English miles L.

CHAPTER II.

Of the several Kingdoms in the Island of Ceylon.

CEYLON is said to have seven kingdoms, and I am not surprised at this, as on the coast of India, each little country has frequently its own peculiar monarch, as we see at Canara and in Malabar. From the Salt River to Cape Comorin, in a tongue of land 140 leagues long by about 15 or 17 broad, reckoning from the sea to the ghauts, there are not fewer than 15 kings, the principal of whom are those of Canara, Tala, Cannanore, Cochin, Pallur, Changhaut, Achinota, Porca, Quilon, and the Samorin, which last I should have mentioned first.

This subdivision rendered the conquest of the country so easy; for as each king had only a small extent of dominion, they could not separately resist the power of the Mahomedan invaders, who destroyed nearly all the petty princes of India. The kings whom I have more specially named above, have maintained their power hitherto because to reach them the attack must be made by sea, or the mountains must be crossed which divide the peninsula in its whole length below the Ganges; and those mountains are in many places so steep, particularly on the coasts of Canara and Malabar, that they are insurmountable. I know this by experience, since I crossed them in 1656, when the Dutch, having taken Colombo, transported me with the rest of the garrison of that place to Negapatam on the Coromandel Coast, whence I went by land to Goa.

These ghauts are two leagues high and very barren; in many places the traveller sees only the sky and fearful rocks; he meets with no wells or fountains; and we only crossed three rivers in all our journey. On the other hand the plains are very fruitful and largely peopled; they contain many large towns and extensive villages, all of which are built on the sides of some lake or tank; corn and vegetables grow luxuriantly and there are numerous flocks and herds.

But, to return to Ceylon: the most powerful of its former princes was the king of Cotta, whom all the others revered as their emperor; he held his court at a place distant half a league* from Colombo, where hardly at this day the ruins of his palace can be discovered; underwood and forest conceal all its remains. The kingdom of Cotta stretched along the coast from Chilaw to the gravets, a space of 52 miles, and it contained the best provinces of the Island, namely the Four Corles, the Seven Corles, Salpity, Raygam, Pasdun, Galle, Belligam, Corona and Atacalan Corles, Matura, the Pagoda of Te-

* more correctly, one league and a half. L.

nevary, the Gravets, all the Kingdom of Dinavacca, which is called the Two Corles, to Adam's Peak and the frontiers of Kandy and Uwa.

The kingdom of Uwa begins at Adam's Peak, and extends to Batticaloa and to the kingdom of Kandy. The kingdom of Kandy stretches from Adam's Peak to Trincomalie and to the country of the Veddas which is near Jaffnapatam. Dinavacca lies between Adam's Peak and the Four Corles and is almost in the middle of the Island. Sittawacca is between the Seven Corles and Dinavacca and contains all the lands of Saffragam. The kingdom of the Seven Corles is bounded by the provinces of Kandy, the Four Corles, Chilaw and Mantotte. The kingdom of Chilaw, or of Negombo, extends along that of the Seven Corles and ends at the mountain of Coederemalee and at the sea. The above are the seven kingdoms which are generally reckoned or comprehended in the island of Ceylon. Although Jaffnapatam is in the same island, it is not reckoned as belonging to it, as it is inhabited by Malabars whom the Singalese despise exceedingly. There are other provinces which have been for many centuries in the same low estimation, such as Batticaloa, Trincomalie and Jaula. But between Trincomalie and Jaffnapatam there is a peculiar race called Veddas, whom it is my intention to mention more particularly hereafter.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Riches of Ceylon.

THE king of Cotta permitted the Portuguese to establish themselves on the Island of Ceylon: I have already said that this king took the title of emperor, and that all the other kings of the island considered and respected him as such. In his country, especially, Cinnamon grows; there is a forest of it 12 leagues in extent between Chilaw and the Pagoda of Tenevary, and that forest is so thick that a man can hardly penetrate it. The leaf of the bush is very similar to that of the laurel; it never falls, though it rains frequently in those parts; when broken by the finger it emits a most agreeable and powerful smell. The tree is not large, the highest being only about two cubit; it gives fruit twice a year and the berry resembles that of the laurel. The heat of the climate and the moisture of the soil cause the seed to germinate immediately it falls to the ground; and these trees grow so rapidly and so luxuriantly, that there is a law which obliges the natives to keep open the paths and to clean them; and if this were omitted for one year, the forest would become impassable. Even now, however great is the care to keep up the paths, they are so narrow that two men cannot walk abreast; thus there are continual defiles which embarrass troops in their march exceedingly.

There are also in the kingdoms of Sittawaccá, Dinavañca, Kandy, Uwa, and Cotta many very rich mines, from which are procured rubies, sapphires, topazes of a considerable size, cats'-eyes, some of which have been sold for 20,000 crusadoes, hyacinths, beryls, turmalines, and several other precious stones, of which as little notice is taken there as we take of the pebbles or sand which we pick up in the beds of rivers.

There is a great quantity of cardamoms in the kingdom of Kandy; and they grow there so large and so fine that six seeds of Cananore are hardly so big as one in Ceylon. The Brazilian wood called in India sappan is also a produce of Ceylon and it is greatly esteemed. From the kingdom of Cotta alone they export yearly more than a thousand boatloads, of sixty tons each, of a certain sand which has a great sale throughout all India.*

It is well known how great a value the Mogul, the kings of Pegu, Siam, and other Indian kings, attach to the elephants of Ceylon.

The Pepper grown there is also sold at a higher price than that produced elsewhere.

There are so many different sorts of wood, and of each sort such large quantities, that one hardly knows which to prefer. Nor is corn wanting, or iron mines; and the drugs are innumerable. But we shall recur to all these points in the course of our history.

Addition by the French Translator.

ONE of the chief sources of wealth in the island of Ceylon is its sale of Cinnamon; this spice is produced in several countries; it is found in China, Cochin-China, the islands of Timor and Mindanao and in Malabar; and a few years ago the Portuguese transplanted some trees to Brazil where it grows wonderfully well, but no where is it equal to that of Ceylon. The Portuguese call the Ceylon Cinnamon *Canela brava*, and only acknowledge that of this island to be of good quality. It is not produced at all places throughout the island; it is only found between Coederemalee† and Tenevary; and even within that division of country it is not in all places equally good; the best is that which is collected between Sittawacca and Colombo, and to be of the finest quality it should be peeled from trees neither too old or too young, and only the second bark should be taken.

* I cannot discover what this sand is—no article of export of the kind is found now L.

† *Hippouros* of Pliny, corresponding with the Tamul குதிரை "horse" and மடிகை "tail." L.

The Persians and Arabs, who use Cinnamon much more generally than we do, distinguish the different qualities by two names; they call that of Malabar and of all countries exclusive of Ceylon *Kerfah*, and that of Ceylon they name *Dar Chini Seylan* which signifies *Chinese wood from Ceylon*; because the Chinese were the principal dealers in the spice, and carried it to Ormus; from Ormus it was distributed into all parts of our continent, still under the name of Chinese wood. It is even said that its Latin appellation *Cinnamomum* is derived from the Chinese words *Sin* and *Hammama*, which mean *dove's foot* or *pigeon's foot*. Although the bush grows very quickly, it is only peeled once every three years, and in the first year of its being peeled it appears dead. The branch is split lengthways; the bark which at first is white becomes brown on exposure to the air, and curls in the manner in which we receive it. The only process used in the cultivation is to cut down the older bushes to give freer circulation of air among the younger ones; these old bushes when dry give the most agreeable flame possible.

Although the Areca grows in many other places, such great quantities of this nut are exported from Ceylon, and the trade in it is so considerable, that I cannot avoid saying something about it. The tree grows very high, its branches hang down and form tufts of green plumage; the fruit is a little bitter and very agreeable to the taste; it is only eaten mixed with lime and wrapped in a betel leaf, and the consumption of it in this form is so great that there is hardly a man or woman, Native, Portuguese, or Dutch, who has not his mouth full of it at most times. It is said that it purifies the breath, strengthens the gums and cleanses the bowels, therefore at every visit, and at every feast, the betel-leaf thus prepared is handed about. The Singhalese attribute their long and healthy lives to the use of this nut. Men and women are seen in Ceylon of the ages of 80 or 90 who have not lost a single tooth. But it appears that betel is not good for bilious persons.

I do not think that white Sandal wood is so common in Ceylon as Ribeyro says; at all events there is no great trade in it—the best comes from the island of Timor.

Texeira says that there grows in Ceylon a herb which bears an ear similar to the ear of barley, but blacker and more bearded, which being applied to the stomach of a pregnant woman causes her instant delivery; and he adds that, if left on too long, the child would drop from its mother by piecemeals, and that the woman would have a flooding which nothing could staunch. The late Dr. Hermans, who on his return from Ceylon, published an exact account of the plants, herbs, and flowers which are cultivated or attempted to be reared in the Hortus Medicus at Leyden, gives the engraving of a plant which

the Singhalese call *Adhatode**, and which be taken for the *Ecbolion* of the Greeks; that plant is said to have the same properties as the one mentioned without a name by Texeira.

It is also affirmed that the juice of the Talipot tree, or Talegaha, after exposure to the sun, and being thereby hardened, produces the same effect. As that tree is a very singular one and is only met with in Malabar and in some parts of Ceylon, I think I shall not err in giving a concise description of it.† The Talipot grows to the height of 60 or 70 feet; and for thirty years yields neither fruit or flower; at the end of that time, a fresh branch sprouts from its head, which in less than four months elevates itself nearly 30 feet, and then all the leaves of the tree fall off. The new branch and the tree itself then appear for some time like the mast of a ship, and about three months afterwards the branch puts forth several boughs which flower for three or four weeks; those flowers change into fruit which only ripen at the end of six months, when the branch withers and the tree dies. The leaves of this tree are in universal use in Ceylon; they are employed instead of umbrellas; houses are covered with them; they are written on with an iron style, as the Singhalese are not as yet acquainted with paper. These leaves are very much indented and almost split, so that they require to be sewed together at the ends before they can be used. Girls gather the fruit of the talipot, and after having dyed them with some colour, make bracelets and necklaces of them. I intended to add here a slight account of the flowers, plants, and trees peculiar to Ceylon, but as the greater part of them are engraved in the *Hortus Malabaricus*, and in the *Hortus Lugduno-Batavus*, I refer the reader to those works.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Portuguese Fortresses on Ceylon.

WE begin with the town of Colombo, which was our principal homestead on Ceylon. It is situated on the coast which stretches down from Cape Comorin, from north to south, in a bay where generally many small vessels lie at anchor. Seven leagues‡ south of Colombo is the fort of Caltura, on a height, and near the mouth of a

* අධාතොදෙ, *Singhalese*, is used in several medicinal cases, although, as may be well imagined, its properties are exaggerated in the above description. L.

† This account is rather applicable to the Palmyra tree (Talgaha, *Singhalese*) than to the Talipot tree (Talegaha *Singhalese*.) The latter bears no fruit. I rather think that this description includes properties common to both the trees. L.

‡ 26 miles by land. L.

river of the same name. Thirteen leagues* further south is Galle, situated on a point whence the coast begins to trend, and from that point it stretches 46 leagues from south-east to north-east. Trincomalee is on an elevation near the bay *dos Arcos*, and thence the coast extends further northward 36 leagues till we arrive at Point Pedro: a little further onward it turns from east to west 24 leagues, which brings us to Manaar, and in this intermediate space lies the kingdom of Jaffnapatam with all its forts. From Manaar the coast stretches from north to south, and we reckon 10 leagues to the mountain of *Grudumale*†, 14 from *Grudumale* to Chilaw, 10 from Chilaw to Negombo, where the Portuguese had a fort, and 6 from Negombo to Colombo. These are all the forts which the Portuguese had on the island; but before we speak of each separately and describe the garrisons and the manners of the natives, we think it necessary to acquaint our readers with the claims of the kings of Portugal to the possession of Ceylon, and we shall proceed to do so in the following chapter.

Addition by the French Editor.

THERE is as yet no general standard of measurement; the leagues of some nations are double and sometimes treble those of others. We must therefore not be astonished that writers on Ceylon differ so materially among themselves with respect to its extent; but it certainly is strange that an author should not agree with himself on this subject in every part of his work.

Ribeyro says in his first chapter that Ceylon has 190 leagues in circumference, and by his reckoning above we only make out 166. The Dutch account is 200 leagues; they calculate the breadth of the island at $56\frac{1}{2}$ leagues and the distance from Galle to Trincomalee also $56\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. On the other hand, Ribeyro computes its greatest breadth to be 47 leagues and only gives 46 leagues for the distance between the above two places. This shews that there is a difference of one-fifth between our Author's account and that of the Dutch writers, and it then becomes easy to reconcile their statements with each other. Thus 166 Portuguese leagues are made equal to 200 Dutch.

* 46 miles L.

† *Note*—By these distances we ascertain that the Author means Coederemale, the Hippouros of the ancients. L.

CHAPTER V.

How the Portuguese landed on the Island of Ceylon and built the Fort of Colombo.

THE Portuguese had already for some years discovered India, and formed establishments there, before they became acquainted with Ceylon. As they were then embarrassed with many perplexities, they could not at first think of a settlement there; but at last, in the year 1517, Loupo-Soarez de Albergaria, seeing that the affairs of his countrymen were everywhere prosperous, and hearing much talk of the riches of Ceylon, equipped a flotilla and sailed direct for Colombo which was the best roadstead of the island. He found there many vessels from Bengal, Persia, the Red Sea, and other places, which had come in search of cinnamon and elephants. He was well received by the Emperor, of whom he immediately requested a spot of ground to set up a factory, in pursuance of the promise which that prince had previously made to Don Lorenzo d' Almeida, when he had visited him in 1505. He requested also permission to fortify the factory to guard the Portuguese from the insults of the various nations who traded to Colombo. He made the Emperor comprehend that it was for his own interest that the Portuguese should be firmly established on the island, as their commerce with it would be extensive and the prince and all his subjects would derive considerable profits from it. The Portuguese had acquired so great a reputation throughout India, that it was considered hopeless to resist them. Aboe-Negabo Pandar*, the emperor, was a good prince, and could not make up his mind to refuse the Portuguese anything; he granted all they asked, to the great dissatisfaction of the other nations who traded to Ceylon, and who were not mistaken in thinking that the new-comers would take all the commerce to themselves. The foreign merchants saw then, with great annoyance, a factory established which was soon changed into a fortress, which commanded the entrance to Colombo and from which it would not be easy to expel the Portuguese. Loupo-Soarez de Albergaria placed in it a garrison of 200 men under the command of Juan de Sylva, with a Factor, a Secretary and a Chaplain; he provided the new fortress with everything requisite for its defence, left behind him four gun-boats to aid the garrison in case of need, and then set sail.

In 1520 fresh reinforcements arrived with materials for constructing a fort of stone. The building of this new fort displeased the emperor and he resolved to expel the Portuguese from it. He besieged

* *Note*—The native name of this sovereign was Dharma Prakramabahoo IX; he reigned from A. D. 1505 to 1527. L.

them and lost a great number of his men, and was then forced to withdraw and to be reconciled. The Portuguese however did not long enjoy peace; they were obliged to defend the prince himself with the weapons which they had at first employed against him. Madune,* the king of Sittawacca, and brother of the emperor of Cotta, indignant at his brother's allowing the Portuguese to erect for themselves a fortification on the island, proclaimed war against him; the victory was sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, and the emperor could with difficulty keep his ground, in spite of the assistance afforded him by his European allies.

Aboe-Negabo Pandar† had an only daughter, whom he married to his relative Tribula Pandar, and Perea Pandar‡ who was born of that marriage was destined to be his grandfather's successor. In order to secure his dominions to him, the emperor placed him under the protection of John III, king of Portugal, to whom he sent two ambassadors with an effigy of the young prince and a crown of gold, and he requested that monarch himself to place the crown on the head of the image. The ceremony took place with great pomp and display, in the hall of the palace of Lisbon, in 1541.

Aboe-Negabo Pandar being dead, his youthful heir took possession of his dominions; but Raju,§ the son of Madune, who had learned the profession of war under his father, resolved to depose him, and pursued his object so perseveringly that he obliged the monarch to withdraw to Colombo and to implore the assistance of the Portuguese. Never was success equal to that of Raju in the commencement; he was speedily master of all the provinces of the kingdom of Cotta, and then he turned his arms against the kingdom of Kandy and possessed himself of it. The king was forced to flee, with his wife and his only daughter, to Manaar, where they were received by the Portuguese with all possible marks of distinction and honor; his distress appeared to increase their affection for him.

Raju disarmed all the inhabitants of the kingdom of Kandy, and punished with death those who retained any weapons in their possession; at the same time he continued with success his war against the emperor of Cotta. The Portuguese were great sufferers from those hostilities, as Raju frequently sat down before the fortress of Colombo, but he was always repulsed with loss.

* Note—His native name, is *Maayadunnai*; he was the emperor's nephew, and father of the celebrated Raaja Singha. L.

† This emperor died in 1527. The present emperor's name was Bhuwaneka Bahoo VII; otherwise this account is correct. L.

‡ This prince's name was Dharmapaala; he reigned at Cotta from 1542 to 1581. L.

§ The celebrated Raaja Singha. L.

God, whose ways are always just, wonderful, and impenetrable, made use of the distress to which the king of Kandy was reduced for his conversion. That prince and his wife and daughter were baptized at Manaar; he took the name of Don Philip, and his child that of Catherine. Shortly afterwards he lost his wife and did not long survive her. Before his death he declared by his will his daughter Catherine his only heir, and he placed her and his kingdoms of Kandy and Uwa under the protection of the Portuguese king. He further directed that she should not marry without the consent of her royal guardian or of his Vice-roy in India. He declared that he saw no other way to deliver his people from the tyranny which oppressed them, and that he could offer no other compensation for the services which had been rendered him by the crown of Portugal.

When the emperor of Cotta and the commandant of Colombo heard of the death of the king of Kandy, they deliberated on the measures expedient to be adopted to stop the progress of Raju and to expel him from the kingdoms of which he had usurped the sovereignty. They knew that though he had gained battles and conquered kingdoms, he had lost a considerable number of men; that he was by no means loved, and that his affairs were not so flourishing as men generally believed. The emperor undertook to gain over the native chiefs, who were tired of Raju's tyranny and sought to be delivered from it. They listened eagerly to the proposals of the emperor; their greatest difficulty was to find weapons and to collect a sufficient quantity without being discovered. At last they determined to send into the forests, and to prepare bows and arrows of wood hardened by fire; this they performed so successfully, that they filled their houses and the jungle with their newly made arms without the matter coming to Raju's knowledge. They immediately let the emperor know what they had done, and that prince, aware of their being well disposed to him, represented to the commandant of Colombo that now every thing was ready and that the execution of their plans could not be deferred without danger; that a chief should be given to the Singhaiese of sufficient ability to lead them on, and sufficiently noble to be respected by them. They did not hesitate on whom their choice should fall, but selected an *Appoohamy* (nobleman) of the emperor's court, a man long known for his ability and for his attachment to the Portuguese, and who had been baptized by the name of Don Juan. Two hundred Portuguese soldiers accompanied him and he received the title of Modliar, or Field-Marshal. They kept back the young queen Catherine, not being willing to send her to take possession of her estates until they were persuaded that they were fully in her power. Don Juan reached Kandy, where he was received with the greatest joy by the people and the chiefs. All ran to arms and, encouraged by the presence of the Portuguese, they did not remain satisfied with

recovering their liberties, but entered on the possessions of Raju and sacked all the places through which they passed, whilst on its side the garrison of Colombo also carried on a fierce war against the Usurper, so that they penetrated to Sittawacca where he had fixed his residence. There they gave him battle, and overcame him; an iron stake chanced to pierce his foot, and he died soon after of that wound.

The emperor, being delivered from his powerful enemies, saw himself again possessed of the Seven Corles, Dinavacca, Chilaw, Kandy and Uwa, all which places acknowledged his sovereignty. But being advanced in years, and having, during his residence among the Portuguese, gained instruction in the Christian religion, he resolved on being baptized. The ceremony took place with magnificence commensurate with the holy act, and worthy of the prince who was converted. The grandees of his court followed his example, and thus that which numerous armies might not have effected in many years, was accomplished by the emperor's single deed in a moment of time. The prince took the name of Juan Perera Pandar, and lived the remainder of his life as a good Christian, being mild, pious and affable, and above all very charitable.

Additions by the French Editor.

ALMOST all the discoveries of countries previously unknown to us have been the effects of chance. Pedro Alvares Cabral only fell in with Brazil in 1500 from a desire to avoid St. Anne's Bay on the coast of Guinea. His reckoning was incorrect and he fell in with Brazil without seeking for it.

In the same manner Lorenzo d' Almeida wishing to go to the Maldives whither his father had sent him, and not knowing the right course for those islands, fell in with Point de Galle, in 1505. He was made to believe that the king of Ceylon was then there, that he had heard much of the power of the Portuguese, and that from the fame of their valour and riches, he was ardently desirous to know them and to form a strict alliance with them. This assertion was too flattering not to take in Lorenzo d' Almeida; he selected Payo de Souza to compliment the king in his name, to offer him the friendship of the Portuguese nation, and if possible to form an advantageous treaty with him.

Payo de Souza landed, and was informed that the king was then at one of his country-seats rather far inland; he was conducted thither through many byways, was detained a long time before he received an audience, and had the mortification to be obliged to go through all the weariness of oriental ceremonies, and was after all

deluded by an officer in some authority at Point de Galle who counterfeited the king of Ceylon.

Payo only discovered on his return to the ship, after his patience had been long tried, that he had been deceived by the natives.

The Portuguese did not return to Ceylon for twelve years, nor form any settlement there. Their authors however pretend that on its first discovery the king of Ceylon made himself tributary to the Portuguese crown, that he engaged himself to pay yearly six elephants and 1,200 *cwt.* of cinnamon; that in 1517 another treaty was made, when the quantity of cinnamon was reduced to 900 *cwt.*, and the king of Cotta promised six elephants with some sapphires and topazes. I do not think the Portuguese would find it easy to produce the original treaty, since even in 1517 they had great difficulty in obtaining leave to establish a factory at Colombo, and it was only by a special order of king Don Emmanuel that, in 1520, Loupo de Britto, the successor of Juan de Sylveira, laid the foundations of the fort of Colombo. This was the origin of long and disastrous wars, for the Portuguese imagined that their position in Ceylon was so well secured by that fortress that they could not be driven away; they therefore began to annoy the natives, to impede their intercourse with the Moorish nations, and to treat them as slaves. On the other hand, the Singhalese discontinued bringing provisions to Colombo, and carried on an underhand war against the Portuguese, killing all those belonging to the garrison who fell into their hands.

It is a common opinion among eastern nations that a son of the sun gathered together the inhabitants of Bengala, gave them laws, and formed of them one of the largest states ever known in Asia. The kings of Ceylon derive their descent from that son of the sun, who was the head of the royal family of the *Survajas**. It is stated that that family reigned 2000 years in Ceylon without any interruption, and that the Chinese†, having then treacherously carried off the king, placed the tyrant Alagexeres‡ in his room; but after the death of that usurper, the people offered the crown to a certain priest who refused it, and caused it to be conferred again on the family to whom it rightfully belonged; that the eldest son of Ambadeno Pandar was recognized as king of Cotta and married the daughter of the king of Kandy.

* Suriyewansé (from සූරිය sun and වංශ lineage.) L.

† Malays. L.

‡ Alekésware, who is said to have built the temple at Bentotte and the city of Jayawardhanapoora, the present mission station at Cotta, anno 1371. L.

Portuguese historians have preserved a list of the kings who afterwards reigned in Ceylon, with the history of the troubles of their reigns.

Boe Negabo* Pandar married his elder brother's widow, put to death his nephews who were the lawful heirs to the throne and filled the house of his family with crime and confusion; but the children of his other brothers saved themselves from his fury; they placed themselves under the protection of the king of Kandy, and soon afterwards declared war against their uncle whom they defeated and killed. The eldest of the brothers who was also called Boe Negabo,† succeeded to the kingdom of Cotta, the second commanded the Raygam Corle, and Madune,‡ the third, was king of Sittawacca. After the death of the king of the Raygam Corle, Madune seized his dominions, and became by this usurpation more powerful than his elder brother, the king of Cotta: he attempted to expel him from his sovereignty, and conceived the design of also dethroning the king of Kandy and rendering himself master of the whole island. It was by means of these dissensions that the Portuguese firmly established themselves in the island of Ceylon, where before they had only possessed a factory. Madune courted the alliance of the Samorin and the Malabars; the emperor of Cotta sought the assistance of the Portuguese, and having no male heir, married his daughter to Tribuly or Travia Pandar§, one of his relations who lay concealed in the Four Corles; the issue of this union was Perea Pandar,|| who withdrew to Colombo, was baptized by the name of Don Juan, and died there, leaving the Portuguese his heirs. It is on the will of this prince that the Portuguese found their claim to the island of Ceylon.

Maduné, the king of Sittawacca, had several legitimate children, but not one of them succeeded him. All were inhumanly murdered by their bastard brother Raju, who is even accused of having commenced this bloody tragedy by assassinating his father; he followed up these enormities by destroying his own elder brother, the son of Tribuli Pandar, and the famous modliar Biera Masiga, who had been his master in the science of war.

He banished Neochora-hamy, the widow of Madune, amidst frightful deserts, having first stripped her of all she possessed. One son only of Madune escaped the cruelty of Raju, who, not considering himself safe whilst the fugitive remained alive, made search for him everywhere. He was discovered among the mountains, concealed

* Bhuwaneka Bahoo. L.

† Bhuwaneka Bahoo. L.

‡ Maaya Dunnai. L.

§ The Singhalese name of this prince is Weedjey Raja L.

|| Don Juan Dharmapaala. L.

with his wife and children; seeing himself discovered he called together all his family, and exhorting them to follow his example, he swallowed a poison so subtle as instantly to deprive him of life; his wife and children did the same. At this sight the Modliars tore their hair, and shewed by their lamentations how much they abhorred the inhumanity of Raju.

The Portuguese, believing that the crimes of Raju would induce his subjects to join them, declared war against him and gained some advantage at first. But Raju, collecting all his resources, drove them back, and besieged Colombo, the asylum of all the malcontents among his subjects, with 15,000 men. The siege lasted nearly nine months and was one of the most annoying that the Portuguese were subjected to in India. Juan Correa de Britto, who commanded the Fort, defended it with so much judgment and valour, and was so well supported, that he broke up Raju's army and forced him to raise the siege.

CHAPTER VI.

Revolt of the Appoohamy Don Juan.

THE Appoohamy Don Juan, who had been sent to Kandy, seeing all the forces of the kingdom in his own hands, conceived a plan to render himself master of it. In the first place he thought it expedient to put to death the Portuguese who had accompanied him. He did not propose to massacre them altogether, lest despair might inspire them with strength fatal to himself: but, under various pretences, he sent them to different parts of the island, and took good care to prevent their having any communication with each other. He afterwards began to treat them with the greatest barbarity; cutting off the ears and noses of some, putting out the eyes of others, and, in short, reducing them to such a condition that they wished for death as a relief to their sufferings. Then the rebel, to ingratiate himself with his brother-idolators, openly renounced Christianity, offered up sacrifices with them, and as he dared not take the name of king, not being of the royal family, he assumed that of Protector of the kingdom. At last he so well succeeded in gaining the affection of the people, that they were entirely at his command, and he had greater authority and power than any of the kings who preceded him.

As soon as he saw himself thus firmly established, he declared war against the Portuguese, and did them serious injury, without its being in their power to revenge themselves. About that time Pedro Lopez de Souza, returning from Malacca, was obliged to touch at

Colombo to take in water and other refreshments. He was well received by the Governor Francisco de Sylva, who paid him all the honors due to a person of his birth and reputation; for Pedro Lopez de Souza was then considered one of the most eminent of his nation in India. The Governor informed him of the position in which he stood; he related to him all that had been done by Don Juan since his revolt, how he had abandoned the Christian faith, with what cruelty he had behaved to the Portuguese, and he represented the difficulty of resisting the rebel without quick and powerful aid. He begged Don Pedro to lay all these matters before the Council as soon as he arrived at Goa, and at the same time to submit to them that they could not, without injustice, refuse him the chief command of all their armies on Ceylon, as there was no person who understood the affairs of the island so well as himself, or who had equal experience.

Pedro Lopez de Souza promised all that he asked, and indeed, immediately after his arrival at Goa, he saw each councillor of state and every minister separately, and made them acquainted with the state in which the affairs of the Portuguese stood in Ceylon, and shewed them how necessary it was that speedy succour should be sent there, if they cared for the Portuguese maintaining their ground against Don Juan. He also explained to them how desirable it was for the Portuguese to keep their footing on the island, and gave strong reasons to convince them that, if even they allowed themselves to be expelled, they would have to regain their position, which would then not be very easy. He spoke also very forcibly in favor of the commandant of Colombo; he told them that they could not send another commandant there, without doing him great injustice; that the actual Governor was a nobleman acquainted with the science of war, having a knowledge of the country; that any other person who might be sent would be far less eligible, and quarrels might perhaps ensue which would be detrimental to the king's service.

The councillors and ministers of state approved his arguments, and promised to support them in council; but when matters came before them for deliberation, though they had no hesitation in agreeing as to the necessity of sending troops to Ceylon, they were not so unanimous as to the choice of a commander; and after contesting this point for some time, they at last determined to appoint Pedro Lopez de Souza himself. This resolution did not please Don Pedro by any means; he did his best to refuse the command, but his opposition only made the council more urgent; so that, seeing he could not escape being sent, he resolved on exacting such extraordinary conditions that it appeared to him they would never be granted and that he should thus gain the exemption which he desired. He first asked

them to appoint one of his nephews as his lieutenant; secondly that they should promise queen Catherine in marriage to another of his nephews, as she could not marry without the consent of the king of Portugal, or of his viceroy in India.

The council was astonished at these demands, yet they assembled to deliberate respecting them. Those members who were of opinion that Don Pedro should be appointed at any price, represented that the queen Catherine must marry somebody; that the king ought to unite her to a Christian; that on Ceylon there was no person of that faith suitable as a husband for her; that it would be dangerous for her to marry a foreigner or any one but a Portuguese; that the nephews of Don Pedro were men of high birth, of whose fidelity there could be no doubt, and who had already rendered eminent services; and that this marriage would draw all the inhabitants of Ceylon to the true religion, which was a matter which the king of Portugal and his council had much at heart. They therefore came to a decision that it was advisable to grant Don Pedro what he desired, and they added but one condition, namely, that the marriage should not take place until the queen was in possession of her dominions, when she and her husband should solemnly swear, and do homage to the king and crown of Portugal, promising allegiance as good and faithful vassals; and that in other respects the queen and her consort should be absolute masters of the Island.

Addition by the French Editor,

I have endeavoured, but in vain, to get possession of the eleventh decade of Diego de Couto, who must have been more explicit on the subject of Don Juan's revolt.

Nothing certain is known of the birth of that usurper. Some say he was a scion of the royal family; others assert that he was the son of the modliar Wimala Mantia, who under the pretext of revenging his ancient masters, had carried on war against Raju with alternate success; the weaker party being that of Wimala Mantia, which however was never subdued by Raju. That prince being at last weary of the long protracted contest, offered Wimala all the wealth of the emperor of Cotta, if he would acknowledge his sovereignty, as all the other Singhalese had done. Wimala allowed himself to be deluded by these promises, and went to Raju's palace accompanied by a sufficient escort; but having entered, he found himself of a sudden surrounded by enemies and separated from all those who had come with him. He was arrested, and his trial was the af-

fair of a moment; he was buried alive up to the neck, his head only remained above ground and was made a target for his adversaries to throw balls at. His son had barely time to escape to Colombo, from whence he was sent to Goa, where seeing no prospect of advancement as long as he remained unconverted, he submitted to instruction and to baptism, and received the name of Don Juan after Don Juan of Austria, the brother of Philip II, king of Castille and Portugal.

On returning to Ceylon, he shut himself up with the garrison of Colombo, and distinguished himself so much during the siege of that place by Raju, that it was thought that the command of the army afterwards sent against that prince could not be entrusted to better hands.

Juan Ribeyro relates very clearly all that passed, but the Dutch authors, who visited Ceylon very shortly after he left it, give another version of the history. They say that the Appoohamy Don Juan took with him Don Philip, the son of the last king of Kandy; that this prince, after the defeat and death of Raju, was recognized as king of Kandy, and that Don Juan poisoned him. It is certain that the last king of Kandy, who was dethroned by Raju, had a son as well as a daughter: but the Portuguese assert that the former entered a monastery.

To return to Don Juan, as soon as he saw himself possessed of Kandy, he quitted his Christian name and adopted that of Darma Suria Ade,* and waged a more wearisome and destructive war with the Portuguese than Raju had done. He beat Don Pedro Lopez de Souza, who lost his life in the battle, as will be seen in the following chapter; he overcame Don Hieronymo d' Azevedo, who was the second Portuguese general who commanded the troops on Ceylon; he made a treaty with the Dutch in 1602, and allowed them to settle in the island; and although, in the following year, he caused Vice Admiral Siebald de Weert to be cruelly slain, he did not on that account abandon his intercourse with the Dutch; he had them always at his court, received their ministers and accepted their presents. This was continued by his successors and was the chief cause of the ruin of the Portuguese establishments. He died in 1604, and left only one son and a daughter; the former was so badly brought up that he was not allowed the succession:

* This name is written by the Singhalese, *Wimala Dharma Suriya. L.*

CHAPTER VII.

Defeat of Pedro Lopez de Souza, who is killed, together with all the Portuguese, by Don Juan.

THE authorities at Goa did not take much time in equipping the fleet, which consisted of oared galleys and some large vessels, on which were embarked 1,200 soldiers and all the necessary ammunition. They set sail with a favorable wind and reached Manaar in a very short time; there they took queen Catherine on board and arrived safely at Negombo. As soon as the Governor of Colombo heard of the great escort with which Pedro Lopez de Souza was conducting the queen, he did not doubt of his having broken the promise which he had made him; there was every appearance of this being the case, and nothing could conciliate the mind of the Governor towards the new General, by whom he believed his confidence to have been deceived and his secret betrayed. He therefore resolved to have his revenge by thwarting him in all his enterprises and by working his destruction and that of his troops. He withheld from him all assistance, and without any consideration for the service of the king his master, his only thought and study was revenge.

Three days after the arrival at Negombo of Don Pedro, a Modliar of great eminence among the Singhalese joined him with 20,000 men. That modliar could not bear to witness Don Juan, who was not of the blood royal, treating persons of the highest nobility as his subjects; he congratulated Don Pedro on his prosperous voyage, promised to serve him with all his soldiery and to die in support of the claims of the king of Portugal. He then went and kissed the hand of Donna Catherine as his lawful queen, and offered to sacrifice in her behalf his property, his person, his life, and all that belonged to him. He was a well-made man, and his manners were so noble and captivating, that he gained the hearts of all who conversed with him.

Pedro Lopez de Souza was overjoyed at being joined by this nobleman with so powerful a reinforcement; he anticipated that others would follow his example, and with his mind's eye he already saw his nephew king of Kandy. Don Juan, on the other hand, could not conceal his uneasiness; he feigned to despise all the forces of his enemy and spoke contemptuously of them; yet he assembled his own troops with all possible diligence, and meditated on the means of effecting the ruin of the modliar who had deserted from him, and of preventing Don Pedro from obtaining from his reinforcement the assistance which he expected. He quitted Kandy, weighing all these matters in his mind, and encamped at two leagues from Balany, by

which place alone the Portuguese troops could advance on him. When he came there, he communicated his plan to no person, but he wrote a letter to the modliar who was with Don Pedro, telling him that he was so far on his march, and that he now expected the proofs of that fidelity which he had promised him; that he doubted not of soon finishing the war, if he would kill the Portuguese general, as had been concerted between them. This letter he entrusted to a Kandyan, whose faithfulness he had frequently tried; he said to him, "You know I have reposed greater confidence in you than in any other person living, and that you have always found me true and sincere in rewarding you; I therefore now rely on your trustworthiness in an affair, which, although not of much importance, requires secrecy and skilfulness in its performance. Do it well, and depend on my gratitude."

The Kandyan acknowledged his master's kindness, and expressed his readiness to sacrifice a thousand lives in his service. "Well then," said Don Juan, "you must go immediately to Balany, where the Portuguese army is encamped; when you approach their outguards and perceive that they have seen you, run from them and appear anxious to escape; hide yourself, but in such a manner that you may be found; when they take you to their General, seem most desirous to conceal this letter which I give you: this is all I require, the rest will work out itself."

The Kandyan received the letter with many protestations of fidelity and set out instantly for Balany. He executed exactly the order he had received, and with greater dexterity than could have been hoped for: he was taken and led to the General: the letter was found on him and read, and the General was too much enraged at its contents to allow himself time to reflect on the possibility of any deception.

He sent for the modliar, placed the letter in his hands, and without giving him time to go through it and to offer an explanation, he thrust his dagger into his heart. Not only the 20,000 men whom the modliar had brought with him, but all the natives who had joined the Portuguese army, immediately deserted to the enemy, so that the inconsiderable number of Europeans found themselves on the morrow in presence of a numerous army. Don Juan affected to be deeply hurt at the death of the modliar; he vowed to revenge him and uttered many imprecations against the Portuguese. He had with him 25,000 men, without reckoning those who had come over to him, amounting to an almost equal force; he threw a part of this army into the woods, and set others to work cutting down trees to block up the roads and to prevent the Portuguese from escaping. At the same time arrows and darts were hurled at the Portuguese from every

side; they could not see their enemy and their advance and retreat were both cut off. They wished to retrace their steps towards Balany, but found the passage intercepted by barriers of wood and filled with troops to prevent their proceeding. The General, his nephews, and all the Portuguese fell on this occasion. So miserably did the event answer to the commencement of the enterprise! The enemy, who had been looked upon as already in our power, remained master of our camp, our baggage, and, worst of all, of the person of the Queen.

CHAPTER VIII.

How Don Juan married Queen Catherine.

Don Juan, being in possession of the queen's person, lay with her in presence of his whole army, thinking that his usurped crown could only be safe by marrying that princess, to which she would never have consented as long as the choice of a husband was within her power. After the violence offered her, she had only the alternative of remaining his prisoner and being treated with brutality, or of marrying him. Don Juan well knew the respect and attachment of the Kandyans towards their princes, and was persuaded that the security of his kingdom depended on their union; he therefore married her, and of their marriage was born a prince who was afterwards called "the prince of cocks."*

As soon as they heard at Goa of the sad defeat and death of Pedro Lopez de Souza, they sent Don Hieronymo de Azevedo to Ceylon with as large a force as they could spare. The beginnings of this new enterprise were fortunate; Don Hieronymo gained an advantage over Don Juan at first, and even after having sustained some loss, by fresh exertions, made his way to Kandy; but his army was too small to keep possession of the place, and he thought himself lucky in being able to return to Colombo with 300 Portuguese and some soldiers of the emperor of Cotta. Don Juan did not long enjoy the fruits of his victories; he died some years after this event, and his death was, as his life had been, neither that of a Buddhist or of a Christian.

The Singhalese, fearing a continuance of the warfare which had been so fatal to them, obliged their queen, who was still young, to marry one of her relations, named Henar Pandar, † who was living in peni-

* *Note*—Ribeyro has "le prince des cocqs." I do not find this prince mentioned by any other authorities. According to the Mahawanso Don Juan left two sons Wijayapaala and Komarasingha, who afterwards had Matelle and Uwa assigned to them. L.

† Called by Singhalese historians Senaaratena; he ascended the throne in 1627. L.

tence on Adam's-Peak. As he had entirely renounced the world, he had become a Sanghia or secular priest. In marrying the princess, he espoused all her quarrels, and saw himself constrained to keep up a long war with the Portuguese. Seeing no end of the contest, he resolved to make a perpetual peace with them on any terms; he consented to pay an annual tribute to the crown of Portugal of two elephants with tusks of a certain length, and he paid that contribution faithfully as long as war was not waged with him.

This prince loved the Portuguese and spoke highly of them. He commended their trustworthiness and fidelity, took delight in their conversation, and gave them his two sons to educate. They were taught reading, writing, music, latin, and horsemanship, and they both excelled in every useful attainment which they were made to study. Equal attention was not paid to the education of the "prince of cocks," who was the lawful heir to the crown; it was feared that he would assert his right; he was therefore always kept at a distance from the court, and sent to Matelle, where his chief amusement was cock-fighting.

Addition by the French Editor.

I do not know why Ribeyro says that Don Juan, otherwise Wimala Dharma Suria Ade, did not long enjoy the fruits of his victories. He reigned thirteen years after the defeat of Pedro Lopez with greater glory than any of his predecessors. He was a prince of great size and well made: his complexion was blacker than that of the Singhalese usually is: he was a skilful commander and a clever politician, feared and loved by all around him, liberal in recompensing and severe in punishing. His religious principles were such as his interest or his ambition prescribed, and he hated mortally all the Singhalese.

After his death there were many competitors among the nobility for the hand of the queen, and for the crown which would go with it; but the princess, young as she still was, had skill and courage enough to repress their insolence, and to chastise the mutinous. She took upon herself the education of her son and the regency. The prince of Uwa, and the Sanghia Henar Pandar, whom the Dutch call Senuwieraat, were not put down. They both had the same wish, namely, to marry the queen, and as they were well supported they were formidable enemies. At last it was thought prudent to offer them an amnesty and to allow them to come to court: they came well escorted, each with the intention to get rid of his rival. The Sanghia was the more fortunate, or the more skilful, of the two, and poignarded the

prince. The queen was much incensed at the act, but was obliged to pardon the assassin, and afterwards to marry him.

On coming to the throne this prince took the name of Cam-Apati-Mahad Ascin,* and though not so great a captain as his predecessor, he was as clever a politician. He hated equally the Portuguese, and formed a treaty with the Dutch, which had more decided results than that which had been concluded with George van Spilberghen; so that I cannot comprehend why Ribeyro says that he loved the Portuguese and confided to them the education of his children.

The Dutch, having entered into a truce with Spain, sent a very considerable fleet to the East Indies, and ordered their admiral to make a treaty with the king of Ceylon and to secure a settlement on the island. The letters to this effect are dated September and October 1609.

Marcellus Boschouwer was charged with this negotiation, and concluded a treaty in 1610. The king of Kandy took him into his own service, made him admiral of the seas belonging to Ceylon, prince of Mingoné, governor of Colona-Corla, and gave him the second place in his council; it being specified in the treaty that two Dutchmen should have seats in the council of war.

As soon as the Portuguese heard of the conclusion of this treaty with the Dutch, they declared war against the king of Kandy. Simon Correa with 1,000 Europeans and 3,000 Natives defeated the Dutch at Cottiar, but on his retreat, he was pursued by the modliar Marasingha, who killed 600 of his men and made many prisoners.

In 1612, the king of Kandy wishing to extend his power by sea and land, levied an army of 50,000 men, without reckoning the coolies;† he built several vessels and invited foreigners, more especially those conversant with the art of navigation, to settle in his dominions. He defeated the rear-guard of the Portuguese in the neighbourhood of Jaffnapatam, but lost his principality of Mingoné, which the Portuguese laid waste with fire and sword.

The princes or kings of Panouva and Cottiar were about this time accused of having too good an understanding with the enemy; they were summoned to appear at court in six days. The king of Cottiar answered the summons and exculpated himself, but the king of Panouva did not appear. An army of 50,000 men entered his province; his terrified vassals submitted instantly; and the king not having

* This name is not to be found among Singhalese authors, and its orthography is not in any manner to be twisted into a Singhalese name. L.

† Or carriers of baggage.

been able to prove his innocence, was beheaded, and his ministers and councillors were trodden under foot by elephants.

At this time, or somewhat earlier, the only son of Wimala Dharma died, not without suspicion of being taken off by poison; the queen was so persuaded of this that she cruelly reproached her husband with the crime, and her grief was so violent that it affected her health and she soon after died in childbed at the age of 35, in the month of July 1613.

The king who fondly loved her, was so deeply afflicted at her loss, that he fell dangerously ill, and believing his death to be at hand, he convened his council, that the princes, his sons, might be acknowledged as his successors and lawful heirs, and that proper guardians and governors for them might be appointed.

Yet the war against the Portuguese was carried on vigorously: six armed vessels were sent to cruize between Cape Comorin and Ceylon, and that flotilla after having been at sea for some time, came back laden with rich booty. On the other hand the Portuguese continued their usual custom of exciting the governors and chief natives to insurrection against their king. They seduced from his allegiance the modliar Henerat, who commanded in Harispattoo, and made him promise to assassinate the princes of Mingone and Uwa, and, as some say, the king's children also. The treachery of Henerat was discovered by a Brahmin: and the prince of Mingone having come up with the modliar between Ode and Jatteno,* and not receiving a satisfactory reply to the enquiry "whither he was bound with such a force," he killed him, and cut his troops to pieces.

But as this defeat did not subdue the revolt, the king himself took the field and was fortunate in routing the insurgents. He killed 4,000 men, but as the rebels were supported by the Portuguese, they still managed for some time to keep their ground. A force, which the king had detached to occupy the passes, was destroyed by the Portuguese, and the princes of Mingone and Uwa were wounded.

The affairs of Ceylon were in this condition when Don Nuno Alvarez Pereira, second son of the Count da Feyra, arrived to take command of the Portuguese troops. At the commencement he was not fortunate in his enterprises; on the 6th of August he lost a battle near Balany, in which 2,000 men remained on the field.

The insurgents who had contrived to keep up a constant intelligence with the Portuguese, fell out among themselves. The king of Batticaloa, in violation of the laws of nations, caused the ambassadors of the king of Palugam to be assassinated; and the latter having ob-

* Uduuwera and Yattinuwera. L.

tained the assistance of the prince of Uwa defeated the king of Batticaloa and killed him with his own hand. The Portuguese thus weakened by the dissensions and defection of their allies, and by the loss of a battle, found it no easy matter to defend themselves. The king of Kandy took from them all the coast of Nuweracalawa, and demanded the cession of Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Panouva and Balany. Don Nuno Alvarez Pereira, not receiving any reinforcements from Goa, and seeing the necessity of peace, made several proposals which were always rejected.

At last a treaty was entered into. The Portuguese promised to build no more forts on the territory of the kings of Kandy, and the latter promised a tribute of two elephants yearly to the king of Portugal; but as Nuno Alvarez Pereira had no authority to conclude treaties, the Portuguese assert that the present one wanted the confirmation of the viceroy of the Indies, or even of the king of Portugal, to render it valid. On the other hand the king of Kandy was satisfied; being master of all the eastern and north-eastern coast of the island, he could always obtain assistance from the Dutch, who had begun to acquire power and consideration in the Indies—so that the treaty was hardly concluded when both parties were thinking of war again.

CHAPTER IX.

Death of the king of Ceylon and the king of Portugal declared by his will his heir.

THE emperor Don Juan Perea Pandar* was so attached to the Portuguese, that he almost abandoned the care of his government that he might reside more continually among them. He usually dwelt in Colombo, and was exceedingly intimate with Don Hieronymo d' Azevedo, the captain-general commanding the forces; and when his end drew nigh, he wished to settle his affairs, and to reward those who had faithfully served him. He made his will, and as he had no children who could assert a right to the succession, he declared the king of Portugal his heir and universal legatee; and it was in this manner that the Portuguese obtained an indisputable right to the whole island, excepting the kingdoms of Kandy and Uwa which belonged to the heirs of queen Catherine, and excepting also Jaffna-

* The Singhalese name is Bandar (an affix of nobility) but the Portuguese have always substituted the P. for the B. They employed Tamil interpreters with whom one letter of the alphabet represents both sounds. L.

patam, which had its own peculiar sovereign. The emperor requested in his will that the king of Portugal would send for his only nephew to come to Lisbon, he being still young enough to be indifferent to matters of state; and he recommended that he should not be allowed to return to India, but that he should be made a priest and receive from the Court of Lisbon a pension suitable to his birth. The will was carried out in every respect; the emperor's nephew went to Portugal; a house was assigned to him at Telheires, where he built a monastery for cordeliers, which is a very pretty building; and as he held his court at that place, he was generally known as the prince of Telheires. I have seen the deeds drawn up on the foundation of the monastery; they are dated June 1639; and the prince's will is dated March 1642. Although a priest, he had two daughters by Susanne d' Abreu, who both became nuns of the order of the Cordeliers at *Via Longa*; one of them was the Abbess, when I paid the convent a visit on the 19th January 1693*. He directs by his will that his cousin Don Philip, the Canon of Coimbra, should be buried on one side of the altar and himself on the other, and he appoints as his executor one Don Jacobus of Ceylon, his relative.

The emperor Don Juan Parea Pandar having disposed of all his possessions in the above manner, died at Colombo on the 27th or 28th of May 1597, and was buried there with all the display and magnificence possible, in the monastery of the Cordeliers. His death was as much regretted by the Portuguese as by his own subjects.

After the performance of the funeral solemnities, the captain-general assembled together the governor of Colombo and the principal officers of the town and garrison to consult on the best manner of inducing the subjects of the late emperor to take the oath of allegiance and submission to the crown of Portugal. After frequent deliberations it was agreed that a proclamation should be published in each of the corles and provinces of Ceylon calling on the inhabitants to send, by a day which was fixed, two deputies to Colombo, with authority to take the oath in their names and to acknowledge the king of Portugal for their rightful king and sovereign liege. This being accordingly done, it was found that not one province neglected to send its deputies.

On their being assembled, they were informed that they were all the subjects and vassals of the crown of Portugal, that they should therefore be governed by the same laws as those born in Portugal; and on their consenting to this, their nobility should continue in the enjoyment of the same rights, privileges and immunities of which

* There must be an error in this date, as this work is stated in the title page to have been presented to the king of Portugal by Ribeyro in 1685. L.

they had always been possessed. The Singhalese deputies answered, that an affair of so much importance demanded mature consideration and reflection; that they did not reject what was proposed to them, but they required time to deliberate and to reason on the subject; and that they had always in their mind what was due to the service of their king and master. Two days were given them to prepare their reply, and at the end of that time they gave in the following answer— That they were born Singhalese, and educated in principles to which they were strongly attached; that it would be difficult, and even dangerous, to force them to abandon those principles and to adopt others which were entirely unknown to them; that such rapid and sudden changes were always the forerunners of rebellion; that it would have to be feared that they would unlearn the old laws without becoming acquainted with the new ones, and that this would not be desirable for the interests of the king. That they had no objection to acknowledge the king of Portugal for their lord and master, and provided he and his ministers would maintain the rights, usages, customs and privileges in which they had been educated, and would promise to make no alteration in the same, they would serve the king of Portugal with the same zeal and fidelity which they had evinced towards the kings and emperors born in the country, and who had breathed the same air as themselves. That they were ready to take the oath of allegiance, if the ministers of the king of Portugal would take an oath at the same time to maintain the rights and usages which they desired to have continued to them.

The Portuguese ministers, seeing that this was all they could prevail on the Singhalese to promise, had an act prepared in duplicate, by which, on the one hand, they solemnly promised, in the name of the king of Portugal, to maintain the rights, usages, customs and privileges, which the Singhalese had enjoyed under their own emperors, and not to suffer that any change should take place in the same; and on the other hand the Singhalese swore to serve well and faithfully the kings of Portugal, as they had served their own kings, and to be always ready to expose their lives and property in defence of their interests. Another article was added on the subject of religion, namely, that the priests and monks should at all times be at liberty openly to preach the faith of Jesus Christ; that no person whatever should be hindered from professing that faith; that fathers should not oppose the conversion of their children, nor children that of their fathers; that for faults committed afterwards on the subject of religion, the parties should be amenable to their lawful superiors; that no violence should be committed in respect of religious belief, but that every body should be free to embrace Christianity and to profess it openly, when it pleased God to enlighten him to acknowledge the truth.

This act was published in many copies, which were signed and attested by the captain-general and officers and commissaries of the king on the one part, and by the deputies from the several provinces on the other part. Each deputy took home with him one copy to be read, published and kept in his province: and the original remained in possession of the captain-general who placed it among the public archives of the emperor, where were kept all the acts, and contracts of sales, purchases and rents, not only of each province, but of each village and even every private house, with the specification of the payments and dues owing each year to the king. All these things were translated into Portuguese, and then the assembly was dissolved; the Singhalase being highly pleased to find themselves under the powerful protection of the king of Portugal, and the Portuguese being overjoyed in becoming thus quietly masters of so powerful an island, the possession of which was a very desirable affair for them.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Revenues of the Emperors of Ceylon.

WE have mentioned that the country which the emperor of Ceylon bequeathed to the crown of Portugal was 52 miles in length, extending from Chilaw to the gravets, by the seaside, and towards the interior of the island, from the seaside to the kingdoms of Kandy and Uwa. This tract contains 21,863 villages or hamlets, over all of which our governors-general had the same authority as was possessed by the late emperors. The king of Portugal, to please the Singhalase, gave to the governor-general the title of king of Malwana, and his jurisdiction extended as far as Bengale, his authority being that of a vice-roy. The natives of Ceylon, even including the king of Kandy, address him as "*Your Highness*;" but the Portuguese do not even style him "*Your Lordship*;" as in India the latter title is only given to persons who have been governors, and that of "*Your Excellency*" to vice-roys.

Of all the revenues of Ceylon no money is brought into the treasury of the king, although he is virtually master of everything. The lands are all portioned out among the officers and dignitaries of the state, and to classes of artisans and tradesmen. Every warrior has a portion of land assigned to him, on condition of his serving the king at his own expense; when he is called upon, he is obliged to appear fully armed, and provided with victuals for fifteen days; and at the end of that time, he must serve fifteen days longer, which are called

voluntary days. In this manner 50,000 men may always be depended upon, who are obliged to march wherever they are ordered; and their number is never increased or diminished by one, as properly speaking it is not the man who serves, but the lands which render service. No nobleman or officer in possession of a hamlet or village can be dispensed from furnishing the full number of men at which his land is taxed. They are bound to sow a certain portion of territory; to plant with trees and fruits of every kind another portion; and to have a garden near their house. Lands so appropriated are called *Parawenia*; and all the natives, nobles or commoners, have each their profession and are held to perform services in the same, in proportion to the land which they are allowed to occupy, or according to the office or dignity to which the possession of that land is attached. Every man knows what can be required of him, and may employ his vacant time in cultivating his land, or parawenia. If a father dies, who is a warrior by profession, his son succeeds to his service and follows him up in his parawenia; if he fails to do the service, the land escheats to some other person who can stand in the place of the deceased party. It is the same with other ranks and professions; therefore a village or any landed property cannot pass from a military man to a civilian; a worker in iron only can succeed to the land of a worker in iron. The king therefore at once knows on how many soldiers he can rely, how many workmen he has, and how many officers; he cannot be mistaken, as their number undergoes no change. In this respect this government differs from all others, as it is not called on for any extraordinary expenditure in case of a war, nor to keep up standing armies for many years at a ruinous expense.

When the emperor takes the field, he promises a certain reward to his soldiers for every head of an enemy; or he stimulates them by the promise of recompense to penetrate to a certain distance within the enemy's quarters, and he never fails to perform his promise on the spot. Every village has its mayor or syndic, who is obliged to find provisions for the soldiers during their passage through or stay there. They receive three meals a day, and are treated according to their rank or dignity. The mayors or syndics are subjected to this expense in turns, so that every man knows the charge to which he is liable, and no one is put to a greater expense than his neighbour. These mayors are also bound to furnish provisions and carriages and are paid from a fund set apart for the purpose and which cannot be devoted to any other object; the cart-drivers know their turns for duty, and the distance to which they are obliged to go, and they must perform the service gratuitously.

Locksmiths, armourers, and other workers in iron are under engagement to work for the king at their own expense for 15 days, and

to give 15 days additional, if required, in a similar manner as the soldier. They are also obliged to repair without charge all the tools of the village, but iron must be furnished to them. There are others who are obliged to work the mines, smelt iron, and to supply the king with a certain quantity every year; the remainder they may sell, and they have lands assigned them for the duty they perform.

All other workmen and artisans, such as carpenters, cabinet-makers, and weavers, possess lands on similar conditions and work for the king in their several trades.

It is the same with persons of lower conditions in life; there are drummers who go to war, and beat the tom-tom, they form one separate company; the woodcutters have villages to themselves and cut wood in the forests for the king and convey provisions and arms for the soldiery in their wagons; and it is so much a matter of honor with them to stand by their carts that if the army is defeated, they would rather lose their lives than return without them. The porters are obliged to carry all the loads, and to convey bundles and parcels for each inhabitant of his village free of cost. Others have the duty of splitting trees and extracting a certain juice from them, which resembles sugar in taste; they furnish a certain quantity of this to the headman of the village. Shoemakers and barbers are reckoned of a still lower caste; they hold their possessions as fiefs of the crown; as well as those who are peelers of cinnamon, and who are obliged to supply the king with a certain quantity of it, in proportion to the extent of their parawenias; as these apportionments are not all of equal size and some therefore pay more, some less. These cinnamon peelers carry in their girdle a small hooked knife as a mark of their occupation, that they may not be required to perform any other duty; and whether they gain much or little by their work, they do not quit their own peculiar occupation, assigning as their only reason that such is their custom. The king obtains every year 3,200 bahares or chests of cinnamon, every chest weighing 13 arobas* and 7 lbs. Portuguese; making a total of 10,565 cwt.

Every year a great number of vessels arrive from Persia, Arabia, the Red Sea, the Malabar coast, China, Bengal and Europe, to fetch cinnamon; but if in any year fewer vessels arrive than usual, the price is not on that account lessened, but remains always the same; when there is too great an accumulation of the spice it is burned, † lest the Chalias should become accustomed to collect less than the ordinary supply. Herein consists the chief revenue of the emperor of Ceylon, and this procures him a full share of the riches of India.

* The aroba is either 32 lbs. or 28 lbs.—the lb 15 ounces.

† It seems by this that the custom of burning a superfluous quantity of cinnamon did not, as is imagined generally, originate with the Dutch. L.

They do not attach much importance in Ceylon to the mines of rubies, sapphires, emeralds and other precious stones; and only 25 hamlets in the province of Saffragam are assigned to those who work at the mines. These workmen have a headman, who is called vidahn aratchy; on the opening of the mining season, the king summoned all the workmen who are employed for fifteen days; he specified the number and quality of the stones he wanted, and usually made presents of them to the grandees of his court who were held in estimation by him, or sent them to the neighbouring princes; generally however he retained for himself all stones worth more than a *pardaon*. In the time of the Portuguese the post of vidahn-aratchy was much sought after, and although that employment gave no great emolument, it was sufficient that precious stones of value passed through the hands of its occupant to procure him friends and patrons. It is with these mines as with the king's money; every one plunders them to the best of his ability; but this evil cannot be remedied and the mines have never returned more than twenty or twenty-four thousand crowns a year to the treasury; often much less.

Twenty or thirty elephants are procured annually for the mogul and each animal fetches a considerable price. Cinnamon and elephants are the main resources of the king; and if these two productions of Ceylon were under good management, I am convinced that the king of Portugal would derive a greater income from that island only than the king of Spain obtains from all his dominions in the west. I shall prove this in a subsequent chapter; in the meantime I have been thus minute that I may be better understood when I return to this subject.

Addition by the French Editor.

It appears from what Captain Ribeyro has written that nothing can be more settled than the revenue of the king of Kandy, that every one knows what is due to him, and that the taxes are never increased or lessened. Yet in Ceylon, as elsewhere, the people are subject to the whims of great men, who take what they like in the name of the king. It is true that freedom of complaint is open to all, and that the king, or the adigar, or the dessave, dismisses a treasurer or a receiver general on his giving reason for remonstrances against him; but most frequently the person who succeeds him is no better than the man dismissed, and as little is gained by the change, and there is always a chance that the complainant may be ill received, it is thought best to put up with the injury. But there is one mode of relief which is very great; which is, that when any land assigned by the king for

services to be performed, is charged with too many duties or too many exactions of labour, it may always be returned to the king, who gives it to another person; and this relinquishment frequently happens. When an individual has particularly fine fruit, or any thing else of rare quality, an officer may attach it for the king; and then it may not be touched except for the purpose of conveying it to the sovereign who may be in a distant province. The nobility are obliged to pay their court to the king three times a year and to present him with those things which they have of the greatest value. The first time is the new year, which begins at the end of our March, and is celebrated with much ceremony.

All the troops then assemble armed around the palace in order of battle; arches are put up adorned with banners and all kinds of fruit; guns are fired, and the king goes to the bath, accompanied by all his courtiers. Presents are also offered to the king at the season of new fruits; and also in the month of November, when great sacrifices take place throughout the island. The Portuguese governor-general of Ceylon retained the custom of receiving presents three times a year from the Singhalese headmen.

As all trade is carried on by barter, and as taxes are paid in kind, there is not much money in the country. The Portuguese had however introduced the use of *pagodas*, *pardaons*, *larins*. The king of Kandy had also allowed his subjects to make use of a kind of money which every body was permitted to fabricate. It is of very pure silver and is made in the shape of a fish-hook. The king also struck a kind of money called *panam*, which it was forbidden to imitate under pain of death. But all kinds of money are very scarce; yet the headmen are expected to add a sum of money to the presents offered three times a year.

Ribeyro says that the king of Portugal called his governor-general king of Malwana to please his Singhalese subjects. It appears to me that he did so to accommodate matters to the customs of the country; it being usual for all the governors to style themselves kings, and even to wage war among themselves; for example, I have related above that there was war between the king of Batticaloa and the king of Puligam, in which the latter was defeated and slain. As the governor-general's power was more absolute, and his authority more extended, there was nothing extraordinary in his receiving a title which was held by persons having a far more limited rule than himself.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the villages, hamlets, and other sources of income possessed by the Officers and People of Ceylon.

THE villages where the woodcutters and cinnamon-peelers, the *Pachaos*,* the elephant-drivers and the workers in iron reside; the lands of Bulatgamma, and other portions of territory to the number of four hundred, scattered through the several provinces, are the private property of the emperor, who causes them to be cultivated at his own cost and expense. The king makes them over to his *vidahns*, who cultivate them and receive their produce, which they transmit to the storekeeper, who in his turn forwards them to the secretary, who gives his receipt accordingly. The captain-general has twenty villages of this nature, or even better, for the expense of his household; the commander of the troops, the treasurer, the commandants of Colombo, Galle, Negombo and Caltura, the serjeant major, the *dessaves*, the *bandigaralla*, the captain of the governor's guard, the storekeeper, the judge, the collector of customs, many of the monasteries and convents and even the captains of the infantry regiments, have each two villages or hamlets assigned them, which are attached to certain situations or dignities. The other lands are apportioned to the people and are held for life, in recompense of services performed, or for marriages contracted. Often the possession of their lands is conferred for two or three lives according to the service performed or at the goodwill of the prince; so that there are few persons in Ceylon who have not the means of living abundantly.

Besides the services which the natives are bound to render to the king, the lords of the village are entitled to certain duties likewise; and no person, whether he be a nobleman, a soldier, or a peasant, can be exempted from the payment of any tax which is attached to his fief or *paravenia*. The tax is more especially paid in betel, which is a leaf held in great estimation throughout India, and this takes place according to registries which are kept among the public archives, some persons paying more, some less. There is also a tax on pepper, rice, and other commodities, and their imports are all paid in kind, without any difficulty or complaint.

In every village there is a manor-house, which is generally well built and has a portion of land attached to it; the house and land together are called *motteto*, that is, the principal fief. The mayors or

* Perhaps this is a mistake of the copyist for *padawas*, originally palanquin-bearers from the coast. L.

chief men of the village are obliged to cultivate that land, to sow and reap it; to gather the pepper, betel and all other produce *gratis*; the coolies carry the produce to the town where the lord of the village resides, without any payment; thus the lord knows exactly what are his yearly expenses, and is supplied with everything required for his maintenance. All sapan wood belongs to him, and no one can cut or sell it but himself.

Five per cent is usually levied on imports, and nothing on exports, so that the customs' duties are very moderate.

The forests of Ceylon are rich in productions which might be serviceable to commerce; among other things there is a gum like the rosin of France; there is also another kind in planted lands which is as clear as yellow amber; it is much esteemed and used in many medicinal preparations; it is called *chandarras*; * it cost the natives of Ceylon nothing but the trouble of looking for it in the woods, yet it fetches a high price among foreigners who export a great quantity of it every year.

We shall now go over to the towns and forts of Ceylon.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the situation and fortifications of COLOMBO, and of other forts and fortresses of Ceylon.

COLOMBO WAS at first only a factory palisaded round about; it was soon made more extensive, a small fort was built, and at length it became a very pretty and agreeable town, with twelve bastions and an esplanade. For a long time the walls were only of *taipa singella* † with a ditch which joined a lake, and that lake shut in one third of the town on the land side; there were always 237 guns mounted, of from 10 to 36 lbs. calibre. The town fronted a bay capable of containing a great number of small ships but they were always exposed to the north-wind; it was 1300 paces in circumference. Where the reef ran out, there was a small battery with a heavy piece of artillery which commanded the whole of the bay. The southern part of the town lay entirely open, being well defended on that side by the same reef. On the sea-side there is a bastion from whence a ditch commences with a wall of modern construction, which extends as far as

* I do not think this word is known in Ceylon -- the gum mentioned is the *Doom-mala*, a kind of *copal*. L.

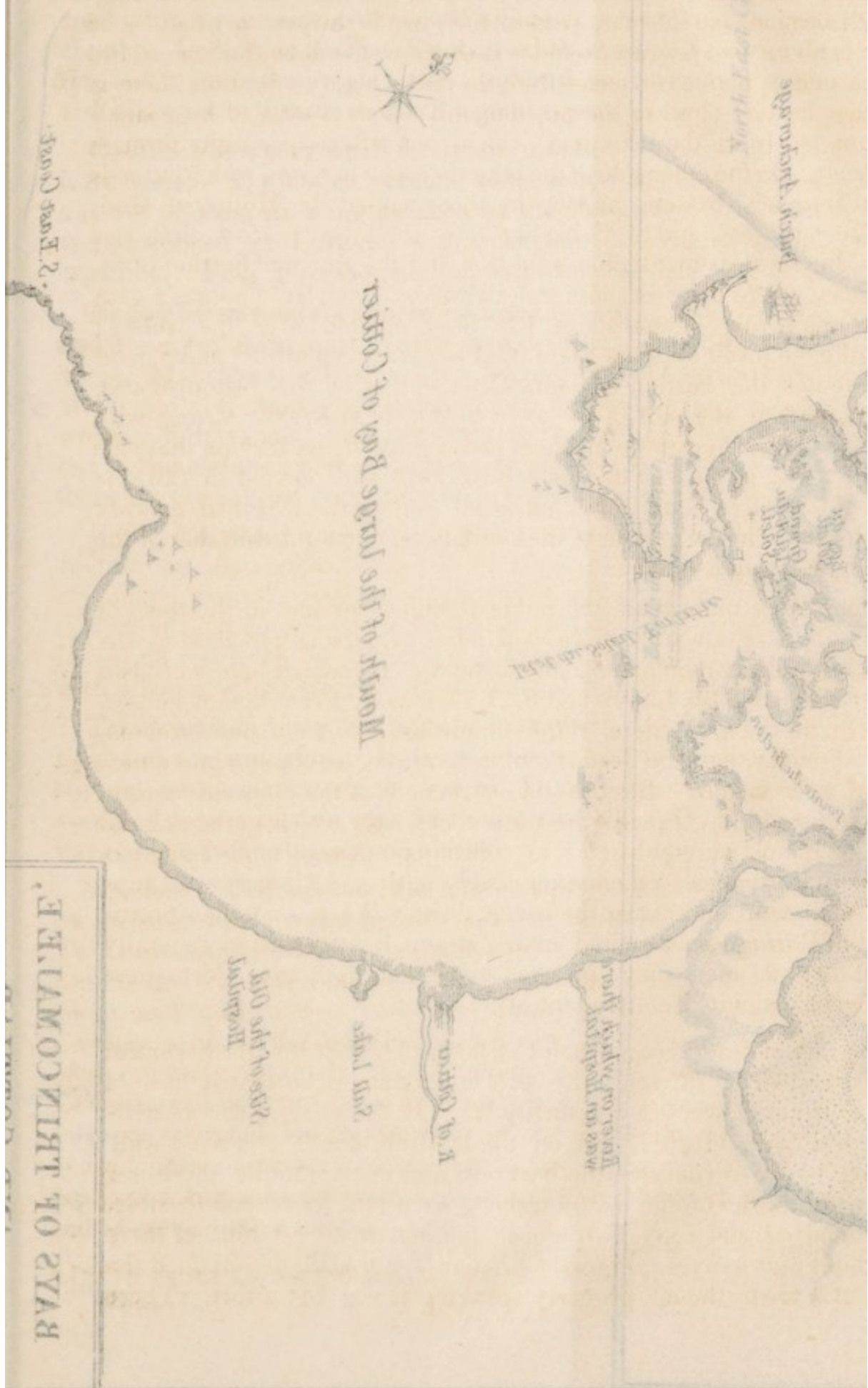
† I cannot explain these words. L.

the Mapane bastion, where there is a gate with a drawbridge, and the same ditch and wall continue towards the lake as far as St. Gregory's bastion, so that that part of the town is the best fortified. The lake is about two leagues round; it shuts in the town for about 400 paces, and at about 100 paces from the St. Gregory's bastion, there is another bastion close to the powder mill which is washed by a small stream led from the lake, and which runs afterwards right through the town. On the other side of the lake there is a low wall which extends to St. Jerome's bastion, passing by those named the Mother of God, the Queen's gate, and St. Sebastian's, at which last place a ditch has been dug towards St. Stephen's bastion and the gate and bastion of St. Thomas, where there is another drawbridge. From St. Thomas's gate to the sea a row of palisades has been erected near the abbey; opposite the jesuit's college there is a handsome esplanade; and a good wall unites the bastion of Santa Cruz to that of the custom-house, which renders the part of the town to the south equally strong with the rest. The Augustine brothers had a great monastery on that side of the town, in the vaults of which we kept our powder in 120 jars during the siege and it was not at all damaged. We had another powder store in the garden of the Cordeliers, and a third in that of the Portuguese Capuchins.

There were more than 900 noble families resident in the town of Colombo, and upwards of 1500 families of persons attached to the courts of justice, merchants and substantial citizens. There were two parishes named Our Lady's and St. Lawrence's; five religious houses, namely, of the Cordeliers, the Dominicans, the Augustine brothers, the Capuchins, and the Jesuits' college, where the classics and philosophy were taught. Besides these, there was the house of mercy, and the hospital. Outside the walls there were seven parishes. All the inhabitants were enlisted into militia companies, some being exclusively Portuguese, others exclusively native. All were well supplied with arms and apt in the use of them. When a company composed of Portuguese mounted guard, although it consisted generally but of 80 or 90 men, they appeared more than 200, as no Portuguese ever went without one attendant at least.

The fort of Galle is on a point of land, of which the northernmost side is washed by the sea; the rock is very steep, so that it has not been considered necessary to fortify it. On the south a row of palisades has been erected, but on the landside there is a solid wall flanked by three considerable bastions, and in the middle there is a gate with a drawbridge and a trench, so that it is very defensible. Two hundred and sixty Portuguese families were established there and about 600 natives, all good Christians, so that Galle obtained the name of a town, though properly speaking it was but a fort. There

BAY OF LABRACOMVIE



2. East Coast.

Mount of the Holy Sepulchre of Coffee.

North East Coast
Pointe de la Roche

Pointe de la Roche

Pointe de la Roche

B. of Coffee.

Pointe de la Roche

Pointe de la Roche

Pointe de la Roche

Pointe de la Roche



Echelle de demie lieue.
1/4 1/2

North-East Coast

Dutch Anchorage



S. East Coast

Mouth of the large Bay of Cottier

False Bay

River on which there was an Hospital

R. of Cottier

Salt Lake

Site of the Old Hospital

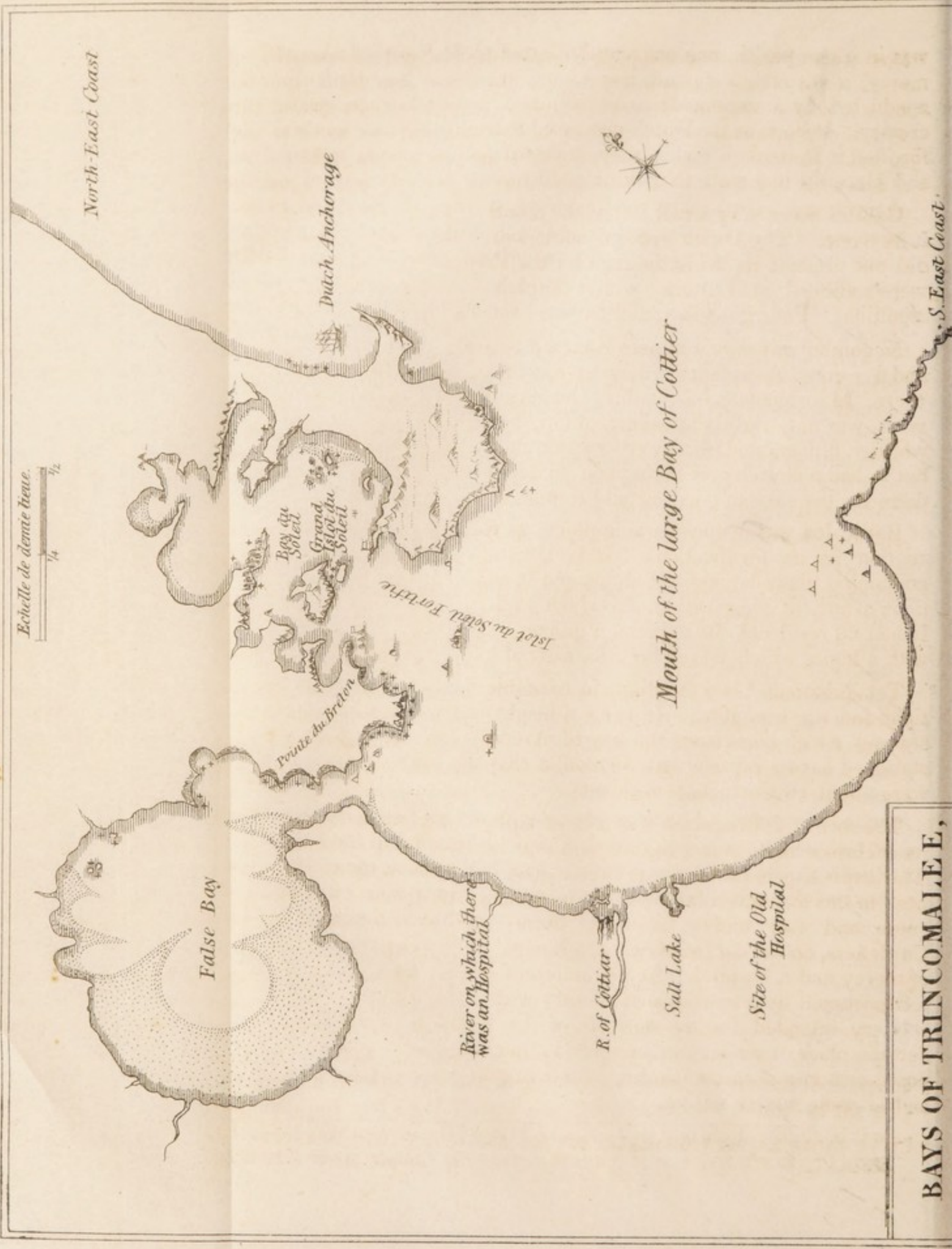
Bay du Soleil

Grand Islet du Soleil

Islet du Soleil Fortifié

Peninsule du Breton

BAYS OF TRINCOMALEE,



was in it one parish, one convent dedicated to St. Francis, a house of mercy, a hospital, a custom-house, and the local government was conducted by a commandant, and adjutant, a storekeeper, and a secretary. As soon as the Dutch possessed themselves of the place they fortified it in modern style; they widened and deepened the trench and placed it in a state to make a good resistance.

Caltura was a very small fort at the mouth of the river which gives it its name. The Dutch erected some works there, which however did not prevent its being retaken by the Portuguese; 50 men only were stationed at Caltura, with a chaplain and the requisite ammunition. Four guns mounted on two bastions defended the place.

Negombo was only a square enclosed by walls, with two redoubts and five guns. A captain and a few men, with a chaplain, were stationed there. Malwana which is at three leagues from Colombo on a small river, was not, rightly speaking, a fort, but only a sanitary station, whither officers and men were sent on their recovery from illness; but it had a church and a chaplain to administer to those who went there for the sake of good air and to regain their strength.

Batticaloa was a considerable place, as well on account of its situation as its fortifications. It is situated on a bay capable of containing many large-sized ships, and it was defended by four bastions of ancient construction, on which 12 iron guns were mounted. It had 20 residents, 50 soldiers, a gunner, a chaplain, and a captain, with a house which served both for arsenal and magazine.

Trinquimalé* is a fort built in triangular shape, with three bastions and ten iron guns. It is on a height which stretches into the sea and which commands the bay of Arcos. Formerly there were stationed here a captain with 50 men, a chaplain and a gunner; there were about 16 Portuguese residents.

The fort of Jaffnapatam was a large square, and at each angle of its enclosure there was a bastion and four lunettes faced with stone. The captain-general of the province generally resided there. Very near to this fort was a large village in which there dwelt 300 Portuguese and 400 native families; there was a convent of the Cordeliers, one of the Dominicans, a Jesuits' college, a parish, a house of mercy and a hospital. At the mouth of the bar there was a small fort occupied by a company of infantry with good artillery. All the soldiery intended for the defence of the kingdom of Jaffnapatam had the place of rendezvous assigned to them there—they were composed of 6 European companies, numbering together about 200 men, and of some native militia.

* Called by the English Trincomalie, but the natives still retain this appellation. L.

Manaar is on an island of the same name, yet it may be mentioned as one of the forts of Ceylon, being only separated from it by a very narrow channel, whilst the country reckoned to belong to it extends ten leagues into Ceylon itself; all the lands of Mantotte are dependent on the fort of Manaar which is but a little square with two small redoubts on the two angles which project over the sea. No garrison occupies the fort, though it is in the neighbourhood of a considerable village, in which reside more than 150 Portuguese and about 200 native families. The captain of the place lives there also.

There are some other forts less worthy notice, and which indeed scarcely deserve the name of forts—they are Manicavary, Saffragam, Belligam, and similar places, which would have been pulled down, but that it occasionally happened that the Portuguese troops rested there on marches.

Addition by the French Editor.

BEFORE we speak of the towns and fortresses of Ceylon at present in existence, it is right that we should not leave unnoticed the ruins of Anurajapuré which is so celebrated in the annals and romances of the Singhalese people. It is stated* that 90 kings successively made that town their capital, and that this circumstance gave the place its name. As we are acquainted with no other considerable works of antiquity but those which the Romans bequeathed to us, the temples and palaces of Anurajapuré, of which there are still immense remains, have been described as built since the time of the emperor Claudius. For my part, I think they might as well say that they were constructed by Alexander the great, or they may more properly be assigned to some more ancient prince unknown to our times. This town is in the province of Mangal-Corle. It contained a palace adorned with 1,600 columns of very fine marble and magnificent workmanship; a superb temple composed of 366 pagodas, 24 of which were of astonishing size and built of very beautiful and scarce materials. These 366 pagodas represented the 366 days of the year, which proves that they who built it had the solar reckoning as we have it now. Around this temple were tanks which received water through well-built aqueducts, and which were emptied or filled at pleasure, accordingly as water was needed or not.

During the last century there also fell into decadence the famous town of Cotta, which had been for many years the capital of the emperor of that name. The town was in the middle of a lake: a cause-

* Life of Constantine de Sâ, p. 13.

way very long and very narrow led to it. Colombo was built of its ruins. This latter place is on the sea-side, in a very bad situation; the bay is very small, not calculated to hold large vessels, and it is exposed to heavy winds. In spite of these inconveniences it was the most considerable town formerly possessed by the Portuguese, and is so still as respects the Dutch; it owes this circumstance to its being situated where cinnamon of the best quality is produced. The Dutch took possession of Colombo in May 1656, and the better to fortify it in the modern style, they diminished its size by the half, as may be seen by comparing the Portuguese plan of the town with the Dutch plan. It is said that the fortifications sink daily. As for the rest, Ribeyro's ample description of Colombo renders it unnecessary that I should say more about it.

Caltura cannot be more finely situated than it is; it lies at the extremity of a large open meadow, at the mouth of the river of the same name, and on the sea-side. It was the first place the Dutch took on Ceylon: They threw up some works, but abandoned it in 1654, and took it again in 1655, a short time before they began the siege of Colombo.

Point de Galle was taken by the Dutch in 1640 and hardly held out five days. Jacob Koster, who commanded the Dutch forces, anchored in the bay on the 8th of March, landed the same day, and pushed the siege so vigorously that the place surrendered by capitulation on the 13th. The situation of Point de Galle is much more advantageous than that of Colombo; its bay is larger and is suited for vessels of a greater size and more in number; but it is exposed to the east winds which sometimes tries the ships severely. The town is on a height, surrounded by a wide and deep trench; it has good walls with three bastions; the entrance into the harbour is dangerous and full of rocks and it is protected by forts mounting heavy guns; the ground is every where stony, which accounts for the name of gravets, which has been given it. Galle was for a long time the chief place the Dutch held on Ceylon.

Malwana never was reckoned a fort; it was only a country-seat at which the captains-general usually resided. They had a handsome palace there called Rosa-pané; and as they believed the air to be purer than at any other place they possessed in the island, the convalescent went there to recover their health.

Negombo was only a fortified square erected by the Portuguese to prevent their cinnamon-peelers being annoyed during the working season. The Dutch took it in 1640, and the Portuguese regained it in 1643, but did not keep it long. Francis Carron attacked the place in February 1644 and took it, and the Portuguese were never able to reconquer it.

Batticaloa and Trinquinimale are the two best and largest harbours of the island. The Dutch landed at the former place in 1602 and 1603 and the Portuguese then built some forts there to prevent foreigners having any communication with the king of Kandy from that place. The land is high on the coast of Trinquinimale. There was a famous pagoda there, or rather there were three; but the one which was on the most elevated point projecting into the sea and which commanded the whole bay, was the most considerable.

The Portuguese razed it in 1624 and built a fort there, which offended the Singhalese very much; and as the air of the place is unwholesome and people residing there are subject to violent fevers, they believed that this proceeded from the anger of their gods against the Portuguese. Shortly after, Constantine de Sâ, in order to cut off more completely all intercourse with the Kandyan king, erected another fort on an island which is at the entrance of the Paligam or Batticaloa river. This irritated the king to the utmost degree, and made him determine on beginning war again. The Dutch, being his allies, took the forts from the Portuguese, and gave them up to him; because, as they at that time only cared for the cinnamon trade, and Batticaloa is far from the place where that spice grows, they preferred ingratiating themselves with Henar-Pandar by giving up the forts; but they did not act in the same way with regard to Galle and Caltura when they afterwards took those places.

Antonio Amaral de Menezes had built another fort near Jaffna which prevented ships from approaching that place; and if a similar fort had been erected at Calmoni, no vessel would have been able to enter that arm of the sea which separates the kingdom of Jaffnapatam from the country of the Vanias. * That kingdom is divided into four parts; this division does not include the islands of Ouvatura, Cardina, &c. Those four parts are Belligampate at the extreme point, and most to the north, Tenmoratchy, Wadoomoratchy and Patiarapali; the country is rich, has good meadow lands, and abounds in cattle and game; but the climate is bad and the monkeys, which are very numerous, are very annoying and mischievous.

Manaar signifies in Malabar *the sand river*; its inhabitants were converted to Christianity by St. Francis Xavier, and six hundred martyrs sealed their faith with their blood, the king of Jaffnapatam having put them to death from hatred of our holy religion; this act drew on him the vengeance of the Portuguese. Constantine de Braganza entered into his kingdom in 1560, exterminated many villages and temples, and carried away the celebrated monkey tooth, which those wretched idolaters adore as a relic of their saint, Budu. †

* The Wanny, as it is now called. L.

† See *post*, page 57. L.



ISLE
OF MANAR.

Pearl Fishery Coast.



Mosque

Principal Church

Fort

Well

St. Paul

St. John

Our Lady of Safety
Mantole

The island of Manaar was formerly very famous for its pearl fishery, but at present the oysters have migrated and are to be found on the coast of Tutucorin; this circumstance has in a degree impoverished the inhabitants of Manaar, yet it has in its small limits many considerable villages. The Dutch possessed themselves of this place in 1658, after the death of Antonio Amaral de Menezes, who was killed by a shot from an arquebuse; this loss so dispirited the Portuguese, that although their number was large and they were well entrenched, they took fright and all fled to Jaffnapatam.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the regular troops and the militia which the Portuguese maintained in the island of Ceylon.

THERE is a place situated in the midst of many villages in the Four Corles, five or six leagues from Balany and ten or eleven from Colombo, which is called Manicavary; here the Portuguese usually kept up a camp, to be ready to oppose the king of Kandy and to defend the Seven Corles if they were attacked. The commandant of that camp was inferior in rank only to the general himself. The camp was composed of twelve companies of Portuguese infantry, on the whole amounting to 350 men. Besides the commandant, there were a captain-general, a serjeant-major, two adjutants, a person in charge of the ammunition, a Franciscan monk as chaplain, and a dessave, who is a kind of general among the Singhalese, or governor of the troops of a whole province. This officer had always at his command in time of peace at least 4,000 men, and in time of war a far more considerable number.

There was a second camp in the Saffragam country, near the kingdom of Uwa; it comprised four companies of Portuguese infantry, amounting to 150 men, and from 4 to 5,000 lascorins; these were under the command of the dessave of the province, who had with him an adjutant and a chaplain.

In these two camps consisted the chief strength of the country, especially in time of peace.

There was however another camp at Matura, which comprised one company of Portuguese infantry and from 3 to 4,000 lascorins. The dessave of that province commanded the camp, and guarded the coasts from the frontiers of Uwa and Batticaloa as far as Colombo. The dessave of the Seven Corles had also the command of a body of troops comprising from 3 to 4,000 lascorins and a company of Portuguese

infantry, with which he secured the country which lies between Kandy and Matale and the mountain of Cooderemalee.

When the Dutch obtained a footing on the island, they established another camp for the defence of Galle, which was called the camp of Matura. The four dessaves in command of these camps had almost absolute power, and hung up at the first tree any Portuguese offending against their authority, for military discipline was very severe then. The punishment inflicted on natives of the country was different: it consisted either in laying open the stomach by blows of a hatchet or in empaling; and the dessaves were not responsible to any person for their orders, so that when martial law was proclaimed, a soldier absenting himself, or offending in any manner soever, was punished with death on the spot. No reasoning was allowed in such cases: the manners of the country and the temper of the natives required the greatest rigour. No quarrelling was permitted in any camp, but that the spirit so necessary to military men might not be damped, the soldiers were allowed to settle their disputes, with the consent of their officers, at a place set aside for that purpose outside every encampment. That place was called the field of honor, as matters of honor were arranged there. If one of the duellists was killed in a fair fight, his rival went free of punishment by absenting himself for eight days from the army, or until the commandant thought fit to recal him, and to give him a certificate of security, when the dead man was no more spoken of. If a soldier declined a challenge, or was guilty of any subterfuge in settling his dispute, he was looked upon as infamous, and not even his own brother would associate with him.

A person who had been wounded, or who had come off second best in a duel, could not renew the affair; on his recovery, a companion in arms of one or the other party was accustomed to require his word of honor that he considered the affair settled—and if he refused to give such an engagement, or having given it, if he broke it, he had to settle a fresh dispute with the person mediating. In this manner discipline was well maintained among the Portuguese soldiery serving on Ceylon. The men were brave, obedient, full of a sense of honor, and respected each other. By the list we have given of the number of companies in each camp, it will be seen that there were but 700 Portuguese soldiers altogether in the island.

They were paid twice a year, namely at Christmas and on St. John's day, and the pay of each private was ten pardaos. The sergeants and the alferez received twenty, and the captains a hundred each; that pay was only for the soldier's pocket-money; he received for his nourishment a separate allowance of one pardao and a bushel and a half of rice monthly; or rather the captain received

it for him and undertook to feed him, and did so by giving him boiled rice thrice a day.

The soldiers kept their arms in their own custody and were bound to produce them from time to time; he who lost his arms was looked upon as infamous, even if he had received a severe wound; this made them retain their weapons to the very last extremity. If any soldier gained possession of an enemy's arms, they were made over to the king, whose commissary gave him a certificate for them; but the captains alone had the authority to testify as to their conduct in war; they gave certificates specifying on oath every circumstance connected with deeds of merit which had come to their knowledge. These attestations were countersigned by the general either at the time, or whenever it was convenient for the soldier to request his signature.

The Portuguese on that island were, as it were, in a fortress; no man could quit Ceylon without the general's permission, and that permission was very rarely granted. The captains of vessels incurred a penalty of 300 pardaos if they took any person on board who could not produce a written leave; and if they conveyed a deserter from the island, they were liable to the punishment of death, and sentence to that effect was never remitted,

A man obtained promotion by his good services; partiality and favouring were not practised; a soldier's merits were well known, and when any man distinguished himself, it was the duty of the marshal to ascertain the truth of what had taken place, and if his report was favorable, the general never failed to give preferment to the officer or soldier on the first opportunity, without any other recommendation. Every man acknowledged the justice with which he was treated, and was delighted when a brother in arms was promoted, receiving that as an assurance that the same good fortune awaited himself, if he became distinguished, and this kept up that spirit of emulation which is the life of an army.

The soldiers were not obliged to serve longer than six months in the same company; they might quit it for another if they were dissatisfied with their position in it. The general was accustomed to review the troops in each camp, and two days after that inspection they received their pay, and then they were free to enlist under any other captain they chose.

This liberty was left to them, as it was considered disgraceful to complain formally of bad nourishment, and yet there were some captains who were neglectful of their men's rations. Yet the number of soldiers in each company was regulated, as the general himself fixed it at 36 or 38 and stationed the soldiers accordingly. When a cap-

tain and a soldier were mutually contented, no change was made, and the removal only took place of men who were dissatisfied or who were above the number prescribed for the company: the only effect was that the best captains had the best men. If the general perceived that the soldiers had a repugnance to serve under any officer, he warned that captain once or twice, and if the cause of dislike continued, the company was given to another person.

As the captains fed their men, and as each received on that account the produce of two villages, the coolies and cartmen of every village rendered service for fifteen days in turns; and when the troops went on march, a certain number were pressed to carry the kitchen utensils and other baggage. The mayors, syndics, and other headmen of the villages acted as purveyors to the army; they kept it well supplied with oxen, cows, fowls, capons, butter and every thing else, which was paid for. With this assistance the captains were easily able to feed their men generously, and to take care of them in illness; and they were not obliged to send them to the hospitals whilst other means were available for their recovery. When a soldier went to the hospital he took his arms with him, and if he died, the priest took charge of them and gave them to the commissary taking his receipt for them; but when a soldier was cured, he was sent to Malwana to regain his strength, and returned with his arms to the camp. A soldier on march was only bound to carry his arms; whenever he came near a village at the dinner-hour, he fired his musket, and the chief men of the village were compelled to receive him and take him to the best house of the place; they gave him fruits to refresh him till dinner was ready: and having well fed him, they accompanied him to the road, or, if it was late, they made up a bed for him in the house and took greater care of him than of their own child, as they knew if any harm chanced to him their village would most certainly be burned, and themselves put to the sword. Besides this fear of what might happen to them, they held their lands from the king on the tenure of maintaining all soldiers—this was the case throughout the island. Officers and soldiers were free to quit the army at pleasure, provided that they did not desert.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the usages, rites, customs and ceremonies of the Singhalese.

In the preceding chapter we described the manner in which the Portuguese lived on the island of Ceylon; we are now about to explain the laws, rites, usages, customs and ceremonies of the natives

of the country. These people are all heathens, as are the generality of true Indians, yet there is some difference among them. Thus the Singhalese adore one only God, the creator of the world; but they believe that there are other divinities, his inferiors, who are also called gods, and each of whom has his peculiar charge—one, for example, is the protector of agriculture, another of navigation, a third of some other profession; they have images of different figures; one has the face of a man; another of a woman; a third of an ape, or an elephant &c. Some are monsters with many arms holding bows and arrows—but one takes pre-eminence of all these, who is called Budu, and for whom they profess the greatest reverence. He is represented in the form of a man, of gigantic size, being about 32 feet high. They have a tradition that this Budu lived for a long time in Ceylon, and led there a most penitent and holy life. They reckon their years from his residence among them, and by this calculation it appears that he lived about the 40th year of the Christian era,* and it is probable that he was St. Thomas the Apostle, for it is a general tradition in the east that he preached the gospel to all these nations. The Singhalese say that he was not born among them, and that he left their country and died on the continent of India; this is perfectly in accord with the common opinion received among the Christians of India, and especially among those who live on the Coromandel Coast who are called St. Thomas's Christians. The new year begins in Ceylon with the new moon of the month of March.

There is no nation which so highly venerates its king as the Singhalese. When they approach their sovereign they bow down three times with their face to the very earth; and whilst addressing him, they remain prostrate on their stomach with their hands raised above their heads. They adore him as a deity; after his death they offer him sacrifices of whatever they consider pleased him most whilst living, and they give him various appellations according to the peculiar qualities which he manifested. They offered the same homage to the Portuguese captain-general, because he bore the title of king of Malwana. The Singhalese believe in the immortality of the soul, but they say that the soul of a wicked man passes from him into the body of a domesticated animal, and that of a good man into the body of a tiger, a bear, or some other wild beast; and that when those animals die, the souls migrate to the other world where their qualities are doubled in proportion to what they were here—the wicked are twice as wicked, and are severely punished—the good are twice as good, and receive great honor and gratifications, according to the wealth which the deceased person possessed or the rank that he held. They retain nothing of what a man has hoarded up; all is buried with him

* The epoch of the æra of Budu is B. C. 543. L.

except some agricultural implements or similar utensils. If the king had honored the deceased with a golden chain, or with some jewel in recompense of any deed of merit, his heirs were obliged, under pain of death, to carry that distinction back to the king; * and if they failed to do so, the penalty would be enforced; indeed, as it is reckoned infamous to embezzle any gift of the king, or even to take possession of it, they could not sell it or get rid of it, so that as a matter of course it returned to the giver.

Addition by the French Editor.

On the Singhalese religion.

CONSIDERING the order and regularity which exist among the Singhalese, it is difficult to believe that they have always been ignorant of our holy religion. In the time of Justinian, or thereabout, there were erected on Ceylon churches for the Christian merchants who traded from Persia. It is probable that the first seeds were neglected and that thus the Singhalese fell into their former blindness, still however retaining the order and ecclesiastical discipline which had been introduced among them. They have a high-priest, or pontiff, who, with his gorunnanses or sanghias, takes cognizance of all things concerning religion; they call him the terunnanse. He is usually a man venerable on account of his age and austerity. The symbols of his dignity are a golden ribbon, and a staff or sceptre of ivory; he never goes out unless accompanied by numerous gorunnanses or sanghias and his income is considerable.

The island of Ceylon is divided into four dioceses, each of which has its own pontiff who has his inferior priests, but is subordinate to the high-priest or terunnanse. The first pontiff resides in the diocese of Saffragam, and has charge of the celebrated pagoda dedicated to Hilociperamal, the brother of Vishnu; the second lives near Calany in the pagoda of Bixuraperumal, Rama's brother; the third dwells at Catragama, where is the pagoda of the great idol Candeswamy, Vishnu's son; and the fourth pontiff is attached to the pagoda of Alonor which is consecrated to Vishnu himself. Besides these pagodas there are some others, which have very considerable revenues, and which are even more famous than those just mentioned; they are the temples of Trinquinalé † Manicaram, Tenevary and Tricoil, which have the appearance of so many towns. All kinds of merchants and artisans

* This is precisely similar to the English custom with regard to insignia of honor. L.

† Trincomalie.

required for the service of the temple resides there, as well as the gorunanses; and the property belonging to the pagodas is exempt from all species of taxation. The gurus, or priests, are held in high esteem; they receive almost the same honors as the king himself, and up to the time of Raju-Singha, the impunity granted them was the more dangerous as they were frequently concerned in conspiracies against the prince; and as they influenced the minds of the people according to their own will they became very formidable opponents to the sovereign. Raju-Singha therefore put many of them to death, and abolished the exemption from punishment which they previously enjoyed.

The Priests wear a yellow robe; they delight in processions which collect multitudes about them; Wednesdays and Saturdays are their holy days, and their three principal feasts are held at the new moons of March, June, and November. The first is celebrated in honor of Budu, the guardian of the souls of men; during this feast pilgrims flock to Adam's peak, which bears the native name of Amalala sripade, or to the tree bogaha, which is in the neighbourhood of Anurajapuré, and which they believe to have been transplanted thither by Budu. * There was formerly a monkey's tooth in the kingdom of Jaffnapatam, which the idolaters worshipped as one of Budu's teeth. Constantine of Braganza carried it away in 1560 and chose to destroy it by fire rather than to sell it to the king of Pegu, who offered him 800,000 livres for it. But, when the priests saw that no ransom would be received for it, they gave out that it had escaped from the hands of the Portuguese and had settled down on a rose, where they had found it again. † The two other feasts are kept for earthly blessings; the one begins at the new moon of June and ends at the full moon of the same month; the other lasts but for one night in November.

Although the priests are endowed, they derive considerable wealth from the charity of the people, more especially of the dying; for at the hour of death they send for a priest who is brought to their house under a canopy, and treated with the best of everything they have it in their power to offer. And until the sick man is either out of dan-

* There are two interesting chapters on this subject in the *Mahawanso*, the 18th entitled "The obtaining of the great Bo-branch" and the 19th entitled "The arrival of the Bo-tree." L.

† The right canine tooth of Budu was transferred from Dantapura to Ceylon in A. D. 310, and is now enshrined in the Dalada-Maligawe temple in Kandy. The 17th chapter of the *Mahawanso* entitled "The arrival of the relics" gives the full details of the acquirement of the collar-bone and other relics of Budu by Dewanapiyatipo. It is but extremely recently that the British Government have wisely concluded to lessen the value attached to the tooth, by declining any longer to be the official guardians of it. L.

ger, or dies, the priest stays with him and recites the canticle *Bonna*, then explains it, and addresses the people of the house in a very feeling manner. It is a general persuasion that the prayers of a priest are effective in proportion to the presents given to him; they therefore pay him largely, treat him well, and send him away with the same respect with which he was fetched.

The Singhalese bury their dead in the forests if they are poor, but the rich are burned with expensive ceremonies.

CHAPTER XV.

Concerning some superstitions of the Singhalese.

THE Singhalese, like all other eastern nations, have many superstitions; their knowledge of herbs is very extensive.

When any one falls sick, and the herbs or roots used for his recovery fail of their effect, they take a plank, and trace on it with earth in bas-relief the form of the patient; they then call together his relations and friends of both sexes, and prepare a great repast. At nine in the evening, the guests gather about the house, and having partaken of the meal, go to a place set apart for the purpose, and take their seats in a circle having a large space in the centre. Torches are then lighted, tom-toms beaten, and a great noise is made with various instruments for the space of an hour; then a young girl, presumed to be a virgin, dances in the open space, whilst all the party add the noise of their voices to that produced by the tom-toms, horns, pipes and other instruments. After some time, the girl drops foaming at the mouth and sparkling at the eyes; one of the assembly then arises and puts questions to her, praying her not to allow the sick man to die, and making presents of fruits, in return for which he requests her to prescribe a remedy for the disease. He praises the sick man, and assures her that he is one of her friends, and that he has given proofs of his attachment to her on divers occasions. Then the devil, speaking by the mouth of the girl, pronounces the fate of the patient, who sometimes dies and sometimes recovers in very opposition to the foretelling of the oracle; and then of course the girl declares she was not rightly understood. Sometimes the girl, not knowing what to say, declares she has an enemy among them, whom she mortally hates; this enemy has to be discovered, and there is always sure to be found a Christian or a Portuguese, who is required to go away, and then the devil gives his answer. All honors and thanks are then offered him; food is placed for him at the foot of one of the trees dedicated to him; the offering is adorned with flowers and no person

dares to touch it—it rots or serves to nourish apes, as does also the fruit of all trees sacred to Yaka, as this devil-god is styled.

Sometimes we found these trees loaded with fruit, and ate of it to excess, as it is generally of the best quality. We one day asked one of the village headmen, who understood Portuguese, if he also worshipped Yaka—he answered “He is one of the most wicked beings conceivable.” “Why then do you sacrifice to him of the best of your produce?” said we. “To conciliate him” was his answer, “for he is as vindictive as he is wicked.” It is their general opinion that the devil, being wicked, must be propitiated by worship and gifts—but that God, being all good, requires nothing from us.

They are also great enchanters; and they have a form of prayer with which they can call to themselves serpents, which come and play with them and suffer themselves to be handled. They have also an incantation to cure persons bitten by serpents, but as they well know the herbs which are effective against bites, it is probable that they administer these and add the words to deceive the ignorant people. They set crocodiles to sleep, and when the natives are going to bathe in the rivers, they apply to the enchanters for a charm; but if the the crocodile injures them, they think they omitted something which they were told to say. Often in our marches we took off our shoes to go through the streams, and several of our people were attacked with such severe colics that death was expected to follow; but the coolies laying the sick man on their backs, pressed the hollow of their stomachs with their hands, and recited a prayer, which lasted as long as the *Credo*, after which the pain ceased and the sick men went their way as if nothing had ailed them.

Many other circumstances are related concerning their superstitions—and it is certain that they commences no business of any consequence without previously consulting one of their astrologers, who are called *Nagatas*.^{*} And in truth these *Nagatas*, who are persons of the lowest conditions and in wretched poverty, sometimes make predictions which astonish persons by really coming to pass against all expectations; so that it is difficult to persuade oneself but that they have either intercourse with the devil or some supernatural knowledge.

* The Singalese word for an Astrologer is ගිතියාත්‍රකාරයා (*Giotsastrikaria*) and of an Astronomer නක්ෂත්‍රකාරයා (*naksastrikaria*). The word in the text is unknown. L.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of Marriage and other customs of the Singhalese.

THE marriages of the Singhalese are celebrated in a very ridiculous way. When a young girl is about to be married to a man of the same rank as herself, (for it is not allowed for men or women to marry either above or below their caste,) she first agrees as to the conditions, and acquaints her relations with what she has done, and they have to consider whether they are contented with those terms: if they are satisfied, a great repast is prepared and the ceremony is concluded. The first night of consummation is allotted to the husband, the second to his brother, the third to the next brother, and so on as far as the seventh night, when, if there be more brothers, the remainder are not entitled to the privilege of the eldest six. These first days being past, the husband has no greater claim on his wife than his brothers have; if he finds her alone, he takes her to himself, but if one of his brothers be with her, he cannot disturb them. Thus one wife is sufficient for a whole family and all their property is in common among them; they bring their earnings into one general stock, and the children call all the brothers indifferently their fathers.*

A high-caste man would not for all the world accept a glass of water in the house of a man of lower rank than himself. A low-caste man would not dare to knock at the door of a man of higher caste. If he requires any thing from within the house, he calls out till he is heard and what he wants is put outside for him.

A woman presuming to have intercourse with a man of lower caste than herself, could not possibly escape death. Her father her brother and all her family become her accusers, and believe that the disgrace which she has inflicted on them can only be expiated by her death.

Whatever may be a man's merits, he cannot raise himself above his caste †—let him distinguish himself ever so much, let him give

* This is only applicable to the Kandyan provinces; the system of polyandry never prevailed in the maritime districts. L.

† It is pitiful to relate that notwithstanding the diffusion of education, the introduction of Christianity, and the efforts made by English Governors successively to abolish the system of caste, it prevails as strongly among the natives at the present moment as at any former period of their history. In 1846 many of the Wellale headmen refused to sit down to Sir Colin Campbell's table, because other headmen in public employment, but not of equally high caste, were invited to it. And yet the distinction of caste is repudiated by the Budhist religion, and must have been introduced in times of Brahminical heresy. L.

proof of courage equal to that of Alexander or Cæsar, if he be by caste a barber he must remain a barber. The king may give him lands set apart for people of that trade, he may raise him high among his own relatives, increase his wealth, but he cannot take him out of the caste he was born in : he and his must remain in it till they die. There are in the army men of low castes for the service of the soldiers and their officers. These have their own chiefs and directors, who are often brave and skilful men ; but they cannot on any occasion take the place of a chieftain of higher rank who may have been killed, nor are they allowed to remain covered in presence of a man who may be the very lowest of a caste higher than their own.

The difference of ranks is marked by the dress. Those who are of a low condition wear dresses which only come down to the knee ; those of a higher rank have dresses descending to the middle of the leg.

The modliars, appoohamies, adigars, and other great men wear a shirt and a robe, which cannot be worn by those who are not of as high a rank. All the men are dusky, or rather of a copper colour, the complexion of some being of a deeper brown than that of others ; their hair is long, their beard squared off ; they are strong and tolerably well proportioned. The women are clean and generally well-made, with very fine eyes ; those who are of good families dress better than any other females in India ; their petticoats cover the very points of their feet, and they take particular care of their hair.

Besides the vernacular language of the country, the Singhalese have another which they learn as we do latin. * They are sensible and witty, have a quick comprehension and a power of persuasion which convinces those to whom they make any proposition. They are good poets and readily compose songs ; almost all have good voices, and it is very agreeable to hear them sing. †

The people attached to the courts of justice do their duty well and are not anxious to multiply written documents ; but their good qualities are greatly spoiled by the vanity which possesses all the Singhalese. They are crafty, vain, and change their religion as their interests prompt them. When they went to Colombo, in the time of the Por-

* The Páli or Magadhi, which Budhist scholars declare to be of greater antiquity than the Sanscrit, quoting, in the discussion of this subject, their favorite verse,—“Sá Mágadhi ; mula bhásá, narayeyadi kappika, brachmanochasuttalapa, Sambuddhachapi bhasare.”—“Here is a language which is the root of all ; men and brahmans at the commencement of the creation, who never before heard or uttered a human accent, and even the supreme Budus, spoke it : it is Magadhi.” (*Turnour*) What becomes of Hebrew after this declaration ? L.

† An intermixture with the Dutch must then have had a powerful effect in changing their voices, since Ribeyro's time. L.

tuguese, they professed to be the very best Christians; when they went back to their villages, they returned to their pagodas.

The Soldiers are brave, and attached to their leaders; they have often been seen, when defeated, exposing their own lives to save their *dessaves*. They are very laborious, and although their jungle offers the means of living, they cultivate their lands with much care. They only are in want of salt, but they require very little of it. They are very long-lived; I knew one man, who was 120 years old, and his son was 90, and both were in the habit of going on sundays and holidays a league distant to hear the mass, without a staff or stick to support them. I have known others almost equally aged.

Only the military are allowed to carry arms; and they generally wear large sabres which they call *calacurres*,* and which are $2\frac{1}{2}$ palms in length. They have different classes of soldiery and they are all armed differently. The *lascorins* carry spears 18 palms† long; others have bows with which they hit a mark very correctly; some carry arquebusses; others again muskets weighing 40lbs. with barrels eight feet long, carrying four-ounce balls and having the same effect as small falconets; their muskets are called foot-guns and they can only be conveniently fired with portfires. The king of Kandy has 5000 such guns, and the Portuguese had about 4000.

When the king of Kandy waged war against the Portuguese, he placed generally in his front-battle some elephants accustomed to war, and he armed their trunks with a sabre or cutlass as broad as the hand; each had two conductors, so that if one were killed, the other might prevent the Portuguese taking the elephant and turning him against his own masters. Then the Portuguese thought proper to use fire-balls, which burned and terrified the elephants, and the infuriated animals flying through the Singhalese camp, carried disorder with them and were often the cause of defeat; for when once frightened and in flight, no conductor can stop them. On these occasions the *lascorins* were frequently seen doing wonders: they threw themselves on the enemy and always brought back heads on the point of their spears: to encourage them they were promised a crown for every head, and for so small a reward a father would not have hesitated to take back the head of his son, nor a son that of his father. The war was always carried on without quarter, as the king of Kandy gave nothing for a live Portuguese, only paying for as many heads as were brought in.

* The regular sword is called *Káduwe*, and the sword worn on state occasions *Kasthánē*. L.

† 6 feet. L.

Addition by the French Editor.

As the husband and wife are at liberty to leave each other,* and as they may then marry again whom they like, it will be easily understood that the conditions of marriage sit lightly on them; all they care for is that the husband and wife shall be of the same caste, yet it is sometimes permitted to a man to take a wife a degree lower in rank than himself, but a similar indulgence is never allowed to a woman. The wedding is usually celebrated with great rejoicings.

The Singhalese are divided into six or seven different classes—the first class is that of the Bramins, but among the Christian natives the Benacas rank above the Bramins, whilst among the heathen Singhalese the latter take precedence. The real signification of these two terms are the nobility and the clergy, and alliances between them are permitted. Then follow the Chitties, which class comprehends the goldsmiths and other workmen who make use of the hammer. The Benacas or nobles may enter the houses of the Chitties, but they do not eat with them, nor can marriages be contracted between their children; but the Chitties may sit down in the presence of Benacas which men of an inferior rank may not do. The most miserable of all the classes are the Nalluwas and Parreas; these are reckoned so vile that they are compelled to call out when they see a man of another class approaching them and to get quickly out of his way, as he who comes in contact with a Parrea may kill him. These poor wretches are considered impure and capable of any crime; they are vagabonds and wandering in their lives, almost outlaws, and they are allowed to eat of any kind of meat, even of such as passes among the Singhalese as most unclean.

The Benacas, or Nobles, may cultivate their fields and work for themselves, but they may not carry any burden, however light it be.† It is from that class that the Dessaves, Appoohamies, Modliars and generally all the officers and commanders are taken.

I do not know why the valour of the Singhalese is so much extolled; they have had princes expert in the art of war, and who by cunning and skill gained great victories over the Portuguese; but it is still certain that 500 Europeans will beat 15,000 or even 20,000 natives, and that the bravery of the lascorins is only conspicuous against an enemy in flight. There is great accuracy in the praises given to

* “*Wooed with a ‘come here,’ divorced with a kick,*” as a learned friend of mine described the native marriage system, in our Colonial Legislative Council. L.

† This prejudice against carrying even the lightest burden prevails even now so much in Ceylon, that the lowest tradesman or servant generally employs a cooly to carry a bundle, which an European gentleman would take in his hand. L.

the wit, politeness and the cleanliness of the Singhalese, and still more to that of their women. They are sober, moderate in their diet, flattering, restrained in their talk and seldom irritated. The women take charge of the household; and though they keep slaves, they prepare their husbands' meals, and for fear that their breath should spoil their cookery, they wear a cloth over their mouths when cooking and when taking it to the table: As long as they are in the house, they care little for their dress, but when they go out, they even borrow what they think necessary to complete their toilette; they wear neither gloves or shoes, but go barefooted like the men: When they have on them any natural uncleanness; they consider their houses impure and cry out to persons coming to visit them to stay outside; they are frequent in their baths and wash the whole of their bodies; they do not sit down in the presence of men, and do not appear in public to accuse any body; they pay nothing to the king for the lands which they inherit or for the merchandize which they carry. There are few physicians or surgeons in the country and no midwives; the women bring forth alone or are assisted by their neighbours. The children receive names which they exchange for others when they grow up.

CHAPTER XVII.

Shewing how Justice is administered among the Natives.

As the Singhalese have always preserved their ancient laws and customs, under what dominion soever they have been, they have also retained their own form of government almost completely—except, that when they were subject to Portugal, their bandigaralles and mareilleros were always of that nation. The bandigaralle is the chief justice; he appointed every year four mareilleros who were confirmed in office by the general; the mareilleros are the same as the commissioners of justice in France, and they were sent every year into the governments of the four dessaves, with authority to decide all suits and actions and to determine them according to the laws of the country. Each mareillero had two advocates whose duty it was to become thoroughly acquainted with the laws; they had also an usher and a secretary or notary. When they were going into a province to hold the assizes, they sent beforehand notice to the people in order that preparations might be made for their reception. They were always received on the appointed day with every mark of honor, and as soon as the sessions commenced, all persons in the neighbouring vllages who had lawsuits or complaints came forward with their petitions and pleadings. The first business called on related to inheritances and wills; enquiry was made if an inventory had been

framed and if any property had been already taken away; if anybody was accused of having possessed himself of any part of what had been left, he was forced to bring it back or to pay three times its value to the king. The kings of Ceylon are their subjects' only heirs; but as this custom appeared barbarous to the Portuguese, the king of Portugal only took one fifth of the inheritance, and left the remainder to the children or other nearest relatives of the deceased.

The debts contracted in that country are never very considerable. If a man has lent any supplies which are not returned, he cites his debtor, and if the debt is proved, it is ordered to be immediately paid—if it is not clearly substantiated, time is given to both parties to produce their witnesses. Thieves are brought before this court in a similar way, and if they plead guilty they are condemned to pay the value of what has been stolen according to the estimate of the party robbed, and to give a fine of three times that amount to the king; but if the thief denies the crime, he is placed on his oath, which is done in this manner: If he has any children they are sent for—if he has none, his nearest relations are produced, and they are chosen by the person robbed; when they come before the *mareillero*, the thief takes some stones and place them on the head of his children and prays to God only to allow them to live as many days as there are stones, if he committed the robbery of which he stands accused; after which oath the parties are sent away and ordered each to pay his own costs. The people are persuaded that there is so much virtue in this oath that if it be false the children will die within the time mentioned, and the truth or falsehood of the accusation is estimated accordingly by the result. Murderers or homicides are called on, after the thieves, to acquit themselves of the crimes of which they are accused—sometimes they are not forthcoming, for if they are taken within 60 days after the commission of the crime the *desave* may condemn them to death without any form of law; but after that time, he has no power over them; they must have their trial, they come freely to the sessions, and if they confess their crimes they are ordered to pay 120 reals to the king and are let off with certificates of absolution, so that they can no longer be held answerable for that murder, even if it be committed by a man of low-caste on a person of higher rank.

We have already said that when a woman has had intercourse with a man of a lower caste, her most cruel enemies are her nearest relatives, who consider themselves bound by honor to compass her death: as this sort of culpability does not admit of many witnesses, it is allowed to kill her on the slightest proof; but if they prefer to summon her before the *mareillero* and she denies her guilt, she is obliged to thrust her arm into boiling-water or to hold in her hand a

red-hot iron; if she is not burnt by it, she returns acquitted to her parents' house who dare not then reproach her with her guilt; on the contrary, all her friends rejoice with her at the proof she has given of her innocence; but if she is injured by the ordeal, she is given over to her relatives who may put her instantly to death.

There are many other cases of less consequence, which the ma-reillero decides summarily, according to the laws of the country. After the assizes he returns to the town, and gives an account to the commissary of the fines he has received, which he pays to him on the king's account and takes a receipt.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the Elephants.

As we have spoken of elephants, we must relate what we have seen and know of them; and we ought to place on record the services of one animal which was bred and brought up among us and was more distinguished than any other. He was so handsome a creature, and so well made, that we only employed him on urgent occasions, as we had others for use in common circumstances. We called him *Ortela* and he was much noticed at the siege of Colombo. Before that time, he was only taken into the forests to catch or to hunt other animals. He was so useful that we only kept him out of 15 which we had; we ate the others during the seven months that the siege lasted. He fell into the hands of the Dutch when Colombo capitulated. The king of Kandy, who had heard speak of him, offered a large sum of money for him, and his price could not be too high for he gained the king about 15,000 crowns every year. As this may appear incredible, I must explain what I say.

These animals go by troops into the jungle, under the guidance of one animal, which they appear all to obey. It would be difficult to relate what devastation they cause wherever they go, and how many trees they break or tear up. The peasantry who were much annoyed by their incursions, never failed to inform the general of the district which way they had passed. Then the general was accustomed to despatch *Ortela* with his two conductors, and some *alias*, or female elephants; the latter were left in the village nearest the place where the wild elephants were, and *Ortela* only was taken into the jungle. As soon as the leader of the troop saw him, he came forth to offer him battle; but *Ortela*, concealing his conductor behind him, advanced carelessly and seizing

the wild elephant with his trunk round his neck, held him so tightly that he could never succeed in loosing his hold. Then the man, who was hid behind Ortela, threw skilfully his rope round the front leg of the beast, and attached him securely to the tame elephant, and the other conductor approaching did the same to his hind leg, and when the elephant was thus taken two females were brought up and he was secured between them, and Ortela was let loose; thus, at the end of two or three days, the wild animal was brought back already tamed to the town, and in this way about thirty were taken every year. An elephant is sold according to his height. The largest elephant is about 9 cubits * high from the point of the foot to the shoulder, and being sold at the rate of 1,000 pardaos the cubit, he fetches about 8,000 pardaos; but a very large one, which has good distinguishing marks, fetches 12 or even 15,000 pardaos.

The Moors, and other Mahometans who trade in elephants, give as much for one from Ceylon as for four from any other country. There are many elephants at Goa, which are employed in carrying wood and other materials to the dockyards where ships are built; they are procured from different places, but as soon as one from Ceylon comes among them, all the rest acknowledge him as their superior and give him the place of honor, obeying him in everything. At Goa and other places this has often been remarked; and it has also been observed that no animal has so much modesty as they have. I have often enquired of the people who had charge of Ortela, if ever they saw him in coupling season go after a female, and they have assured me that they never saw anything of the kind.

No creature is so easily subdued or tamed as the elephant; in three days they are made as tractable and submissive as if they had been employed for years. They are let free without fear of their returning to the forest; they do of their own will what is required of them and what they see others do. The best way to tame them is not to allow them to sleep the first three days and nights after they are caught, and when they sleep to awaken them by heavy blows; then to caress and encourage them. Some authors say that elephants never lie down; but this is a very old error long given up. They lie down every night; and stoop and bend to receive their loads; it is true that on journeys they only lie down from sheer fatigue, and then frequently they never rise again, but die; this has deceived many into the assertion that they only stoop to die.

* $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Twice the circumference of an elephant's foot is its exact height to the shoulder. L.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Fruits, Herds, and Animals of Ceylon, and of the Diseases prevalent there.

ALL provisions necessary to sustain life are plentiful in Ceylon, especially cows, buffaloes, goats and pigs (of which the best only cost twenty pence); wild boar, stags, elk, gazelles, deer, porcupines, and hares are in abundance. The country is covered with small game, such as turtle-doves, pigeons, partridges, snipes, woodcocks, wild-geese, ducks, and other kinds. Poultry is very cheap, twenty fowls cost two reals; and butter also costs little.

A sort of lizard is found in the jungle which the natives call *talagoya*,* it is three palms long, and of a brownish colour. Many persons who have tasted it, say that there is no game of a finer flavor. The rivers yield fish and shells in abundance. Fruits also in Ceylon are better than elsewhere; the trees bear twice a year, but the Singhalese never give the fruit time to ripen, they gather it green, pretending that ripe fruit is very injurious.

But of all their fruit none can be compared with a species of orange, which they call the king's orange, † and I am of opinion that even if no other fruit were to be had, that one alone would entitle Ceylon to be considered as the earthly paradise, and it may be looked upon as the apple which tempted our first parents, as certainly no better fruit is to be found anywhere. Rice also grows abundantly at all seasons of the year; I have myself seen in the same field some just appearing above ground, other entering into the ear, and other again being cut down and tied up in bundles; other grain is also sown which grows well and furnishes food for the country people; there are also many kinds of roots and vegetables such as yams and potatoes. ‡ Their vallies and hills are in all seasons covered with flowers; and their orchards are on the banks of rivers the water of which is as clear as the purest crystal. Although Ceylon is so near the Line, the air is so pure that the temperature can scarcely be called either too hot or too cold.

Yet most of the Portuguese on their first arrival were subject to diarrhoeas, fevers and other diseases, to which the natives are not liable. I think the Singhalese retain their health by frequent bathings, as the waters are very wholesome. I remember when I first went

* The *guana* or *iguana*; it is generally eaten among the natives, and is said to be palatable, though dry. L.

† *ජෙස ටෙ ටෙ*, jemnaran, (*Sing.*) the large mandarin orange. L.

‡ In the original "inhames et batates." L.

to Ceylon, I had two illnesses in the first two years: then I adopted the custom of bathing morning and evening, and during the sixteen subsequent years I lived there, I never had the slightest sickness.

There is another disease called the *Bere-bere*, to which Europeans are very subject; it is a sort of cramp so very violent that it prostrates those who are attacked by it, and the diseased part might be cut with a knife without causing any pain. The best remedy is to eat pork and biscuit, to drink *palm-wine*,* and to smoke; three or four months' living in this manner cures the patient entirely; on this account the captain-general Antonio de Mascarenhas, by the physicians' advice, issued an order for every one to smoke in the camp, and to give a good example, he adopted the practice himself first; and after that time the disease was far less prevalent.

The natives are most in fear of the small-pox; it is very contagious and out of dread of it a father would desert his child, and a wife her husband; the child or husband attacked with this disease is put out of the house and no one holds communication with him; they give him enough to eat and he gets on as well as he can alone; this is the reason why almost every one dies who catches the illness, and on that very account it is dreaded the more. The country people call it *Ankaria*,† or an affair with God, because it appears as if a miracle only can cure it, and that a man having the small-pox has only to think of settling his earthly affairs.

The Neapolitan disease, which the natives properly call *Paranguelere*‡ or Portuguese sickness, since the Portuguese first introduced it into the country, is not easily cured. When a person has the fever, they allow him to drink as much water as he pleases, provided it is boiled with *coantru*.§ No people understand the use of simples better than the Singhalese, so that with a few herbs or roots they cure wounds, ulcers and swellings; they set broken arms and bandage fractured legs, and put those matters to rights in a very few days. Cancers which are considered incurable in Europe, are cured in a week in Ceylon. The ground produces many herbs which are of good service against poison; and I have studied their uses as antidotes against the bites of snakes, as venomous insects and serpents are very numerous there.

* *Query* toddy. L.

† මහලෙඩ, *mahalede*, "the great disease," is the common Singhalese name for the small-pox. L.

‡ This word is rightly *Parangalede* or "Frank sickness"—the Singhalese having no *f* use *p* instead of it. L.

§ *Coantru*. *Portuguese*. Coriander, boiled down with ginger, is used by the natives in cases of fever. L.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the Insects and Serpents in Ceylon.

THOUGH there are many *tigers*,* *ounces*, and other wild animals in Ceylon, they occasion little injury to man, as they find plenty to subsist on without attacking him, there being so many tame beasts and herds. The monkeys are more dreaded: there are five very different species of them; the prettiest are the *sagoïns*, and more especially the *rogueas*; the Portuguese delight in them even to folly. There are also many parrots, and particularly small ones, which the Portuguese call *perroquets*; there are *sairos* and *martinhos* which are taught to speak, and the latter are much sought after. The civets are so common that no one takes the trouble to domesticate them.

They have a little animal of the size of a ferret, which they call *mangus*; it has so great an antipathy to serpents that immediately it scents or gets sight of one, it does not rest till it kills it. As however serpents are very venomous, if the *mangus* is wounded, it finds out a certain herb which it eats and which is a wonderful specific against poison. The *mangus* does not spare fowls or turkeys; they are generally very mischievous, and I remember a soldier who took one into his bed and was dangerously bitten by it; but on account of its enmity to serpents people house it and feed it, preferring the wound caused by the *mangus* to death which might be caused by the snake.

There are four kinds of snakes more dangerous each than the other. One is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot long, of a brownish tinge, more especially under the belly; a person bitten by it falls into a deep sleep, and without prompt help dies in six hours; another kind maddens a man by its bite, and the patient expires in twenty-four hours; but the most terrible snake is one whose venom is so instant in its effect that when a man is bitten by it, the blood issues from all his pores and there is no remedy which can relieve him. The snake called *cobra de capello* is so much venerated that it is not allowed to be injured; the Singhalese call it *naïa* and *naghaïa*, or the royal snake, and they believe that if one of them were killed all serpents of the same species would revenge his death on all the family of the murderer, and would destroy his brothers, his wife and his children; when therefore one of them has bitten a man, a charmer is sent for who obliges the

* The real tiger is unknown in Ceylon, the *chetah* is rather of the leopard species. L.

snake to come forth and scolds him severely ; they then believe he will do no further injury.*

I have been told of another snake, which is very scarce, and what I have heard of it will no doubt be thought fabulous or incredible.† They say that this snake settles on a tree, and when it sees an ox, stag, wild boar, elephant or other animal go by, it jumps on him and on whatever part of the body it perches, the flesh drops off at once and the animal remains immoveable, the poison acting inwardly, but no outward injury at first appearing—so that some persons having from curiosity opened one of the beasts which this snake had attacked, found the inside rotting and worn away, although the outer skin was as fine as during the life of the animal. This snake is only of the thickness of a violin-string, three palms long, and of a brownish colour. There is another snake of the same thickness and length, green, which attacks the eyes, but I never myself saw any person who had been blinded by it.

The serpent called *cobra da serra* will swallow a mare or a stag whole. Our Caffers are very fond of these snakes, or mountain-adders, which they consider excellent eating ; the flesh is white and the skin grey ; its size may be guessed at by the large animals it can swallow.

But none of these snakes are so troublesome as the leeches ; Ceylon is full of them, and one scarcely enters the forests but he is attacked by them. They crawl up the legs and thighs, and they take such firm hold that they cannot be shaken off till they are full of blood ; sometimes during the night they creep up to the face and draw blood from the very gums ; the smaller they are, the deeper they bite ; the land leeches hurt most ; those in the water or among the rice grounds give less pain, or scarcely harm at all.

Note by the French Editor.

* This snake is very common in Ceylon and very dangerous ; but it is thought that the best preservative against its bite is the seed of a tree which is very common, and which the Malabars call *cauiram* and the Bramins *caro*.

Note by the French Editor.

† M. Oudeman, clerk to the Dutch Company at Curacao, told me that he saw at Surinam a man who had been bitten by a snake or by a small black adder, a foot and a half long ; and that immediately his flesh began to fall off, and he seemed to melt away like snow. His entrails were laid bare, and his heart might be seen palpitating until the poison reached it, when the man died ; this occurred in six hours, and no remedy could be devised for him. I think the only cure would have been to have quickly cut away the flesh round the wound, or to have burned it off ; or it would have been still more efficacious to have lopped off the limb, if it were a leg or an arm.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the Precious Stones of Ceylon.

THE precious stones which are most remarkable in Ceylon, and which the Moors and Indians most prize, are the *Cats'-eyes*. They are scarcely known in Europe. I saw one on the prince of Uwa's arm, when he came to visit us, of the size of a pigeon's egg. It was quite round and of the form of a large musket-ball. These stones are heavier than other precious stones; they are never worked up, but are only cleaned off. It seems that nature has concentrated in this one stone the finest and most lively colours which light can form; and that those colours contest with each other which shall produce the greatest effect. One colour is more prominent to view than another, according to the light in which the stone is held: and if its position is changed, another colour strikes the eye to greater advantage; on this account the stone is called a *Cat's-eye*, as it has rays opposed to each other which create that variety in its appearance; as we see the eye of the cat itself change in brilliancy and effect, as the animal turns or removes it. These rays in the *Cat's-eye* are never of an even number; there are three, five, or seven of them; these lines of light are called *betas* and the price of the stone increases according to the number of those *betas*. The rubies are the finest stones after the cats'-eyes, then come the sapphires and topazes. The Moormen attach high value to the topazes of Ceylon, because some of them are very large. These four precious stones are the most common in Ceylon; we have already spoken of some others, but they are of smaller value. There are some mountains on the island from which white, green, or red crystal is procured; and the native workmen cut it well and polish it for crucifixes, images, crosses and other emblems of religion, by means of two wheels and emery and solder.

The Portuguese might have employed many hands in manufacturing Cinnamon-Oil, as it is very valuable, but I only recollect three families who made that their occupation. The berry of the cinnamon bush is gathered, piled up, steeped in water and boiled; in three hours it is taken from the fire, and from the surface is skimmed a sort of white tallow, then leaving visible the oil which is in small bladders, like olive-oil, on the top of the water. This oil is then taken off and put in a vessel which is exposed to the sun to purify it; and it is in this way that they prepare this oil which is so good for weak nerves and other sicknesses.* Of the white tallow which is first skimmed off

Note by the French Editor.

* In this manner oil may be extracted at small expense from all seeds; but all the volatile salts are lost in the process; it would be better to make use of the copper still by which little of this spirit is lost—the still might also be employed, as the Dutch now use it, to distil cinnamon.

an excellent balm is made which sells very high in the East Indies ; as, besides its possessing almost the same virtue as the cinnamon oil, it is formed into candles, which are lighted in churches on high holidays, and in burning they emit so pleasant a smell that few scents are to be compared with it.

The Portuguese did not know how to manufacture *Cinnamon-water*; the Dutch were the first who distilled it and imported it in quantities into Europe ; they derive a large profit from it yearly.

As much *Pepper* might be grown in Ceylon as in Canara, Cochin and Quilon, and many other provinces, if the Singhalese would take the trouble to cultivate it ; but I have already said that all the produce of that island comes spontaneously ; and the natives, although laborious, take no pains to assist nature ; on that account they have but a small harvest of pepper when they might have so much ; that which they have is better than is to be obtained from any other place, and is sold proportionably dear. I imagine that the cause of its superior quality is that it is gathered before it is fully ripe ; it is therefore less biting and the East Indians like it better ; the merchants have a great demand for it. The shrub which produces it cannot support itself any more than the ivy does in France ; it is therefore tied to trellises, or creeps up stronger trees ; but if it were transplanted or cultivated with more care, it would spread and give abundant fruit.*

Addition by the French Editor.

On Precious Stones.†

EDWARD BARBOSA, who has published a treatise on what he saw most remarkable in the East Indies, and of their chief articles of trade, dwells particularly on the precious stones of the country. He gives us their peculiar marks, the places where they are found, and their respective prices and values. He begins with the rubies, and he states that the finest and best are found in the Pegu river, and that there are others in the mountains beyond that river, but of an inferior quality ; yet he says that a ruby from Pegu, perfect in qua-

Note by the French Editor.

* I have seen in the Hortus Medicus at Leyden a pepper-tree resembling in form a dwarf apple tree ; it was about three feet high ; its blossom was also like that of an apple and it was covered with a short downy moss, as dwarf apple-trees generally are.

† From Ramusio—vol. 1 fol. 321.

lity, weighing twelve carats, was only worth in his time 150 golden crowns, and he values one of Ceylon of the same weight at 200 crowns. He says also that there are some in Ceylon weighing 16 carats which are worth 600 crowns; he does not say that there are any so large in Pegu; but it does not appear that fine rubies are so common in Ceylon as there. They are assayed in this way:—when a ruby of considerable size is brought to the king, he sends for his jewellers, who tell him to what degree the gem can stand fire, and how long; these men are seldom in error; the ruby is then thrown into the fire and left there as long as they have stated, and when it is taken out, if it has borne the fire well and is of a more lively colour, it is esteemed much more highly than those of Pegu.

Two sorts of *sapphires* are also found in Ceylon; the better kind are hard and of a fine deep blue, and are greatly esteemed; but the pale blue ones are little thought of, yet they are valued more highly than those which are obtained from the mine near Mangalore, or from Capuçar in the kingdom of Calicut.

Fine *topazes* are also procured from Ceylon; when they are clear and brilliant, they are sold for their weight in gold; but when they are whitish, the Singhalese use them to make false diamonds.

Barbosa says that the Singhalese know so well how to bleach sapphires, topazes and other hard stones, that many people take them for the finest diamonds, and that a person must be an adept in this matter not to be deceived by them; and that time alone shews whether stones thus prepared are false or not, as they lose their whiteness by wear and resume partially their natural colour. The jewellers however say that topazes well bleached always remain white.

Barbosa does not mention the cats'-eyes found in Ceylon; he only says that the Singhalese can counterfeit that stone perfectly.

CHAPTER XXII.

*Of the Pearl-fishery on the Coasts of ceylon.**

HAVING now related all that we know of the natural riches of the

Note by the French Editor.

* An escort of armed men always accompanies the Pearl-divers, on account of the Malabars, who come from the coast of that name or from the Maldives, and who live by piracy, so that no boat, canoe or prahu is safe in those seas. The fishers or divers cease their work at noon, on account of the swell caused by the wind, and which annoys the divers, who can only descend in calm weather.

land of Ceylon, we shall describe those which its sea produces. The pearls which are procured from the coasts of the island, and more especially from Aripo, are of the highest value. As few persons know how that fishery is conducted, we shall here relate what we know of it.

At the beginning of March there assemble on that coast 4 or 5,000 boats got together and paid by Moorish or Heathen merchants and by some Christians. These merchants have many partnerships among themselves, and they first make up a fund to arm four, five or six boats, more or less, according as the entire adventure is greater or smaller. Each of these boats has generally from ten to twelve sailors, one master, and eight or nine divers. All the boats go out together, and seek when the fishery is likely to be most profitable: and they anchor at the spots where the sea is only five, six, or at most seven fathoms deep. Then they send off three boats to a league distant round-about, each in a different direction; each of these boats brings back a thousand oysters. These are opened in presence of the merchants and the pearls found in them are examined by the whole party and their value estimated, as the pearls are much finer in some years than in others; and accordingly as the merchants find the pearls to be large, clear, round and of good water, they bargain with the king for the fishery of that year. When the bargain is made, the king usually gives them four vessels of war to defend them from the Malabar and other pirates. Then each merchant goes to the seaside and constructs a sort of enclosure with stake and thorns, only leaving a narrow passage for the boats to enter and go out again, which come there to discharge the oysters they have fished up.

On the 11th of March, at four in the morning, the officer in command of the four vessels of war fires a gun as a signal, and immediately all the boats put off to sea, steering for the place which they have selected to fish at and casting anchor there. Each of these boats has on board stones of the weight of sixty pounds each, fastened with strong ropes, of which one end is attached to the boat. The diver places his foot on one of the stones, and passes another rope round his body, to which is tied a basket or a small woven bag like a net; this second rope is held by two of the sailors, and the diver thus secured descends into the sea; he remains there whilst two *credos* can be said, and fills his little bag or basket with oysters, which he sometimes finds in heaps on the rocks; as soon as his basket is full, he makes a sign by pulling the rope held by the sailors in the boat, and one end of which is round his waist, and they draw him quickly out of the water; but if in the time he is below, he can contrive to open an oyster and finds a pearl in it, it is considered his own; as soon as his head is above water, another diver goes down, and thus they descend

by turns. This fishery lasts till four in the afternoon, when the officer in command fires another gun as a signal to cease the fishery for the day. Then all the boats go to their several enclosures, and the noise and confusion that ensue in the two hours that are allowed to discharge and pile up the oysters, cannot be described.

Besides the people belonging to the boats, the children of the neighbourhood never fail to assemble at the sea-side, offering their services, rather however to steal the oysters than to assist the sailors or merchants. As soon as the boats are unloaded, they put to sea again, and go about half a league higher up by the sea-side, when the merchants assemble and hold a splendid fair; there are magnificent tents, and all sorts of merchandize of the most valuable kind are to be had there, as venders come from all parts of the world. Heathens, Jews, Christians and Moors, all have some speculation for profit; some sell by wholesale, others by retail; the sailors and children bring the pearls which they have stolen, and people of every kind have bargains to offer. Persons having but a small capital, buy small ventures, which they immediately sell to larger merchants with a middling profit; not only pearls are bought and sold, but jewellery of every kind, bar-gold, dollars, fine Turkey carpets, and beautiful stuffs from India.

The fishery lasts from the 11th of March to the 20th of April, but the fair itself continues for fifty days, because for the last nine days the enclosures are cleansed, as so many flies are bred by the corrupt matter that the adjacent places and the whole country might be annoyed by them, if care were not taken to sweep into the sea the impurities collected during the fishery.

On the last day of April, the merchants of the several partnerships assemble together and share the pearls belonging to their respective boats. They separate them into nine classes, and set on each class a price according as the demand has been greater or less for pearls during the year; when these prices have been set on them, they make the allotments and shares. Then the ill-formed pearls are sold at a sufficiently moderate price; the small seed-pearls are left on the sea-side and the country-people come in the spring and sift the sand for them and sell them for a trifle.

Hence the pearls and seed are sent to all parts of the world. This is all I know of this fishery. But I must not forget to add that pieces of *amber* of a considerable size are also found on this coast. Great branches of *coral* also drift ashore when the sea is high; the black kind is better and more esteemed than the red.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Concerning Adam's-Peak.

WE have already said that *Adam's-Peak* separates the kingdoms of Uva, Kandy, and the Two Corles, from each other. This mountain passes for one of the wonders of the world. It is twenty leagues from the sea, and seamen see it twenty leagues from the land; it is two miles* high, and before reaching its summit, we arrive at a very agreeable and extensive plain,† where that rest can be had of which the person who ascends is so much in need, as the mountain has then become very steep and rugged. This plain is intersected by many streams which fall from the mountain, and is entirely covered with trees; there are even very pleasant vallies in it.

The Heathens resort to this Peak on a pilgrimage, and never miss bathing in one of the rivulets and washing their linen, their clothes, and all they have on them in it. They are persuaded that the place is holy and they think that by these ablutions their sins are washed away.

After these superstitious observances, they clamber to the top of the mountain by chains which are attached to it, and without which it would not be possible to mount, so steep is the ascent from the plain to the top, and there still remains to be achieved a distance of a quarter of a league. A person leaving the foot of the mountain very early in the morning will hardly reach its summit till two in the afternoon.

On the top of the Peak there is a large open square, 200 paces in diameter, and in the middle there is a very deep lake of the finest water possible. Thence issue those streams of which we have just spoken, and which collecting their waters at the foot of the mountain form the three largest rivers of the island.‡

Near the lake there is a flat stone bearing the impression of a man's foot, two palms long and eight inches broad; this impression is so well engraved that it could not be more perfect if it were done on wax. All the Heathens profess great veneration for this relic, and assemble at the Peak from all places to see it and render it their homage, and to fulfil vows which they make regarding it. On the left of the stone are some huts of earth and wood where the pilgrims

* 7420 feet is the actual height. L.

† Diabetme. L.

‡ The Mahavillaganga, which is the largest river in Ceylon, has the source of its chief branch in Pedrotallagalla, on the plain of Nuwera-Ellia, a mountain about 860 feet higher than Adam's-Peak. L.

dwell: and on its right is a pagoda or temple, with the house of the priest, who resides there to receive offerings and to relate to the pilgrims the miracles which have been wrought on the spot, and the favors and blessings which have attended those who have come thither on pilgrimage; and he never fails to impress on the minds of his hearers the antiquity and holiness of that stone, which they wish the Heathens to believe is the imprint of the foot of our first father.*

Some trees have been planted round the stone to render the spot more venerable in appearance; and in order that the Heathens may have no doubt as to the holiness of the place, the priest declares to them that two smaller mountains at the side of the Peak have stooped and bowed down before the sanctity of this mountain. No man of common sense would believe this, any more than that the impression was made by a human foot, as the man who made it must have been of the most gigantic size; it is evident that it is the work of some Heathenish hypocrite, a recluse on this spot, who sought to create a reputation for himself.

One of the rivers falling from Adam's Peak runs towards the north, crosses the Four Corles, passes through Sittawacca and Malwana† and falls into the sea near Colombo, at a place called Mutwal; another flows towards the south, and waters the Two Corles, Saffragam, the Pasdun and Raygam Corles, and falls into the sea near Caltura; but the largest and most considerable of the three rivers is that which passes near Kandy, and after crossing the kingdoms of Trincomalee and Batticaloa, discharges itself into the bay dos Arcos, near the port of Cottiar. None of these rivers have any peculiar names, but take the appellations of the places they pass in their course, receiving as they flow onwards many smaller streams which entirely intersect the island.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the Veddas, their habitations, manners and customs. Of the Salt-Leways of Ceylon.

It is a very singular thing, that although Ceylon is not to be com-

* "Lo upon yonder mountain that o'ershadows Cairo rests the imprint of Mahomed's sacred foot; the palm-trees bend over it to shadow it." (*Quotation from El Islam*) The Crescent and the Cross. L.

† On the right bank of the Kalanyganga, between Kadowelle and Hangwelle. L.

pared for size with Borneo, or the island of Saint Laurence, yet it has for many ages been the residence of so many different nations.*

We have spoken of its several kingdoms, and of some of the people who inhabit them; but nothing will appear less credible than what remains to be related of the Veddas. We may say they are a race of people differing in every respect from all others. They dwell on the sea-side between two rivers, one of which separates them from Jaffnapatam, the other from Trincomalee. Their country is ten leagues long by eight broad, and is covered by rude thick forests, so that it is scarcely penetrable. They dwell in recesses of the woods, so well concealed that it is not easy to fall in with any of them. They are as white as Europeans, and many are ruddy complexioned. They do not speak Singhalese; their language is dissimilar from any spoken in India. They have no trade or correspondence with other races, and flee hastily when they meet a person not one of themselves. They clothe themselves with the skins of the animals which they kill in the forests. They have neither villages or houses; they live six months in one place, and six months in another, for as soon as the grain they have sown is reaped, they change their dwelling place. Their weapons are bows and arrows, with which they are very skilful; they live principally on game; they kill wild boars, stags and elk of which their forests are full; they do not cook their meat, but preserve it in honey, of which abundance is deposited by bees in the trunks of old trees in their woods. When the Veddas want honey for this purpose, they strike the foot of the trees and it comes down in large streams. They never eat their meat fresh, but keep it so preserved for a twelvemonth.

When they have killed an animal, they cut it into pieces and hide it with honey in the hollow of a tree, a cubit above the ground; they cut this hollow themselves and close it with a stopper made of the branches of the tree; they leave the meat there for a year, at the end of which time they take it out and eat it.

When they want hatchets or arrows, they make models of them with branches of trees, and carry them during the night to the door of an armourer's house and leave them there with the half of a stag or a boar. The armourer, in the morning finding this provision at his door, knows what is meant by it, and sets to work immediately to make the hatchets or arrows, and when they are ready, he hangs them up where the meat was placed, and in the night-time the Veddas come and fetch them. If they are satisfied with the work done for them, they of-

Note by the French Editor.

* These several people may be the descendants of persons wrecked on the island at a time when it was not yet inhabited.

ten bring a quarter of a boar, stag, or other animal, as a further reward for the artisan.

The true origin of this people is not known; the following is the account given of them by the other natives, but, as is the case with all eastern traditions, much that is fabulous is intermixed with it. They relate that a young king of the island was very cruel and addicted to many vices; that he killed and ate men, a crime held in the utmost abhorrence, even by these Heathens. He was taken by his subjects, and condemned with his ministers either to lose their lives or to remain for ever after so closely immured in the forests as never more to be seen; since that time the descendants of that king and his ministers, in obedience to their sentence, never come forth from the woods.

If this is a mere fable, it is well invented and is at least as possible as many others told in Ceylon. Yet if it were true that the king and his servants and all their women were thus banished, the nation of the Veddas should have increased more largely; on the contrary, we find them very few in number, inhabiting a limited space of country, and meeting one another very seldom, though they wander from one part of the woods to another.

I once knew a half-caste Indian, who was shipwrecked on the Vedda coast, and was so well received by the people that they obliged him to marry their queen, who chanced to be a widow at the time.* The young man, however, grew tired of the woods and his savage subjects; he escaped from them and came over to the Portuguese; it was he who told us many things about the Veddas. He said that they had no temples, or images, or forms of worship; that the families lived apart from each other; that they had a queen to whom they took every day what they caught, and assigned to her by turns what was necessary for her subsistence and for the maintenance of seven other persons who composed her court; that they presented to the queen herself what they brought daily for her, addressing her with much respect and submission; that they only spoke to her by signs; that her residence was a hut lined inside with skins of animals, and that she had other skins for her clothes and for seats. He added that their meat preserved in honey was very savoury; that they had another manner of preparing it, namely, by wrapping it up in leaves and burying it, then lighting a large fire above it; that the meat thus cooked was very tender; that they did not employ salt, not even

* Ribeyro appears to confound the Veddas with the Wanniahs, a distinct caste still existing in the district of Batticaloa, who have traditions about their queens, and still shew the remains of a bridge built for their use. A rare copper Tamul coin was recently found at this spot. L.

knowing its use ; that they had large quantities of millet and rice. I should weary my reader were I to detail many other things which he told us about the Veddas.

There was formerly near Balany another small kingdom called *Saula*, which only extended three leagues along the coast and two inland; the lands belonging to it lie very low, so that the sea having encroached very much one spring, submerged the country entirely ; and the plain which had previously been very fertile was changed into a *bed of salt*,* and now the people of Kandy, Uwa, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and some other places obtain their supplies thence, preferring to procure it from their own country to going to fetch it from the towns belonging to the Portuguese who sell it to them at a very high price. When the king of Kandy was at war with the Portuguese, he sent 5 or 6000 oxen and buffaloes to this salt-plain in three journeys which they made, under a strong escort, between the end of December and beginning of April. We sometimes took or defeated there convoys, but as our camp was at a distance, we were not always successful. The salt is good for table use, but it is not strong enough to salt fish with or meat which is to be preserved ; it is clear and transparent as crystal ; it looks like ice and is so hard that it can only be broken with a pick-axe or a hatchet.

Four leagues from that place, there is a pagoda† held in great veneration among the Heathens. Very rich offerings, consisting of jewellery and gold work, have been amassed there for ages, and on that account a guard of 1,500 men keep watch there continually.‡ We were often desirous of rendering ourselves masters of that treasure, and we made several expeditions for the purpose, in order to enrich ourselves all at once. In 1642 I went on that service with 150 Portuguese and 2000 lascorins, who were for the greater part Christians. Our general was Gaspar Figueira de Cerpe, who was well-acquainted with the country, knowing the language, and being one of the bravest men among our officers.

When we came near the forests among which the pagoda is situated, we took a man of the country as a guide, and on his promise to conduct us safely, we entered the wood with him. We went from one end of the jungle to the other without ever coming in sight of the pagoda, although we were well aware we were never far distant from it. At last our guide pretended to be mad, and from fear became so in reality, and we killed him. Two other guides whom we pro-

* Now the Panichenkerny Leway in Corle Pattoo. L.

† Now called Wirgel-coil or temple. L.

‡ It was plundered, in 1839, by Moormen from Batticaloa of jewellery to the amount of 6000 Rupees. L.

cured behaved in a similar way and met with the like fate. Five fellows treated us in the same manner, and we were, after all, obliged to return unsuccessful. Happily we fell in with the king of Kandy's convoy of salt; we beat the escort and took 2000 oxen, the rest escaped into the woods; but however great this advantage was, it did not console us for missing the plunder of the pagoda, as we had flattered ourselves with the hope of taking back immense riches. Thus do men fool themselves with chimerical expectations!*

But I have now sufficiently described the peculiarities of the island of Ceylon; it is time to commence the relation of the wars which the Portuguese had to sustain there.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the islands in the neighbourhood of Jaffnapatam.

At the extreme point of Jaffnapatam, there are several islands, which, though small in extent, compose a considerable part of that kingdom. Those islands are named *Ourature*, or *dos Pagodas*, *Caradiva*, *Porcardiva* or *Deserta*, *Dona Clara*, *dos Bramines*, *das Vacas* and *Paletiva*; there is one to which the Portuguese gave no name and which the Dutch have called *Delft*.

The island of *Ourature*, now called *Leyden*, is about six leagues in length; it is situated to the west; its breadth is unequal: there are villages on it and a fort, and the number of its inhabitants is 2,600.

Caradiva, or *Amsterdam*, is not four leagues in extent, yet it has 1,100 inhabitants; these two islands are separated from each other only by a narrow arm of the sea. In the middle of that separation is the islet of *Kayts*, on which a fort named *Hammenhiel* has been built to defend the mouth of the strait and to prevent any vessel from coming in or going out without leave. Much cattle and game are found on these islands; and *zaya*† is cultivated there, which is a specious of herb affording a most excellent crimson dye, and in great request as an article of trade.

To the south-east of *Ourature*, is the island *das Vacas* or *das Cabras*, so named on account of the immense number of goats to

* Bertolacci tell us that Mr. Sawers, the Collector of Batticaloa, discovered a pagoda, forty miles south of that place, in the centre of a very thick forest, in the year 1810. L.

† Chaay-root. L.

which it gives pasture, and which yield the best bezoar in the East-Indies. Texeira, as well as Rodriguez de Sâ and Menezes, says that once when this island was under water, the goats were transported elsewhere, and so long as they were off the island, they gave no bezoar—this proves, adds he, that the drug is not produced by a particular species of goats, but that the nourishment they obtain there creates the bezoar. The goats borne on the islands of Hoorn and Enkhuyzen also yield bezoar. Das Vacas is now called by the Dutch Middelburg and by the country-people Nindundiva, and has about 900 inhabitants. They say that it was long without fresh water, which prevented its being inhabited, but a thunderbolt having fallen on some rocks, split them open, and discovered some springs yielding water sufficient for the use of the residents and their herds.

Pangardiva is not less populous than the island das Vacas; they say that the men there are of a gigantic size. The game and fish are excellent, and there is abundance of deer, does, buffaloes and peafowl.

The island Dona Clara was so named after a woman who dwelt there, and who was of a prodigious size. The chair on which she usually sat is still shown to travellers as a curiosity. Two men of good proportions can sit on it very conveniently and quite at their ease.

SECOND BOOK.

Containing a Description of the Wars of the Portuguese on the Island of Ceylon against the King of Kandy and the Dutch.

CHAPTER I.

Reasons and motives which obliged the Portuguese to declare war against the King of Kandy.

WE have endeavoured, to the best of our ability, to lay before our readers, a description of the island of Ceylon, its productions, usages, laws, customs, religion, and the manner of living of its inhabitants; and to relate whatever appeared to us most remarkable during the 18 years of our residence there. We shall now detail the reasons which the Portuguese had to quarrel with the king of Kandy, the consequences of that dispute, and how we were expelled from one of the best countries in the world. To do this clearly, we shall revert to the circumstances narrated in a former portion of this work.

We said that king Henar Pandar, had been *Chungatar** at Adam's Peak, whence he had been summoned to marry queen Catherine, and by that marriage to become king of Kandy. We added that he made himself tributary to the Crown of Portugal and lived in good understanding with us for many years, until the return to this island of Constantine de Sâ y Noronha, who was elected captain-general a second time. He arrived in 1623 and was received with general rejoicings on account of the reputation he had acquired during his first government. The first thing he did on his return was to build a fort at Trincomalee, which displeased excessively the king of Kandy, who suspected that the motive of that step was to confine him in the interior of the island, and to prevent his having communication with any other nation than the Portuguese, thus limiting his commerce and hindering him from deriving from it all the profit he might. As he had not then a sufficiently large army to enter the field against us, he dissembled his anger for the time. Meanwhile the captain-general, in continuation of his designs, built a second fort at Batticaloa. This

* The Singhalese word is සංඝයා (Sanghaya) a priest of an inferior order. L.

doubled the suspicions and anxiety of the king, who began to assemble troops, without however venturing to attack us. When the general had placed these forts in a good state of defence, he withdrew to Malwana, and then the king, greatly irritated, crossed the Portuguese frontiers and commenced hostilities. The general collected hastily together as many men as he could and went to meet him, but the king of Kandy, informed of his approach, returned to his capital. To tranquillize the minds of the Portuguese, who were somewhat alarmed at the irruption of the Kandyan king, a garrison of 500 men was stationed at Maula, to arrest the incursions of the Singhalese; and to abate the haughtiness of the king, the army took provisions for a few days' use and entered into the Kandyan territory. Two of the Dessaves attempted to stop our progress but they were defeated as often as they came in our way, and the king giving up all for lost, retired into the Uwa district, a thickly wooded country, very mountainous, distant from the Portuguese possessions, and not easily occupied by an army. The general burned the town, and all the villages through which we passed, killed the cattle, and committed other acts of hostility which war is considered to justify. He then selected from the whole army his best soldiers, placed them under the bravest of his officers, and with this small force he entered the province of Uwa, destroying with fire and sword and omitting no means in his power to compel the king to battle, but finding that he could not effect this, he rejoined the army and returned to Manicavary, without having sustained any loss.

The next year he again entered the Kandyan country and committed more grievous injuries. The king was not strong enough to resist him, but abandoned his capital and withdrew to the mountain of Penedo, which an army cannot approach. For some days therefore all was pillage and plunder, but then intelligence came that the king had sent his Attepattoo modliar, or captain of his guard, with 500 of his best troops to Jaffnapatam, with the hope either of driving the Portuguese from that province, or of forcing those who were in the kingdom of Kandy to march to their assistance. That modliar was one of the bravest and most honorable men, and his noble actions would fill many volumes. He was a good Christian, and so modest that he never spoke of his family or of his ancestors, which is an extraordinary thing in that country, where people of any nobility whatever think themselves descended from a divinity,

The project of the king did not succeed, for the general burnt Kandy and relieved Jaffnapatam; on hearing of the modliar's expedition he detached four companies of Portuguese and 3,000 lascorins under the command of Juan de Pina, an officer of high character and experienced in the wars of that country. A second detachment con-

sisting of the same number of lascorins and of three companies of Portuguese was sent under the orders of Louis Texeira de Carvalho, a captain so short in stature that he was generally called *Carvalhino*. These two detachments marched by different routes and were ordered to effect a junction by a certain day in front of Jaffna. Pina and Carvalho executed their commission punctually; they met on the appointed day before Jaffna and surprized the enemy who had attacked the place. The modliar made all the resistance that could be expected from so brave a man; but he could not prevent the defeat of his troops; he lost 3,000 men and escaped as well as he could, with the remainder. The Portuguese also lost many men, but as the victory was on their side they consoled themselves with delivering 7,000 persons who had been taken prisoners; these were chiefly Singhalese born in the Portuguese territory; they could not be taken as slaves, as this was against a condition agreed on at the commencement of the war, but they were distributed among the officers and soldiers from whom they purchased their ransom; they were not however always treated so humanely, as the Singhalese impaled some of their prisoners and laid open the stomachs of others.

After this victory, the army returned by the Seven Corles and rejoined the general at Manicavary, where he had formed his camp after dispatching the two detachments to Jaffnapatam. From that place he went to Malwana, where he received pressing orders to endeavour to subdue the whole of the country. The general knew the importance and the difficulties of the undertaking; he saw that his troops were diminished in number and weakened by excessive fatigues; besides he had no money, which, here as elsewhere, is the sinew of war. But at this time he received a positive command from the Count de Linhares, who was the viceroy of the East Indies, to finish the war, to make a conquest of the whole island, and to expel the king of Kandy from it. It was even hinted to the general that he did not give satisfaction, and was not thought to act with sufficient energy. The viceroy appeared to give too ready an ear to false reports which were made to him against the general who had his enemies and his slanderers. Since the time of the Amirante, it had been determined in the Council of State, in pursuance of letters received from the general, that it was expedient for the king's service and for the benefit of the Crown of Portugal, to entirely dispossess the king of Kandy and to remove him from the island; but there was neither money or troops to carry this fine resolution into effect. On the whole island there were but 600 Portuguese soldiers detached into separate garrisons, from whence they could not be withdrawn without danger of losing the forts, even if so small a force had been sufficient for the invasion of the kingdoms of Kandy and Uwa, the people of which are brave and expert in war, and the country full of

forests, mountains and defiles. The viceroy, wholly ignorant of all this, sent his orders but no assistance. The general knew that peace was more necessary for our safety than war; but when he received the commands of the viceroy, his only study was to continue operations and to take the field as soon as possible. Many of the clergy, and our most experienced captains, endeavoured to dissuade him from this resolution. They represented to him that his force was insufficient, that when they were more numerous in the preceding year he had suffered greatly; that the country was in the same state, and that although the king of Kandy had sustained great losses, our loss had, in proportion to our numbers, been greater than his; that he knew the nature of the country better than we did; that we had seen that he could always avoid a battle when he chose, by withdrawing from one mountain to another; that this had prevented us, and would always continue to hinder us, from becoming masters of the interior of the country. The general answered that he knew the truth of all these representations; that he would lay down his life for the king's service; that he saw he was on the point of ruining his master's authority on the island; that he had made strong remonstrances on the subject, but that since they would not listen to him, it only remained for him to obey his orders.

We had four modliars in our army, Don Alexis, Don Balthazar, Don Cosmo, and Don Theodosius; as all of them were natives of Colombo, and Christians, very rich and allied to the best families of the island, they had been appointed to command in our army. The general held them in great esteem; he had them always with him, admitted them into his councils, and not unfrequently followed their suggestions. Yet although these men had large possessions amongst us, and were under considerable obligations to the general, they held secret communications with the king of Kandy, and this was the cause of the total ruin of our affairs, as we shall presently shew.

Addition by the French Editor.

CONSTANTINE DE SA committed a great fault in bestowing his full confidence on four Singhalese noblemen and in preferring them in some manner to his Portuguese officers. These Singhalese gentlemen had been educated in Colombo, had become Christians, and had given frequent proofs of their courage, prudence and fidelity. Since three years, however, they had entered into a correspondence with the king of Kandy, and had promised, when an opportunity offered, to deliver into his hands the general and the whole of the Portuguese army. This correspondence had been carried on so secretly that it

passed wholly undiscovered, though it is said that the rebels seduced many of their own people who were in our service by representing to them how disgraceful it was to allow themselves to be tyrannized over by foreigners who were only men like themselves.

The first of these rebels of whom we shall speak, was Cosmo, son of a chalia, or cinnamon peeler, in the service of Pedro Homem Pereira. The father had amassed money, and by the favour of his master was made a modliar and was known by the name of Wijere Sekere. His son Cosmo was for a time in the service of Emanuel d' Azevedo, who commanded the camp of Manicavary. Fortune favoured him even more than his father; he became a modliar and took the name of Cola-tunga; he made himself so useful in the revolt of Bondalho, that he was rewarded with the chief command in the Four Corles, where he enriched himself. He built a superb house at Peliagoda, near the river at Matacooly, and gave his daughter in marriage to Don Emanuel, the secretary of the general Constantine de Sâ, and in this manner he succeeded in obtaining the full confidence of that commander.

Theodosius, another of the rebels, was born at Sittawacca; he was descended from Cotta Maca, a moorman of Cananore, who commanded one of the four boats which the Malabars sent to Raju. Although the Singhalese disclaim the idea of contracting any low alliances, yet this moorman married a girl of good birth from Nebadalun in the Hina Corle. I do not really know whether it was on account of this marriage, or for some other crime, that Cotta Maca and his wife Manacame were driven away from the province. His grandson Theodosius gained his livelihood by service; he was in the family of the celebrated modliar Fernando, then in that of Constantine Baretto, and at his death he became one of the household of Constantine de Sâ. That general made his fortune; he appointed him modliar, chief judge of the camp of Manicavary, and gave him the collectorship of the province. Don Emanuel, one of the rebels, contracted a good marriage for him.

Balthazar, the third rebel, was the son of a modliar, who was said to have been poisoned on account of his having taken part in the revolt of Caniana-aratchy. His uncle Amancota-aratchy had married the aunt of Theodosius, which made the union between them the stronger. Balthazar had also, by a good marriage, increased his own influence in Hina Corle, where his family possessed lands and considerable property.

Alexis, the son of one of Raju's household servants and of a slave from Java, was a wretched builder. Louis Gomez Pinto, whose house he had tiled at Vacalugama, discovered some ability in him and took him to the army, where he distinguished himself and made mo-

ney. He called himself a convert to Christianity, as all the Singha-
lese are ready to do, and like them he remained an idolator; he was
found once sacrificing to Budu, under the tree Sirimaha Bodini,
among the ruins of Anurajapura.

The soul of the rebellion was Emanuel, who carried the general's
standard; this is an officer of consideration, and generally the per-
son who holds it, enjoys great confidence and is a favorite. This
man did not declare himself at once, but was contented to make the
others the first actors in the revolt.

CHAPTER II.

*Of the treachery of the Modliars, and of the battle in which Con-
stantine de Sá and all his army perished.*

HENAR-PANDAR, the old king of Kandy, after having made the
preparations we have stated, concluded his treaty with the modliars,
and laid waste two of our provinces, and then withdrew to Uwa,
where he shut himself up in the principal town and strengthened it
as much as time and circumstances permitted. The four modliars
represented to the general, that it concerned the king's honor and
that of all the Portuguese not to leave the insolence of the king of
Kandy unchastised. The general, being already determined to carry
on the war, scarcely needed this advice to urge him to it; he drew
400 Portuguese from the several garrisons, and enlisted about 1,100
more at Colombo, so that his force amounted to 1500 Portuguese
and to them he added 20,000 natives. With that army he marched
on Uwa; on the frontier of the province, he heard that the king was
ready to receive him, and was very loud in his boasting. The gene-
ral proceeded on his march, but when he reached one side of the
mountain, the king abandoned the town and withdrew to the other
side; on which the general set fire to the town and took up his post
on an eminence above it. As his soldiers were fatigued by their
long and painful journey, he allowed them two days' rest; but his
surprise cannot be described when he suddenly saw the enemy re-ap-
pear in numbers that filled the plain below and covered the neigh-
bouring mountains. He began to suspect treason, but he was too far
advanced to retire. As it was late in the day, the enemy were
unwilling to begin the attack, but vaunted exceedingly, according to
their custom. They sent to tell the general that he had better pre-
pare for death for that on the morrow he should die. The general,
knowing the character and mind of the natives, no longer doubted
that there was a secret conspiracy in his camp; he assembled his troops,
made them aware of their danger, and told them that their safety

depended on their firmness and courage and that they must be ready to conquer or to die; he added that on previous occasions they had fought for glory, but in this instance they had to fight for their lives; and to shew them that they had no hope but in God and their own strong arm, he ordered his men to take provisions for three days and then to bring their baggage together and destroy it by fire, that the enemy might derive no advantage from it.

During the night the Portuguese confessed themselves and received absolution from the priests who were in the camp; they encouraged one another by their speeches, and the general, pleased with their spirit, animated them by his example and firmness.

In the morning, the army was in motion, the modliars at the head of the lascorins led the van as usual; the enemy advanced on their side, and the signal of revolt began by the traitor Cosmo striking off the head of a Portuguese and holding it aloft on his lance. His companions then turned against us, and as all their men were of the same nation and made common cause with each other, our native troops followed the example of their chiefs, and only 150 lascorins remained faithful and resolved to share our good or evil fortune. We were then surrounded by these traitors who discharged their weapons and called on the others to attack us. They however met with a vigorous resistance; the Portuguese were determined to sell their lives dearly, and if they were to perish, to associate their enemies with them in death. They killed a considerable number the first day, and though overwhelmed by fresh troops they fought with valor resembling despair. At the approach of night the battle slackened, but the enemy having surrounded them, harassed them continually and allowed them no repose. The general was present everywhere; he saw the wounded dressed, the dead buried, and encouraged the living: but towards midnight, when it was expected that a portion of the fatigued soldiers might have slept on their arms to gain strength for the renewal of the battle the next day, there arose a terrible storm followed by such torrents of rain that the whole plain was inundated, and as the climax of our misfortunes, our powder and matches became so wet that our musquets were no longer of any use to us.* It seemed as if the heavens took part with the immense number of our enemies. No one any longer encouraged a hope of safety; all were prepared to die; yet their courage failed not, and it was hard to say whether the Portuguese or their few native companions were the firmer. All desired to save the general and many entreated him to select some men and to escape with them; the priests joined the soldiers in these entreaties. But Constantine de Sâ, whose courage rose

* Many writers speak of this storm as a miracle; because it fell only on the Portuguese and not a drop reached the enemy's camp. *Botelho m. 5.*

in proportion to his danger, listened to no solicitation; and only answered that he had always hitherto done his duty, and that if he could not save his brave soldiers, it only remained for him to have the glory of dying with them.

When morning broke, our army was in battle-array, but surrounded by enemies; our soldiers were prepared for a vigorous defence, but when they raised their arquebusses they at once discovered the injury the rain had done them; powder and match, all were moistened; and the enemy who were aware of this, remained at a safe distance discharging a shower of arrows at us and pouring in volleys of musquetry. At last these repeated attacks on our dispirited and disarmed men brought confusion among them. The general, having done his duty as a chieftain and a soldier, threw himself in the midst of the enemy and cut down all who were bold enough to remain near him, till pierced with balls and arrows he fell dead on a heap of enemies whom he had slain. Such was the end of our chief, who might have been compared with the greatest hero who ever lived, not only on the score of valor, but on account of the many brilliant qualities which ensured him the esteem and attachment of all who knew him. There was no Portuguese in all Ceylon but wept on hearing of the deeds and death of Constantine de Sâ y Noronha, and his memory will be honoured as long as merit and valour are loved.*

* The Portuguese name of SA may be familiar to Englishmen from the fate which befel Dom Pantaleon Sâ, a quarter of a century subsequent to the date of the details in the text, in London. I give the narrative in the words of Mr. Carlyle: "About an hour after Gerard," (a conspirator against the life of Cromwell) "there died, in the same place, by the same judicial axe, a Portuguese nobleman, Don Pantaleon Sa, whose story, before this tragic end of it, was already somewhat twisted up with Gerard's. To wit, on the 23d of November last, this same young Major Gerard was walking in the crowd of Exeter Change, where Don Pantaleon, brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, chanced also to be. Some jostling of words, followed by drawing of rapiers, took place between them; where in as Don Pantaleon had rather the worse, he hurried home to the Portuguese embassy; armed some of his followers, in headpieces, breast-pieces, with swords and pistols, and returned to seek revenge. Gerard was gone; but another man, whom they took for him, these rash Portugals slew there; and had to be repressed after much other riot, and laid in custody, by the watch or soldiery. Assize-trial, in consequence for Don Pantaleon; clear trial in the 'Upper Bench Court,' jury half foreigners; and rigorous sentence of death;—much to Don Pantaleon's amazement, who pleaded, and got his Brother to plead, the rights of Ambassadors, all manner of rights and considerations, all to no purpose. The hard Protector would not and could not step between a murderer and the Law; poor Don Pantaleon perished on the same block with Gerard; two tragedies, once already in contact, had their fifth-act together. Don Pantaleon's Brother, all sorrow and solicitations being fruitless, signed the Portuguese treaty that very day, and instantly departed for his own country, with such thoughts as we may figure."—*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, L.

PLAN
of the Town & Fort
of KANDY
Capital of the Island
of CEYLON.



le Château du Roy de Kandi.

Maison de Plaisance du Roy.

Pagode du Roy.

Temple.

Maison des festins.

Cloître.

Tombeau d'un Roy.

Riviere.

King's Tomb.

Modeliar ou Seigneur de la Cour.

Bourgeois de Kandi et sa femme. Royson.

CHAPTER III.

The War with the King of Kandy begins anew—Causes and motives of this war.

KING Henar Pandar died after his wife queen Catherine, and left the kingdom of Kandy to his eldest son Raja Singha, and that of Uwa to his second son, who afterwards went to Goa and died there after having been baptized.* The eldest of all the brothers, who was the son of Don Juan and queen Catherine, had no portion assigned to him, but the prince of Uwa never failed to assist him as long as he remained in Ceylon. We have already mentioned that the young princes were brought up by the Portuguese, and that care had been taken to give them an education suited to princes of their rank. They appeared for a long time well satisfied with the treatment they had received and the respect which had been shown them; it was thought that they would have conformed to our customs and have regulated the affairs of their courts after that of Portugal, having ministers of state as our monarchs have; for they were sometimes heard to say that there was no foreign nation to be compared with the Portuguese, and that if they would only abstain from eating the flesh of the cow, they would be by no means inferior to the Singhalese. It happened that a Portuguese, who resided at Kandy, and who was accustomed frequently to pay his respects to the king, took it once into his head to make his highness a present, knowing that it was a custom throughout India for persons to carry a gift with them on paying the king a visit, or on asking a favour of him. He therefore presented the king with a case of rose-water, which is held in high esteem among them, and he gave him at the same time some sandal-wood and a very splendid horse. The king received these offerings very graciously, expressed his thanks to the Portuguese gentleman for them and shewed him much attention and favour as long as he continued to dwell at Kandy. At last he wanted to return to his own country and went to take leave of the king, who in his turn gave him some precious stones of great value and one of his very finest elephants. The Portuguese gentleman went away, delighted with the animal, and took the road to Colombo, expecting to embark there quietly with the

* Botelho (m. 3.) says more correctly, that many authors assign three sons to Henar Pandar, and it is certain that when the Singhalese laid siege to Colombo, after the death of Constantine de Sâ, there were three heirs presumptive to the throne. They were Cumara-Singha Hastana, prince of Uwa, Wijayapala Hastana, prince of Matelle, and Mahaya Survo, the youngest and best beloved of his father, whom he succeeded by the name of Raja Singha.

handsome present which the king of Kandy had made him. But the governor thought the elephant so fine a creature that he seized on the animal in the king's name, pretending that as the Kandyan prince had for several years not paid his tribute of two elephants to the crown, he took possession of this one as part of what was due. The man said that this elephant no longer belonged to the king of Kandy, but having been given to him was his own property, which the general could not fairly take from him; but he pleaded in vain, the general would not give him back the animal, and he went back to Kandy to complain to the king, in the hope that a representation from him would have greater weight.

The king appeared surprised at the general's conduct; he said he owed the crown of Portugal nothing, but if even the assertion of the king of Malwana* was correct, he could easily pay any claim made on him, and could give other elephants for that purpose; that he did not much care for the seizure of the animal, but that he was astonished at the injustice which one Portuguese committed against another; that the governor must be covetous and wicked to treat a countryman and a fellow-christian so harshly; that he had known the Portuguese nation for many years, that he had read the law which they profess, and that it taught them meekness, love, disinterestedness, generosity, charity towards their poor neighbours; all of which were virtues held in regard by men of honour and particularly venerated by himself; that he had found that the Portuguese practised those virtues, all except the king of Malwana, and that it appeared to him that when some people obtained high posts they renounced the best of virtues and adopted the most opposite vices; that from being men of honor they became worse than devils, although as private persons they were looked upon as saints. He added, however, as if to excuse them, that all this was the effect of our corrupt nature, and that when governors excited murmurs among the people, and could not carry out their plans from not meeting with support, they themselves obliged the viceroys to recall them to Goa and punish them. That, as for the injustice committed in this instance by the king of Malwana, he only cared for it because it appeared to annoy a Portuguese gentleman for whom he, the king of Kandy, had a regard. Having said all this, he immediately gave him presents double in value to those which the governor had taken from him; and that he might not again be pillaged at Colombo, he advised him to embark at Chilaw and gave him a guide to conduct him thither safely.

* The name given to the Portuguese general, as explained above. L.

CHAPTER IV.

The Portuguese again defeated.

THE king of Kandy shewed no resentment at the conduct of the governor, and took good care to send at the exact time his tribute of two elephants for the crown of Portugal. But the governor being a covetous man, having seen what the king had given in return for one horse, ordered two of the most superb animals that could be had for money, and sent them to Kandy for sale. He did not reflect that it was not on the horse itself that the king had placed so high a value, but that he had not chosen to be outdone in generosity by a private individual, and on that account he had returned to the Portuguese gentleman what he well knew to be ten or twelve times the value of his horse.

The king of Kandy, knowing the greedy disposition of the governor, was not sorry to have an opportunity to mortify him in the tenderest point by causing the two horses to be seized; and when the governor's agent complained, he was told that when the king of Malwana sent back the elephant he had taken, his two horses should be returned to him, and that in the meantime they would be well groomed and fed. The governor on hearing this, fell into a great passion; he not only had been disappointed in his hopes of money, but he had been tricked and laughed at, and he saw that every one was glad of the affair; he had no alternative but either to give up the elephant or to lose his horses which had been purchased at a high price, and he did not know which step to take. However, listening only to what his anger directed, he sent word to the king of Kandy that if he did not send back his horses, he would go and fetch them, and at the same time punish his insolence as it deserved. The king, without putting himself into a passion, returned an answer that the governor was at liberty to fetch his horses, if he brought the elephant at the same time; that it was the custom at Kandy to let every man have what belonged to him, and that practice was administered impartially. That if the governor came as an enemy he would not march out to meet him, as he loved his people and they loved him, and he would find in their hearts the means of defending his kingdom.

On receiving this reply, the general began his march with 28,000 lascorins and 700 Portuguese, which were all the forces he could collect in so short a time, and which indeed comprized all the strength of the nation and all their means of defence for the possessions on the island. The king, being informed of what was going on, sent word to the prince of Uwa his brother, and begged some assistance from him as

promptly as possible. The prince lost no time, and reached Kandy quickly with 10,000 of the best troops of the country. The governor encamped at the mountain of Balany, and when the king heard he was there, he sent a priest with a crucifix to him, to say that the God whom he worshipped and who had died for him forbade him to enter hostilely on the lands of the king of Kandy, as he had duly paid his tribute of two elephants to the crown of Portugal and had no dispute with his master; that it was not just that the subjects of both kings should suffer for the angry feeling of the king of Malwana; that if he persisted, the God whom he worshipped would be the judge of the dispute and would surely punish the guilty person.

The governor paid no attention to the messenger or to the priest who brought it, and only answered, that he intended to punish the king of Kandy for his insolence, and that he would chastise him as he deserved; and ordered the army to march on. He descended the mountain and came near the river, and then detached some lascorins to seize the passes and to prevent the Kandyans from setting up barriers of trees and blocking up the road; but these lascorins, instead of obeying his orders, joined the troops of the king of Kandy, and his other native allies did the same; so that the general was surrounded, the trees fell on all sides, and he could neither advance or retreat; they cut off his communication with the river, and even if he had had no enemy to oppose him, his ruin appeared certain from hunger and thirst alone; but the king of Kandy had filled the woods with his people, who made large fires and poured down their arrows on the Portuguese from every side, and yet were scarcely themselves seen.

The general learned that he was entirely enclosed, and that his retreat was cut off, so that seeing the extremity of his danger, he sent young Ferdinand da Mendoza to offer peace to the king, and to say that if he would cease hostilities, each party should withdraw to his own provinces and leave matters as they were before. The king returned no answer but sent the young ambassador to the prince of Uwa, and ordered his people to advance into the woods and to press the Portuguese on every side. They defended themselves as well as they could, but their number was so small and they were so badly posted that their bravery availed them nothing; they were all killed, with the exception of thirty three who were made prisoners; the enemy searched for the body of the governor, but it was not to be found. The king of Kandy treated his prisoners kindly; indeed his moderation, as well before as after the battle, was most exemplary; he did not follow up his victory by attacking the forts held by the Portuguese; he only forbade his subjects to carry provisions there and allowed no intercourse with them. As the favorable monsoon had gone by and there was no possibility of obtaining anything from India,

this order alone reduced the Portuguese to great distress. And this was the consequence of the injustice and misconduct of our general, who lost his own life and sacrificed our people in endeavouring to satisfy his revenge.

CHAPTER V.

Alliance of the King of Kandy with the Hollanders.

THE king, seeing that after all that had happened for many years between himself and the Portuguese, he could no longer have any confidence in them, and that sooner or later they would deprive him of his kingdom, determined to seek an alliance with the Hollanders, and to enter into a treaty with them. To effect this, he sent two of the first noblemen of his court to Batavia, where they were received with very great honors. Their proposals were listened to, and it was resolved that two ambassadors should be sent to the king of Kandy with ample powers to treat with him and to offer him the friendship of the East India Company and the States-General. They arrived at the Kandyan court in March 1638; the king gave them a good reception, and was anxious, before he commenced a treaty with them, to explain the just grounds of complaint which he had against the Portuguese generals, who were studying to strip him of his kingdom, although he was most punctual in paying the tribute to the crown of Portugal, which his father had agreed upon. He said, that no union with them was safe; that he was exposed to the caprices of their generals, who at a moment's notice came with an army over his boundary, plundered his lands, and burned his towns and palaces; that within a few years they had destroyed his capitals Uwa and Kandy; that he had more than once beaten and discomfited them, but this had not disheartened them, they were always ready to recommence a war with him. That he saw, that as long as the Portuguese had an inch of land on Ceylon, he should always be exposed to their insults, and on this account he had sent to Batavia to seek the friendship of the States-General; that he was prepared to enter into a treaty with them on such a footing that the Dutch and himself might derive reciprocal advantages from the alliance.

The ambassadors answered, that the East India Company and the States-General were well aware of the conduct of the Portuguese wherever they could act as masters; that they themselves had formerly been the subjects of the king of Spain, and that they had been obliged to shake off the yoke he imposed on them and to make war against him as their most cruel enemy; that they knew the jus-

tice of the king's complaints against the Portuguese, they had heard the explanations of his ambassadors, and it was with a view to revenge him on their mutual enemies, and to put it out of their power to continue their acts of injustice, that they had come to offer him all the assistance of the East India Company and the States-General to expel the Portuguese from the island; that it was not only in Ceylon that complaints were made of the tyranny of the Portuguese and Spaniards, that all India and all Eastern kingdoms were loud in their outcries against them; that it was time to put an end to such tyranny, and their greatest desire was to give liberty to people sighing under such a shameful bondage; that they knew the Portuguese had no right to Ceylon, that they usurped possession of the places which they occupied, but that the States-General and the Company were strong enough to dispossess them of those places and to restore them to their lawful sovereign, and they sought no return for this service. And the ambassadors concluded by saying that this was all that their masters had commanded them to lay before the king of Kandy.

That prince, pleased with their discourse and protestation of friendship, immediately concluded the following treaty with the Dutch: That all the forts and lands possessed by the Portuguese on the island of Ceylon should be honestly and in good faith restored to the king of Kandy, and that the Dutch Company should only retain some places of safety for the reception of the forces sent to assist the king. That the king should keep up as large an army as he possibly could, as long as the war lasted. That he should pay all the expenses of the war at a fixed rate for each ship and every gun, according to the size of the vessel and the calibre of the cannon. That in addition to these expenses, which should be duly written down, he should pay a certain sum for each officer and soldier who might die in his service, according to the rank and post they filled in the Dutch army; that certain rates should be paid for wounds received, that the men might be remunerated for the loss of an arm, a leg, or an eye, and that they might receive more for the loss of a right leg than a left leg, and so forth, accordingly as the party maimed might be more or less inconvenienced by his misfortune; and all the payments to be made on these accounts were exactly defined and written down. The articles of the treaty were thus accurately agreed upon; a fair copy of them was made; and the treaty was signed. The ambassadors returned to Batavia well satisfied with their negotiations, and neither party long deferred the execution of that which had been mutually promised; and thus a war was commenced in Ceylon which cost the crown of Portugal the possession of the island.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Fortresses of Batticaloa and Trincomalee were taken.

THE Hollanders, wishing to shew the king of Kandy that they were acting with good faith towards him, and that their only desire was to be of service to him, sent from Batavia, at the commencement of 1639, a flotilla consisting of six ships of war, well armed, and conveying troops, to effect a landing. The Commanding officer had orders to proceed direct to Batticaloa and Trincomalee, and as those forts were not very considerable, as there was no harbour on that side,* and little trade was carried on there, he was to demolish them as soon as he had taken them, and to make the most of this service in reporting his operations to the king of Kandy.

The Dutch flotilla arrived at Batticaloa in February; there were only 40 Portuguese in the fort able to offer any resistance, so that a landing was effected without any opposition; the guns were landed, and the approaches were made just as it pleased the invaders. The fort was ill built, and the walls weak, so that in a few days two bastions were razed and the walls ruined; the garrison then capitulated and not one stone of the fort was left on another. This operation occupied the Dutch twelve days; after which they embarked and proceeded to Trincomalee, where no greater degree of opposition awaited them.

The garrison consisted of 50 men, but they were badly provided with arms and ammunition, and the fort itself was in still worse condition than that of Batticaloa. In two days 23 out of the 50 men were killed, so that a capitulation became necessary, and the fort was razed to the ground so completely, as that of Batticaloa had also been, that it scarcely appeared that there had ever been forts there.

Although those two forts had never been of great service to us, yet we felt the loss of them extremely, as we were thus given to know that we were about to have the Hollanders arrayed against us in Ceylon, where they had hitherto not come. The flotilla returned immediately to Batavia, leaving the king of Kandy the more satisfied with these first advantages, as he calculated that all our other strongholds on the island would be taken with equal facility by the Dutch, and that they would either raze them to the ground, or place him in possession of them.

* I retain the words of the original "qu'iln'y avait aucun port de ce côté là," but it is unnecessary to point out the inaccuracy of this remark to those who know that there is perhaps not a finer harbour in the world, certainly not in the Eastern seas, than that of Trincomalee. L.

CHAPTER VII.

How the Portuguese were defeated at Caymelle; and how the Dutch took Negombo and Galle.

TWELVE Dutch ships appeared about the 15th of January 1640 in sight of Colombo. The garrison and inhabitants were immediately on their defence; so that the Hollanders, seeing how well we were prepared to receive them, did not venture to land, but decended to a village named Caymelle, a league below Negombo, where they placed themselves in order of battle. Antonio Mascarenhas, our captain-general, was at Colombo, and had given directions to Francisco de Mendoza, who commanded the camp of Manicavary, to advance towards the sea-coast with all his troops; but Mendoza found the Dutch already entrenched, and saw that he had a different enemy to contend with, when he marched towards them with the same excitement which distinguished him in his battles with the Kandyans, for as his men went forward they were wounded or killed. The Dutch were about 3500 in number and formed six battalions; so that the Portuguese were forced to retire and to give way to them; they paid no attention either to our native troops or to our own men, but proceeding at once to Negombo, took it by assault. They put to the edge of the sword a company of invalids who were in the garrison there, and not one of whom was able to defend himself. The Portuguese who escaped at Caymelle were almost all wounded, and they sought refuge at Colombo, where they found the garrison already alarmed at the arrival of these new enemies.

The Hollanders' first care was to fortify themselves at Negombo and to place themselves in security against insult. They cut down the coconut trees to make fascines and palissades; they raised up mounds of earth, dug a broad deep trench, and placed 300 men in garrison in the fort, with ten pieces of cannon and powder and ammunition in abundance, and then without loss of time, they again appeared in sight of Colombo. As our general was convinced that their destination was Galle, 280 soldiers were hastily collected and despatched thither immediately, but on their arrival there, they found the Dutch already landed and within a cannon-shot distance from the fort. Though they exceeded us greatly in number, yet we at once attacked them, and a bloody engagement ensued. The Dutch remained masters of the field, but they purchased it dearly; we killed 400 of their men, ourselves losing our marshal, and almost all our officers; and only 48 men escaped who made good their entrance into the fort, which was besieged by the Dutch on the following day. Their batteries were soon set up, and our defences as quickly ruined. Captain Lo-

renço Ferreira de Brito, who commanded in the fort, was present on all sides, and animated every one by his example, but all his exertions only served to keep the natives within the fort. The enemy's fire did not lessen for eighteen days, at the end of which time all our bastions were thrown down and there were breaches on every side. The Dutch then assaulted the fort at break of day, and though we were not wanting in resistance, they effected their entrance and killed many of the garrison. Those of the Portuguese who could escape, withdrew within the church, and an incident happened on this occasion which I am not willing to leave unrelated.

Captain Lorenço Ferreira de Brito was a married man, and his wife was with him in the fort; their union was one of the happiest possible; his wife would never leave him but accompanied him whenever he visited the different posts; sometimes of his own free will he took her with him, and it chanced that she was present on the night when the assault took place which we have just described. The commandant did his duty on that occasion as on every other; he received five wounds, one of which broke his thigh and threw him to the ground; some Dutch soldiers were on the point of killing him, when his wife threw herself on his body and entreated them to spare him or to kill her first. Amid the din of arms and the cries of the dying and wounded, her voice was not unheard, and a Dutch officer drove away the soldiers, raised her up, and promised her security and her husband his life, if his wounds were not already mortal. The news of this was carried to the Dutch General, who put an end to the slaughter and gave a promise of safety to all who had taken refuge in the church.

He sent his own surgeon to Lorenço de Brito, with every thing requisite for his wounds; and when, some days after, the surgeon pronounced him out of danger and that he could safely be removed, he ordered the captain of one of the best frigates in the flotilla to give up his own cabin to our wounded chief, and to treat him and his wife with the same consideration on board his vessel as he would his own general; he took care also that nothing necessary for his comfort was wanting. The remaining Portuguese were dispersed among the other ships and all reached Batavia well satisfied with the manner in which they had been treated.

A corvette had preceded the flotilla to convey the good news, and among other matters this incident respecting de Brito and his wife had become known, so that many persons of distinction went to meet them and accompanied them to good quarters which had been prepared for their reception. They were fourteen months at Batavia, during which time all their wants were anticipated, and every at-

tention possible was shown them. They were then sent back to Colombo, where I became acquainted with Lorenzo de Brito as marshal of our camp, and from himself I heard all that I have now recorded.

CHAPTER VIII.

Joao da Silva Tellez, Count d' Aveyro, arrives in India as Viceroy; he appoints D. Philip Mascarenhas Captain-General of Ceylon, who proceeds thither immediately, and retakes Negombo.

JOAO DA SILVA TELLEZ, Count d' Aveyro, having been appointed Viceroy of India, arrived at Goa on the 18th September 1640, and I had the advantage to accompany him. He found Pedro Silva Molle dead, and Antonio Tellez de Menesez, who afterwards became Count de Villaponça, acting as governor. He at once heard of the losses we had sustained on the island of Ceylon and the miserable state in which our affairs stood there. Our funds were exhausted, we had neither troops or money, and, in the preceding year, the Hollanders had destroyed at Murmurgan three of our best galleons, which constituted our chief strength in that quarter. The viceroy was told of the importance of retaking Negombo and Galle, and of preventing the Dutch from again visiting Ceylon, as on that depended our keeping the island or losing it. The services which Antonio de Mascarenhas had rendered us there were also represented to him, as well as his valour and ability, and the great desire he testified to repair the losses which Portugal had sustained during his government. It was suggested to the viceroy that he should either be permitted to continue in Ceylon as general, or that if he was deprived of the command, it should be given to one of his friends with whom he might be on good terms; and that considerable assistance in troops and money ought to be immediately sent, as all the pecuniary resources were exhausted. The nobility also represented that they had suffered great losses since the Hollanders had made it a practice to blockade the port of Goa during the monsoon, thus taking all merchant vessels coming in or going out. The viceroy held a council on all these subjects, and after ample deliberation Don Philip Mascarenhas was appointed captain-general. This new governor had not seen much service, but he was not wanting in ability or courage, and his wealth enabled him to make large advances. The viceroy was justified in his choice. Don Philip possessed many good qualities, and during the eighteen

years of my acquaintance with him, I heard but one opinion in favour of his virtues and deserts.*

All possible diligence was used in the outfit of the flotilla, and on the 1st of October we sailed with 16 gun-boats and covered rafts on which 400 men and a few officers were embarked, and reached Colombo in eleven days. As soon as Don Antonio Mascarenhas learned that his brother had arrived to relieve him of the command, he went to meet him and received him not only with the distinction due to his rank but with every mark of attachment and love which one brother could shew to another. He gave over the government instantly to him and requested that he himself might not receive any distinct charge, as he preferred remaining with his brother and serving him to the best of his power on any emergency. His wish was complied with, but he was shortly after killed in an engagement with the Dutch, and died universally regretted.

Antonio de la Motte Galvaon was at Colombo when the new general arrived. He had brought 250 men from Jaffnapatam whom Bras de Castro had recruited there to assist us. He was appointed marshal of our camp, and it was resolved to send the 250 men whom he had brought, with our 400 and some others who had been cured of the wounds received at Caymelle, to besiege Negombo, as a step preliminary to undertaking the siege of Galle.

The former place was so warmly cannonaded that in twelve days the garrison was forced to capitulate. There was some disputing with regard to the terms, but as we had greatly forwarded our entrenchment during the night, the Dutch at last acceded to the conditions we first proposed to them. One of the principal stipulations was that we should provide them with ships to go wheresoever they wished, provided that they did not land at any harbour or port of Ceylon; but this condition was badly observed on both sides, for we gave them such miserable vessels that it was a wonder they were not entirely lost, and they, considering themselves thereby sufficiently excused, all landed at Galle, which was at 25 leagues distance. However, this violation of the terms cost those Hollanders dearly who afterwards fell into our hands. On the whole 200 men only quitted the place, all the rest had been killed during the siege.

The king of Kandy had sent 20,000 men to relieve Negombo, under the command of Don Balthasar, one of the four modliars who had deserted from us and who had caused the defeat of Constantine de Sâ. As soon as we had taken the fort we marched to engage him

Note by the French Editor.

* Damien Vieira speaks far less favourably of this general, who died at sea, from trying the effect of some poison.

with six companies of Portuguese and 2000 native troops, and attacked him so vigorously that we routed his army. We brought back many heads with us, and among others that of the modliar himself, which, with our other success, caused great rejoicings in the town. The country all around once more acknowledged our government and in a short time we saw almost all our losses retrieved.

Don Philip Mascarenhas would then absolutely undertake the siege of Galle, but it was represented to him that we could do no good there unless we were masters of the sea, as the Hollanders could always throw assistance into the place, and that our army would be entirely ruined. It was therefore resolved to blockade them so closely that none of the garrison should be able to quit the fort. For this purpose a camp was formed consisting of ten companies of our infantry under the command of Antonio Amaral de Menesez and 1,800 lascorins under the orders of the Dessave of Matura. With this force we prevented the Dutch from going out to collect cinnamon, and from procuring supplies from the neighbouring country, which we laid entirely waste. Besides this, we killed 128 of their men and took 40 prisoners in an ambuscade which they had laid for us near the fort; this accident astonished them a little and showed them the necessity of being more on their guard.

Don Antonio de la Motte Galvaon was sent from Saffragam with five companies, making 190 men, and the dessave of the neighbouring provinces joined him with 4000 lascorins. Although this was rather a strong force, yet it suffered much when it approached the king of Kandy's country, as his troops were very vigilant on the boundary. Our army avoided giving them battle, yet there were skirmishes every day; but we succeeded in pacifying the district and contrived to retain it in subjection to us.

Don Antonio Mascarenhas found greater difficulty in reducing the Seven Corles; he had with him 7000 lascorins commanded by two dessaves, and nine companies of Portuguese soldiers consisting of 300 men. There were daily engagements without any progress being made; every where the Singhalese rose to resist his advancing; when one body had been defeated, another instantly followed; it seemed indeed as if those who had been killed came to life again to oppose him. When he quitted a district, it forthwith revolted, and enemies arose in his rear and in his van; no quarter was given, the Portuguese treated the natives with the utmost cruelty; the longer the war lasted, the warmer grew the enmity between them; and it took a full year to reduce the small territory of the Seven Corles. We lost many men, and the enemy lost more, and it ended by our being left in quiet possession of the province. The king of Kandy wa

then compelled to retire into his own country, and the Dutch garrison at Galle did not venture out of their fortress.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Death of the seventeen Portuguese who were Prisoners in Uwa.

BEFORE I proceed with the course of my history, I must give some account of events passing at the court of the Kandyan king. I mentioned that when the Portuguese lost that important battle near the mountain of Balany, the prince of Uwa distinguished himself above all other persons in the victory which the king, his brother, gained that day. He saved the lives of 18 Portuguese, and among others that of Ferdinand da Mendoza, the young hidalgo whom the captain-general had sent to the king of Kandy to propose peace. The prince admired so much the demeanour and wit of that Portuguese gentleman that he honored him with the most implicit confidence. He shewed equal attachment to a monk who was at his court, and indeed, having been brought up by the Portuguese, he loved them all. This prepossession in our favour excited the jealousy of his courtiers. Our countrymen had been four years his prisoners, and though they were well treated, they sighed for liberty. The prince perceived this, and one day spoke to them in the following terms :

“My friends, you must by this time be persuaded of the regard I feel for you, as I have shown you every attention in my power as long as you have been in my court, and I may add that I have had no reason to regret my confidence in you. You have been treated rather as my subjects, or even as my companions and friends, than as my prisoners ; I know that you are grateful for my protection, and I am therefore disposed to do still more for you. You are free and may go wherever you please.”

When they heard these last words, their hearts were full, and they could only shew their thankfulness by throwing themselves at the feet of their benefactor. But when they found words, they told him that they gave up all thoughts of their liberty, they had forgotten their country, and would die in the service of a prince who had behaved so generously to them. And indeed some days passed before they could persuade themselves to take advantage of his offer. One day he asked them if they really then did not intend to avail themselves of their freedom ; they answered that it would be a sad separation from him, but that they would do whatever he suggested to them. Then the

prince called a modliar, who was the captain of his guard, and desired him to make the necessary preparations to escort the Portuguese in safety, the following day, over the king's boundary into our territory. At five o'clock the following morning, they went to take leave of the prince who embraced them all affectionately; the Portuguese were much affected and could hardly make up their minds to quit a prince who had treated them so well; but their parting was not destined to be for any great length of time. The frontiers of the king of Kandy were very strictly guarded, so that when the Portuguese were on the point of stepping within our territory, they fell in with some of the border-troops, who arrested them, and sent to Kandy to know what they were to do with their prisoners. The king commanded that they should be taken back to Uwa, and that his brother should be told from him that the Portuguese made a bad return for his kindness, that though he treated them as friends they had run away, and he ought to take better care of them in future. The prince of Uwa answered that the Portuguese had only done what all other men in their situation would do; that they were prisoners and wished to regain their liberty and their country. The king was displeased with this answer: he began to distrust his brother, and he bribed the captain of his guard to let him know all that went on, in a way that the prince might not be aware that there was any correspondence between them.

The prince consoled his prisoners as well as he was able; he told them that, in spite of his brother, he would soon be one of us; and as he loved Ferdinand da Mendoza particularly, and knew that his captivity ruined his prospects of advancement, he took him aside and told him that he was aware that he belonged to one of the best families of Portugal, and that persons of his rank only came to India to serve the king and to gain promotion, and that he was therefore a great loser by remaining a prisoner; he therefore advised him to escape as quickly as possible alone and not to wait for the rest of the Portuguese, that he would find a way of giving them their freedom as soon as an opportunity offered. He then called four lascorins perfectly acquainted with the country, and placed Ferdinand da Mendoza under their charge, making them answerable for his safety, and declaring that they should answer for it with their lives if the least harm befel him. The monk joined this small party, they took their way through the gravets and arrived safely in eight days in the Portuguese possessions.

The king was quickly advised of the departure of Mendoza and the monk, and he instantly sent for the modliar who was the captain of the prince's guard and his confidant. He told him that if the prince intended to send away the Portuguese prisoners, it would be

rendering him a great service if he killed them all, for the prince acted only on the impulse of his feelings and was favoring his enemies; he promised him, after the death of the prisoners, employment and rewards in Kandy; and he added that in order to excite a stronger desire among the Portuguese to get away, he would order his guards to be less vigilant on the frontier, so that the modliar might execute his project safely and with less scruple of conscience.

The modliar promised the king to do all that he desired. I have already said that the courtiers were jealous of the preference shown by the prince for his captives: the modliar was one of the loudest in his complaints, he was annoyed at the protection enjoyed by the Portuguese and at their being even in greater favor than he was. On his part, the prince only studied how to perform his promise to the strangers and to complete what he had commenced. He was informed that the guards had been withdrawn from the borders, and that the way was clear, especially towards Two Corles. He ordered the modliar to ascertain if this information was correct, and to send some person to the frontiers to learn what was going on there. The modliar who already knew more than any messenger could ascertain for him, made a point to obey the orders of his master; he selected some Singhalese, whom he presented to the prince when they came back, that he might receive the information they had gained from their own lips. He added that the prince had now reason to be satisfied and there was no obstacle to the poor prisoners recovering their liberty. The prince who was not at all distrustful, and who looked on the modliar as one of his most confidential servants, ordered him to be ready to conduct the Portuguese to the borders, and to take one hundred good men with him to force a passage for them if their escape was prevented. He promised to acknowledge this service of the modliar on any occasion which might present itself, as he was anxious to keep his word to the foreigners, and it was now easy to conduct them to the limits of Saffragam, to which the distance was short, and where they would find an encampment of their countrymen. The modliar assured the prince of his zeal for his service, and protested that he would rather lose his life than allow the persons placed in his charge to be conducted to Kandy. The prince commanded him to set off the next morning, and then gave presents to those of the Portuguese whom he knew to be the poorest. In the meantime the modliar chose from the troops those whom he wished to accompany him, and took, among others, three arachys, or captains, whom he knew to be devoted to himself, and disaffected to the prince, and who were anxious to quit his service.

Our Portuguese commenced their march under what they regarded as a safe escort, and had no distrust whatever; but when they were

on the point of entering on the lands of Saffragam, the modliar took his three arachys aside, informed them of the king's command and of his desire to obey it; he gave them a flattering idea of the promises which had been made to him and those who should assist him; he told them that the prince was blind to his own interest, that he hated his people and preferred foreigners to the Singhalese, as they had seen by his favors to these miserable Portuguese; that he ought to be prevented from ruining himself, and acting against the laws of his country and the wishes of the king. His persuasions were not lost upon men who were already disposed to act as he desired them; they went at once to make sure of their troops and to induce them to act as the modliar wished. The propositions made to them pleased all the men; and that they might the better deceive the Portuguese they affected to be more kind than ever to them, and at last brought them within our territory. The prisoners considered themselves out of danger as they were then in the province of Dina-Yaca, and the modliar told them that as they were about to separate, he was anxious to pay them all the honors due to persons of their rank. He placed his men in two files with the tips of their lances couched towards the ground; he then requested the Portuguese to pass between the files, which they did, and the Singhalese thrust their lances through them from both sides, and all were killed on the spot.

After this treachery, the modliar and his escort withdrew to the court of Kandy, when the king raised him and his friends to places of the highest distinction and loaded them with gifts.

CHAPTER X.

War between the King of Kandy and the Prince of Uwa.

WHEN the prince learned the treachery of the modliar and the fate of the Portuguese, he shut himself up for three days, after which he sent a messenger to the king, his brother, to demand the modliar and the three arachys that he might punish them for their treachery as they deserved. The king answered that he kept no traitors at his court; that the persons whom he complained of were men of honor, and good and faithful subjects; that they had acted rightly in what they had done; that the prince's conduct would ruin the kingdoms of Kandy and Uwa by favoring their common enemies; that he ought not to have forgotten how much the battle had cost them in which those prisoners had been taken; that the defeat of the Portuguese had been a visitation on them from heaven, and that God

appeared unwilling that a single one of them should escape : and that the men whom he demanded deserved therefore rewards rather than punishment. With this answer he sent the messenger back to his brother.

The prince, irritated to the utmost, acted then without any reserve whatever. He sent word to the king that he no longer doubted that the poor fellows whom he had set free, had been so inhumanly and shamefully murdered by his orders ; that 17 men would have been no great addition to the strength of the enemy, who had made war on them without these men, and would do so still ; that he had been glad to bestow liberty on men in whom he had found the utmost candor, good sense and uprightness as long as they had been with him ; that if the king would not give him up the traitors who had murdered persons entrusted to their fidelity and for whose lives they had made themselves answerable, he might keep them, but it was against his consent, whose servants they were.

The king, more annoyed at this second message than he had been at the former one, turned his back on the messenger, only saying: "I shall take good care to chastise him for this folly and presumption." When the prince heard this answer, which had been said in anger by the king, he raised troops and prepared for war, whilst the king did the same on his side, and ordered his Dessaves to enter Uwa with 20,000 men. The prince marched to meet them, and his operations were so quietly conducted that he overtook them and enclosed them within the mountain range, so that he had it in his power either to keep them as his prisoners, or to put them all to the sword. But when he reflected that they were his brother's subjects, and might possibly one day be his own ; that they were innocent men who were only obeying, perhaps even against their own wills, their sovereign's orders, he could not make up his mind to destroy so many men for the crime of one. He ordered a passage to be opened for them to escape, and giving up all idea of a war, he disbanded his own troops. This error cost him dearly, for the king hearing what had happened, ordered his Dessaves to stay where they were and that he would himself join them with another corps of 20,000 men ; this he did, and entering on the kingdom of Uwa, perpetrated there all kinds of cruelties. The prince had not expected this second invasion ; he had no time to raise another army, and indeed he had scarcely an opportunity to escape himself. His subjects, taken by surprise, chose rather to join the enemy than to offer an ineffectual resistance. The prince, therefore, took a few attendants with him, and making his way through the mountains, sought refuge within our territory. When he arrived there, he sent to the camp at Saffragam to know if the Portuguese would receive him and listen to some propositions which

he had to make for the good of the crown of Portugal. The marshal of the camp answered that he would be a welcome guest, and that he would always find the Portuguese ready to do him service. The prince, who had awaited the reply in the Two Corles, on receiving this answer, went to the camp with six of his principal noblemen. As soon as Antonio de la Motte Galvaon, who was there in command, knew of the Prince's approach, he sent a Dessave with two companies as far as Ponaique, to receive him, and as soon as the Prince came in sight they saluted him with three discharges of musquetry. This reception pleased him greatly, and he shewed his satisfaction by his obliging manners to every one, from the commandant to the common soldier.

The next day they proceeded towards the camp, but in spite of all that could be said, he would not go in a palanquin which had been prepared for him; he walked on foot, discoursing with the Dessave, the officers, or the soldiers, and making himself familiar with all of them: he enquired of several of them the name of their native places, and then praised some thing or other for which those places were famous; he spoke of the pears of Alcobaca, the melons of Chamusca, the olives of Elvaz, so that the soldiers listened gladly to him and loved to engage him in discourse. The prince had learned all these things when a mong us; he had always in his room a map of Portugal and desired to have pointed out to him the towns, villages and rivers, which were mentioned in the course of conversation; he had also a manuscript of his own in which he had written the things for which many places were celebrated.

When he came to Kandagam he at once made known to the Marshal of the camp the object of his coming. He told him that the affection he had always borne towards the Portuguese had drawn upon him his brother's hatred, and had compelled him to seek refuge with them; he hoped he should find them true friends, as all the world knew that the king had made war on him solely because he had set at liberty the Portuguese, who had afterwards been so treacherously slain at Dina-Vaca; that he had wished to revenge their deaths on their murderers, but that his brother had withheld those guilty persons; that it therefore concerned the honor of the Portuguese nation to endeavour to restore him to his kingdom, that they were as much interested in such an effort as himself, and that 120 Portuguese would effect it. He added that those who might assist him would have no cause of repentance, as he should have enough wealth to reward every man largely, and he would treat them all as his brothers; that it was his project not only to make war on the king of Kandy, but afterwards to join his forces to those of the Portuguese and to expel the Hollanders from the island; that if the small force was given

him which he solicited he should consider himself a happy man, as it would enable him to chastise the traitors who had deserted from him, and to punish the authors of many dissensions who had contrived to expel him from his kingdom.

As the prince was in our power, and could not act without our assistance, the truth was frankly told him. The camp marshal who had been sent from Colombo to Saffragam to receive him, candidly said that all his highness had mentioned was well known to be true, that the Portuguese acknowledged their obligations to him, but that there were many difficulties in the way of granting him the assistance he asked for; that it would be necessary that he should first see the king of Malwana; then a despatch would be sent to Goa to be laid before the Council of State, as it was their province to determine whether it was for the interest of the crown of Portugal to commence war against the king of Kandy.

The prince, who looked upon this explanation in the light of a refusal of assistance, and who had hoped that his solicitations would have met with a ready compliance, did his utmost to conceal his vexation and gave no reply; but one of the noblemen of his suite took up the discourse, and said that this war had been drawn upon the prince for the sake of the Portuguese, and they were bound in honor to assist him; and that if he had applied to the Hollanders they would readily have given all their troops to replace him in his kingdom. The marshal could not patiently listen to such reproaches from a man whom he looked upon as his prisoner; and calling him a traitor, he ordered him to be seized and beheaded, which was done immediately. The prince naturally felt this insult poignantly; he would no longer sit with the marshal, and affected to believe that he would not hesitate to treat him as he had treated his friend, and from that moment he was visibly much troubled.

Two days afterwards the marshal sent word to the prince that it was necessary for him to go to the king of Malwana, and that he could settle his affairs with him. The prince replied that when he placed himself in the power of Portuguese, he did so with a resolution to obey their will in all things; that he was ready to go to the king of Malwana and doubted by no means of a good reception at his hands. He was therefore despatched with two companies of infantry and some militia to Malwana, where the captain-general awaited his arrival. Their first interview commenced with simple ceremonies. The king of Malwana received the prince under a canopy, where there were two arm-chairs covered with crimson velvet with gold fringe, and placed him on his right hand, to which however the prince did not consent without many previous refusals. An hour passed away in discourses on various subjects, when the captain-general seeing that

he did not speak on the cause of his coming, began the subject by saying, that he had long been persuaded of his love for the Portuguese, and that he knew that it was that attachment which had drawn on him his brother's hatred and the loss of his kingdom, that he was really affected at the situation to which his highness was reduced, and that every Portuguese would be glad to expose his life in his service.

The prince answered that he was well rewarded for the trifling services it had been in his power to render, and that he felt the honor done him by the general's speech; but that he could not conceal how much he suffered from the insult and cruelty of the camp-marshal who had caused one of the principal noblemen of his court to be beheaded, one whom he had loved as a father, and who really had given the marshal no reason for such a violent proceeding. The general tried to excuse the marshal by saying that his highness must know that the Portuguese had no cause to love the Hollanders, or to be pleased at hearing them extolled; that the deceased noblemen had therefore been very imprudent in mentioning them as he had done, and that the marshal had punished him for his want of respect to his highness in uttering such a discourse in his presence. "My lord," replied the prince, "that man was my tutor, my counsellor, and my father; he filled the place of many in my service; he loved me as his son, and it was his affection which caused him to speak as he did; he could not brook the thought, that when I had lost a kingdom for the sake of the Portuguese, I should be denied the trifling assistance which I solicited. But even if he had wanted respect in some degree, did such an error call for the punishment of death? What jurisdiction had the marshal over the first nobleman of my court? Could I not chastise him, if it were necessary? Why did he cause him to be instantly put to death?"

The general replied, that he was certain that the marshal was not aware of the attachment of the prince to the late nobleman; that he had been wrong to exclaim so passionately, when the marshal had only explained, as he was bound to do, that in a matter of so much importance as the prince's restoration to his kingdom, a certain degree of deliberation was necessary. "But," said the general, "let your highness be assured that we honor and esteem you, we acknowledge the favors we have received from you, and I hope, with God's blessing, that all will end to your satisfaction, and that you will at last see that we entertain an honest wish to serve you."

After this long conversation, the prince was conducted to his apartments by all the chief inhabitants who had come to increase the attendance on the captain-general. The next day, the general returned the prince's visit, and, after the usual compliments, asked him if his highness had any objection to go to Colombo, where he would be bet-

ter accommodated than at Malwana, and offered himself to conduct him there. The prince answered that he had no other will than that of the general, and that he would never forget the honor done him; and when a palanquin was prepared for him, he said it was not fit that such a slave as he was should be carried whilst so many great lords went afoot; that he preferred walking with them; and he could not be persuaded to go into the palanquin. Thus the general and the prince walked side by side for three leagues, followed by all the principal men of the country. In the evening they reached the camp of St. John, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, and when all the troops turned out to receive the prince, in order that his highness might see that the honor was intended for him, the general remained a short distance behind, and only made the persons of his suite go forward with him. The municipal troops were under arms in double file, and discharged three salvos of musquetry when the prince came within the camp, and all the guns of the fort saluted also, which surprised and pleased him exceedingly as he had never seen or heard anything of the kind before. At the entrance of the apartments prepared for him the governor of the town, the bandigarallas, and many other officers were in waiting to pay him their compliments. When he went in, the crowds assembled before the house were loud in their cries of "God save the prince!" Greater respect could not have been paid him; and he at once said that he no longer regretted the sufferings he had undergone from his brother, as they had enabled him to see with his own eyes the magnificence and gallantry, which he had previously heard of the Portuguese; and that his long friendship for them was really not undeserved.

The house assigned to him was the very best in the town; every day a company of infantry mounted guard at his gate; the general insisted on maintaining him at his expense, and he was not allowed to want any one thing. The prince always insisted on the captain of the guard dining with him; he only went out to return the general's visit, and to see the five convents in the town. He was about 34 years of age, tall and well-made, with long hair which fell in curls on his shoulders; his beard was trimmed in the Portuguese fashion, and his moustache was thick and full. Whilst he remained with us, he did not appear to feel his misfortune much, as his countenance was serene and unclouded; his conversation was mild and his manners dignified, so that he seemed to all as if he were born to rule over others, and to deserve a better fate than had now befallen him.

CHAPTER XI.

The Portuguese deliberate whether they shall assist the Prince to recover his kingdom, and it is resolved to send him to Goa.

AFTER the prince had been ten days in Colombo, the general called a council extraordinary consisting of all the principal officers in the town, to deliberate whether they should furnish him with troops and all other necessary aid to regain his kingdom. All present were of opinion that if they came to a resolution to assist him, which was the more honorable step, they should not defer acting immediately, and that they should not only supply him with 120 Portuguese, but with as numerous a force as they could equip: they said that the Hollanders had but 500 men on the island, that they might be attacked at the same time as the prince marched against the king of Kandy, so that they should give each other no assistance, nor make incursions into the Portuguese territory; that they might in this manner draw out all their troops in garrison, and at once drive the Hollanders from the island and expel the king of Kandy from his kingdom. That they knew by experience that the prince of Uwa was a brave and prudent leader, that he was beloved by his subjects who were the most valiant soldiers in the island, and that with the assistance of the Portuguese they could easily overcome all the troops which the king of Kandy would bring to oppose them; and that if their success was not so great as they anticipated, yet a civil war would be kept up in the Kandyan provinces, which would divert the king's attention from us and from the Dutch; that it would only cost the first expense, which would not be very large, as the prince would find the means of sustaining his army; and that whilst we were thus assisting a man for whom we really felt an attachment, we should in fact be working more for ourselves than for him.

There were only two men in the council who spoke in opposition to this opinion, and who represented that the prince of Uwa and the king of Kandy were brothers who might easily make up the quarrel between them, as the king would no doubt give way a little to induce the prince to return to his allegiance; that if they were reconciled, they might make a stronger alliance with the Dutch than the king could do alone, and that we should then be worse off than ever.

This opinion was not supported by any of the other members of the council. It was argued that the Portuguese had hitherto maintained themselves in India by their reputation, which would suffer considerably if we were to abandon a prince, who had thrown himself on

our protection, and to whom we owed many obligations ; that he had justice on his side and had earned a right to our assistance by exposing his life and fortune to give liberty to some Portuguese prisoners who were in his power. That as Christians and Portuguese gentlemen, we were called upon to do what we possibly could to restore him to all that he had sacrificed on our account ; that if we failed in this, our credit would be entirely ruined in Ceylon: that the king of Kandy, who had done us so much harm single-handed, would do twice as much injury when he had quiet possession of his brother's country ; whilst, on the other hand, if the prince regained his kingdom by our means, we should have a staunch friend in him, who would always be bound in gratitude to comprehend us in any favorable treaty he might make with the king. That the general should consider all these things, and act in a manner most serviceable to the interests of the Crown of Portugal.

Those members who had at first been disinclined to take so great an interest in the affairs of the prince of Uwa, gave way to these arguments ; but there was one person who had not yet given any opinion: he was the commissioner and alcaide of Colombo, who had not as yet spoken, under pretence of being but a new-comer and knowing little of the affairs of Ceylon. At last, being urged to explain his view of the case, he said, that, with the general's permission, he must say that there was one matter which no person present had taken into consideration, although it certainly was of great importance ; the kings of Portugal had laid down as a general rule for all their governors, captain-generals, marshals, and other officers commanding in India, that if any Moorish or Heathen prince or king, and especially any prince of Ceylon, came within the power of the Portuguese, even in a friendly manner, he should not be allowed to depart, until he was converted to Christianity and baptised, and that during the time of his instruction in our tenets, he should be provided with proper maintenance, and be treated with all the honors due to his rank. That this was the only matter which the duties of his office obliged him to press on the attention of the council ; and that, this once considered, the general and his officers might in other things act as they pleased.

This speech fell as a thunderbolt on all the councillors ; nobody knew what answer to make, and they separated to meet again two days afterwards. On that occasion all adhered to the opinions they had before given, and agreed that when the decree was passed to which the alcaide had alluded, affairs were in a very different state in India to their present condition ; that at that time the Portuguese had only to deal with eastern nations already subjected, or about to submit themselves to them ; but that nowadays, powerful enemies

had arisen against them, and that the intention of the Legislators was to be taken into consideration, rather than the law itself, which had been issued by the kings of Portugal for the best of purposes, but not with a view to preclude themselves from all alterations or changes of the law when the benefit of the public and the service of the crown might render it expedient. That in the present juncture it was not advisable to wait for orders from home; that the captain-general or the governor was the king's representative, and the best judge of the king's interests, which were the only law to guide him in his conduct and determinations.

The captain-general thanked the council for their advice and agreed with them in opinion that the interests of the crown would suffer by assistance being withheld from the prince of Uwa; but, he added, "Who has given me authority to act contrary to the king's commands? I have examined the records in which the decree is registered. I have read it syllable by syllable and word by word, to see if it would admit of being explained away, but I am convinced that neither I or anybody else can come to such a conclusion; that it is enjoined upon us, under heavy penalties, to be guided by it in every particular; and it therefore is incumbent on us to send the prince to Goa, and to explain to the viceroy the reasons which make it, in our opinion, desirable that he should be reinstated in his dominions. If then the viceroy coincides with us, the prince will return with sufficient forces to execute the measures on which, otherwise, we are all unanimous."

Nobody had any reply to make to the general; it was agreed that he had no alternative, and that if he acted contrary to the decree, he might be called to account for his acts some day or other.

The prince learned what the council had resolved without any apparent emotion; he only said that he grieved that the Portuguese played so entirely into the hands of their enemies and deprived him of the power of acknowledging the obligations he owed them. All was then prepared for his departure; eight schooners were equipped, and the one in which he was to embark was abundantly provided with provisions and refreshments of every kind. The governor was anxious that every desire of the prince should be complied with, and accompanied him on board the vessel, when they embraced and separated with every expression of mutual regard and goodwill. The flotilla sailed in the middle of December and arrived in a few days safely at Goa. On his departure from Colombo the prince dismissed all his attendants except four persons, namely, two officers of his court and two servants.

Count d' Aveyres, the viceroy of India, received the prince with great politeness, and provided him with a house and everything necessary for an establishment; so that, as long as the count retained his situation, he took care that every possible attention was shown to the prince. On the other hand, his highness received those attentions gratefully; he listened anxiously to the discourses of his instructors, and profited so much by their teaching that he resolved to become a Christian; but the conversion only actually took place when Don Philip Mascarenhas, being appointed viceroy of India, went from Ceylon to Goa in March 1645. He was delighted to hear the state of mind of the prince whom he esteemed so highly; he communicated the circumstance to king John IV and begged him to allow himself to be named a sponsor, which his majesty permitted, and ordered Don Philip to answer for the prince in his name.

The ceremony took place with great solemnity, and was celebrated by prelates, priests, monks, and persons of all ranks at Goa. The tribunal of the Holy Office was present with the full body of its members, and before them the prince explained in few words the causes which had induced him to become a Christian, adding that he rendered thanks to ALMIGHTY GOD who had dissipated the darkness of his mind and enlightened it with the light of faith. He detailed the misfortunes he had suffered, and the mercies with which God had visited him, and pronouncing with a loud voice the profession of belief, he was baptized with the four persons of his suite who had accompanied him from Ceylon. He survived this act many years, in the exercise of true piety, and finally passed to a better life in the year 1654.

The king of Kandy heard with much joy that his brother had been removed to Goa, as he had feared extremely that we should have availed ourselves of his knowledge of the country to make war on him. When he had driven him from Uwa, he seized on all his treasures and means of subsistence and forbid all his officers to correspond with him. As long as the prince lived, he courted the Portuguese exceedingly, fearing that we should send him back with troops from Goa; but on his death, he no longer restrained his ill-will towards us, but did us all the harm in his power, until he at last succeeded in stripping us of all our possessions in the island.

CHAPTER XII.

How thirteen Dutch Ships came in sight of Colombo, and returned as they had come.

THE Hollanders appeared in sight of Colombo in the month of January 1642, with thirteen ships and 3,500 men, to effect a landing; this obliged us to instantly call in all the troops which we had dispersed among our three camps and to abandon the interior of the country, that we might efficiently oppose the powerful enemy who presented himself on our coasts; but as they knew that we had 800 good men at arms, and that the natives could assist us with at least an equal number, they did not venture to risk a disembarkation, and contented themselves with disquieting us for 35 days, appearing first on one side of Colombo and then on the other, thus obliging us to be constantly on the defence, and harassing our men by the perpetual marches they had to make. At last, after having caused us great fatigue, they went away without having attempted anything. Then we changed the arrangement of our three camps; we broke up the one at Saffragam, and placed one of the companies under Antonio Mascarenhas, so that he had ten companies of Portuguese, which was a sufficient force for the defence of the Seven and Four Corles. The other four companies were sent to Matura, and the camp at that station was placed under the command of Antonio de la Motte Galvaon, who thus had 14 companies of Portuguese and the best native troops in the island.

The dessave of Saffragam was sent to Sittavacca, an important fort, which Maduna, the father of Raju, had built of freestone, and which gave him the command of all the country as far as Condegame. When Don Antonio Mascarenhas had returned to Manicavary, he opposed the irruptions into our territory which the king of Kandy's dessaves were constantly making, by their master's order, in the provinces of the Seven and Four Corles. The war was not of any consequence; they only sought to annoy us, and as soon as they perceived that we were in sufficient force to attack them in our turn, they went back to Kandy and the whole district remained in perfect tranquillity and submission.

The commandant of the camp at Matura, Antonio de la Motte Galvaon, marched with his 14 companies of Portuguese and his best native troops and formed a camp in the immediate vicinity of Galle; and as the enemy did not venture out of the fortress, he made himself master of Corna-Corle, the Gravets and Balane, and then removed

his camp to Belligam. Every day we placed ambuscades with a view to take any Hollanders coming out of the garrison, but none made their appearance. The king of Kandy's men came from time to time to disquiet us, but when we showed any sign of an intention to march upon them, they withdrew as quickly as possible. Thus our time passed till the month of June, and as it was our principal aim to prevent the Hollanders collecting their cinnamon, we approached near the fort, and we had hoped that we should have been able to undertake the siege of it, but some vessels which we had expected from Goa did not come. We remained encamped at Acomerina, which is about half a league distant from Galle, till the end of February 1643, thereby preventing any supplies from going in or coming out of the fort, but even up to that time no flotilla or vessels arrived from Goa to enable us to commence besieging the place.

In the meanwhile, a commissioner arrived from Batavia, bringing intelligence that the Portuguese and Dutch had concluded a truce for ten years, and insisted that we were thereby called upon to retire from the Corla of Galle, as it was a portion of territory on which the garrison depended for the common means of subsistence. The general, Don Philip Mascarenhas, replied that the place had been under blockade for seven months, that all that time the garrison had not possessed an inch of ground outside the fort, and all that we could do would be to yield to them all within distance of a cannon shot round the place. The commissioner, not satisfied with this concession, went to Goa, where the viceroy published a notification of the armistice and ordered a cessation of arms. Then we withdrew from the neighbourhood of Galle, and separated our camp into two divisions. With the one, we went to Saffragam, and brought again into submission all that had belonged to us formerly in that province. This cost us more fatigue than bloodshed; for the marches were long and the roads difficult: yet the king of Kandy's men were constantly at our heels, and harassed us every night, appearing first on the one side, then on the other, of our line of march, uttering a thousand imprecations against us, calling the officers by their names, and telling them they had but a few hours to live; and they even contrived to capture some of our soldiers, whom they put to a cruel death, empaling some of them and cutting others in pieces. This forced us to remain together and prevented any straggling from the main body.

CHAPTER XIII.

*The Armistice with the Hollanders is broken—the battle of Curaça.**

AFTER we had reduced all the country of Saffragam to obedience, the commandant returned with ten companies to Matura; he left the remaining four under the orders of the dessave to maintain tranquillity in the district. We halted at Acumana, which is three leagues distant from Matura, on our way, and whilst we were there we learned that the viceroy, having been informed of how much importance it was to prevent the Dutch from maintaining their position on Ceylon, had subsequently refused to give up to them a single inch of land around Galle, and that Pieter Burel, the Dutch commissioner, had disembarked at Galle all the infantry which was on board his four ships; so that the governor, being strong enough to keep the field, detached 500 soldiers and some native troops which had enlisted with them, and took possession of Belligam, a sufficiently strong position. On the other hand, we were weakened by having left four companies at Saffragam and by sickness in our camp; yet on receiving this intelligence, we hastened our march towards Matura, fearing that the enemy might besiege that post, where we had left all our provisions. We then supplied ourselves with all that we required, and proceeded towards Curaça, three leagues farther on the way to Belligam and at a little distance from it. Our commandant sent orders to the dessave of Saffragam to hasten and join us, as the Hollanders were in the field and an engagement was likely to take place. In fact, the next day, May 4th. 1643, whilst we were at Curaça, some of our scouts brought in word that the enemy were only a quarter of a league off, and would fall on us almost instantly. The general having strengthened our vanguard, detached it with orders to attack the enemy at all risks, as soon as he came up with them. They had hardly left the camp, when they perceived the Dutch at the distance of a cannon shot; on both sides the approach was continued, and two Portuguese companies sustained, for about half an hour, all the enemy's fire; by that time they were joined by two other companies, and these again were supported by a larger number of men; the battle lasted from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon, when the Dutch commander, Jan Vanderhat, retreated with a small number of men, the remainder being all killed or taken, and he himself severely wounded. We lost 25 men in killed and had 60 wounded.

* ? Mirissa. L.

Our whole force that day consisted of 243 Portuguese only; the remainder of our companies being detached at Saffragam, Matura and other places. Our wounded and the prisoners were sent to Colombo. The captain-general ordered them to be billeted among the citizens, that greater care might be taken of them; he would not allow them to be sent to the hospitals. He visited them in person, and praised them severally according to the report he had received of their conduct in the engagement; he assured them that he would mention their names in his despatches to the king and that they would receive suitable rewards; and further to encourage them, he raised their pay to 12, 15, or 20 thomases.* His behaviour to the officers was equally liberal and condescending; he addressed them as a brother would, and succeeded so admirably in attaching officers and soldiers to him, that all would have been ready on any occasion to lay down their lives for the king.

A few days after the engagement, the dessave of Saffragam arrived with the four companies and some native troops; from Colombo also 80 recruits were sent to fill up the weakest companies, and these reinforcements made our camp as strong as it had ever been. We then quitted Curaça, and as our commandant had received notice that one of the king of Kandy's dessaves was in the Corna Corla† with a body of troops, we were ordered to proceed in that direction; our march was harassing and very difficult; and further of no effect, as in spite of our diligence, we could not come up with the dessave, who had retreated as quickly as possibly on hearing of our approach; he however left his ammunition behind him, which was of good service to us. We then retraced our steps and encamped at Comerian, where we were when the armistice was published; we remained there from the end of May till near Christmas, and saw nothing of the enemy in all that time.

But on the 17th of December sixteen ships arrived bringing them a reinforcement of 4,500 men. We then expected to be immediately attacked, but as we were advantageously posted, and in a place strong by nature, they contented themselves with reconnoitring our position, and after several marches and countermarches they took up a station between Colombo and ourselves, so that we could no longer receive convoys thence. This induced our commandant to move our camp on the night of the 26th December, which we did with as little noise as possible, and took up our new quarters at Mapoligama, a village four leagues farther inland, where we learned from our spies that the Dutch, aware that we were removed, had withdrawn to their ships. We then again immediately recommenced our march and traversing

* A coin so called from its bearing the effigy of St. Thomas. L.

† Colona Corle. L.

a very difficult road, approached the sea-side. We arrived fatigued and way-worn at Bolitotte,* where we hoped to be able to take rest, but there we saw the Dutch ships in full sail for Colombo, and received orders to advance in the same direction, keeping sight of the enemy's flotilla and proceeding by the sea-side to the mouth of the Pantura river. Here our march was stopped for some time; the enemy came with boats full of men who poured a discharge of musquetry on us to prevent our advance, whilst we detached one company to entrench themselves on the sea-side to hinder the boats from coming sufficiently close to land their men, and this detachment, by sustaining the enemy's fire nearly a whole day, gave our troops an opportunity to cross the river. On the next day, their flotilla came in sight of Colombo almost at the same time as we approached by land, and we found that the Governor, having had good information of what was going on, had also ordered Antonio Mascarenhas to break up his camp at Manicavary and to march to Negombo. He had already arrived there, when we reached Colombo, and as there was no doubt but the Dutch would attempt a landing there, as they knew the place well, Don Antonio de la Motte Galvaon was sent there also with six companies, whilst Don Pedro da Souza, who commanded our van, remained with the general to be employed wherever circumstances might render necessary.

CHAPTER XIV.

How the Hollanders made good their landing at Negombo, cut the Portuguese to pieces and killed their two Field Marshals Antonio Mascarenhas and Antonio de la Motte Galvaon.

ON the 3d of January 1644 the Dutch flotilla appeared off Negombo. The Portuguese force there consisted of sixteen companies, making 500 men, commanded by Antonio Mascarenhas, and Antonio de la Motte Galvaon, two of our best general officers. Very early on the morning of the 4th the Hollanders disembarked without opposition at a half league distance from the fort. The two generals advanced against them with all the troops then at Negombo, and gave intelligence to the captain-general that they were resolved to die or to force the enemy to re-embark. The captain-general, to encourage them in this resolution, despatched Pedro da Souza to their assistance with 300 Portuguese and some natives. The enemy was set in order of battle, having seven battalions each of 600 men. As they had to pass

* ? Bentotte. L.

through some defiles, they marched in line, leaving thirty paces between each battalion, and being only able, in the widest space, to bring two battalions at once into action. Antonio Mascarenhas and Antonio de la Motte Galvaon succeeded, therefore, each in breaking into the battalion opposed to him, but through the eagerness of the officers as well as the men, they had to encounter the other five battalions in reserve, which cut the Portuguese to pieces, leaving scarcely one to tell the tale.

Antonio Mascarenhas, seeing that all was lost, threw himself in the midst of the enemy and was killed. The Dutch, finding no other opponents, marched immediately on the fort, where some wounded men and invalids had been left in charge of an officer, who, attempting to close the gates, was pierced by many balls at once. Thus in three hours, the Hollanders gained a complete battle and took possession of Negombo. The fighting had begun at ten in the forenoon, and at one o'clock Negombo was in their power.

Pedro da Souza had left Colombo at eight in the morning with his three hundred Portuguese troops and some militia, and on arriving at Pocinbo, which lies midway between Colombo and Negombo, he learned what had already taken place. He went forward about half a league to see if he could meet with any fugitives from our army, but only found some lascorins who gave him the most sorrowful accounts of the defeat we had sustained. Whilst he was still in uncertainty what course to pursue, he received orders to retrace his steps as quickly as possible, which he accordingly did, and we arrived at Colombo at three the next morning.

It would be difficult to describe the distress and confusion which prevailed there. Every one mourned a relation or a friend, and all thought that they had no longer time to live than would be sufficient to allow the Dutch to reach Colombo—the widow of Antonio de la Motte Galvaon increased the alarm by her cries and lamentations. The governor could devise no other means to still the disorder than by appearing in his full uniform and sending to inform the mourners that far from feeling such deep regret at the loss of their friends, they should glory that individuals of their families had shed their blood for their country and king, and still more for their holy religion, in open battle against heretics. He represented to them that he had himself lost a brother whom he had tenderly loved, but this reflection consoled him. He then urged them all, with some effect, to rouse themselves and to place every post in a state of defence against the victorious enemy who was approaching. Sixteen companies of Portuguese, consisting of 580 men, were collected and placed under the orders of Joao Alvares Brandan, who had once before been commandant. These

troops were stationed near the salt lake* without the town; and two companies were posted in the castle of Betal, with some lascorins who still remained with us, and whom the captain-general had encouraged to stay by large donations of money and by fair promises, as all the rest of the natives had, according to their custom, at once deserted to the stronger party.

CHAPTER XV.

The Dutch fortify Negombo, and appear before Colombo. The Portuguese send an embassy to the king of Kandy and lay siege to Negombo.

THE Dutch occupied twelve days in strengthening Negombo; they razed the fortifications which they had built there in 1640, leaving only a few old houses standing. They then constructed four bastions of earth at the four corners of a square which they intended to fortify, and placed on each of those bastions eight guns of 8, 10 and 12 pounds calibre. They united the bastions with a wall formed of earth and fascines, and having completed this work, they marched along the sea-side to Mutwall, where they attempted to cross the river, but found us able to prevent them. They then brought forward their boats and some small vessels to the mouth of the river and erected a battery with which they tried to dislodge us; but the captain-general brought cannon from the town, constructed platforms and soon opposed our batteries to theirs. The Dutch remained obstinately at their post for ten days, but being much exposed and having many soldiers killed by our guns, and seeing our general everywhere on the alert, and our soldiers and citizens full of resolution, they at last re-embarked their artillery, and returned with their vessels to Negombo early on the 17th of January. There they landed 600 men to form a garrison and afterwards sailed for Batavia. The captain-general, perceiving that we were free of our enemy, paid the troops and sent them towards the Four Corles, where we expected to find some encampment of the Kandyans; but there being none, operations ceased till the month of April, when we commenced the siege of Negombo.

But before we actually undertook this, ambassadors were sent to the king of Kandy to inform him of our plans and to intimate our wish to make a perpetual peace with him. They were told to represent to

* Tanque-Salgado, two miles from the present Fort. L.

him that as long as he was in alliance with the Dutch, we knew that it would be difficult for him to enter into a treaty with the crown of Portugal; but that the captain-general wished him to consider that all that the Portuguese now desired was to remain within the territory which he himself had granted them. These representations were accompanied by magnificent presents which the king received without any repugnance; but he replied to our proposals of peace that he would not break with the Dutch who had given him no reason to do so; that we must be aware that our haughty, contemptuous, unjust, and violent measures had forced him to have recourse to them for assistance; that they had freed him from our oppression, but that he still loved us among whom he had been brought up, and from whom he had learned to distinguish good from evil, yet at present he knew not what relief to promise us. He added that we had broken the armistice last year from a desire to retain Galle, and now we had even lost Negombo together with many brave men. That we had referred the matter of the armistice to Portugal, and the decision would come out at the end of the year; in the meanwhile the captain-general would do well to try and regain possession of Negombo; and, as far as he was concerned, he would promise not to interrupt our enterprise, or to refuse us provisions from his country, as he esteemed the king of Malwana, and would gladly be of service to him. With this answer and with some presents, he dismissed the embassy.

The captain-general desired nothing more than this promise conveyed, and therefore, on the return of the embassy, he sent orders for every preparation to be made for the siege of Negombo. Ferdinand da Mendoza, who had formerly been prisoner in Uwa, had returned from Goa to Colombo as camp-marshal, with a reinforcement of 400 men, among whom there were several fidalgos. The captain-general left Colombo with all the troops he could collect and ordered the camp from Manicavary to form a junction with him: so that, on the 18th of April, we found ourselves all together at a place called Paços dos Lagartos, and on the 19th we arrived before Negombo. The enemy received us with a general discharge of all their artillery, but this did not prevent our lascorins from bringing up the fascines, our men from working at the batteries, and our soldiers from making the approaches, so that in six days our trenches were opened, and we had two batteries, one mounting eight guns, and the other four and two falconnets.

On the 25th we received a supply of 950 balls and 150 shells; the captain-general set up mortars from which we threw cocoanuts steeped in pitch and covered with lime and tow, thinking that we should thereby occasion great annoyance to the enemy, who were for the greater

part in miserable huts in the fort, which could easily be set on fire. But all this did not cause them half so much injury as we ourselves received from a small fort which the enemy had constructed on an islet on the river, and in which they had stationed a captain with 50 men and two pieces of artillery which took us in flank and killed many of our men. We therefore considered it necessary to gain possession of that fort, and one night we sent two companies who, joining with other of our troops near the islet, succeeded in the attempt. We put the garrison to the sword all except five, who saved themselves by swimming to the town.

Perceiving then that our batteries were too far distant from the fort, we constructed them nearer and added two others. Our camp-marshal, I believe, had never seen a previous siege, yet he looked on himself as a first-rate general and as the bravest man living, and held it for certain that he himself could take the strongest town that ever was built. His vanity gave general disgust, and from an unwillingness to serve under him, all began to speak openly of the necessity of raising the siege. On this, the captain-general held a council of war, to which all the officers were summoned. Among those officers there was a German, who had been in the service of Prince Edward, and who had come to India in search of employment. He listened to all that our officers said, but soon saw that they had more bravery than experience in war, and that they knew least of all how to carry on a siege. He therefore spoke in his turn, and said that he readily bore witness to their bravery, and perhaps their valour was even too ardent, but he would ask permission to tell them that he had seen more sieges than any who were present, and he pointed out the errors which had been committed. He told them their batteries should be brought still nearer to the fort, and that they should raise some mounds from which their musquetry might play on the fort, and oblige the garrison to go under cover, if it could; or they should collect fascines and fire them under the walls of the fort, or even make use of those fascines to cover their approach and then give a general assault. This advice, coming from a stranger, was not approved of; they said that the Portuguese were too brave to require all these stratagems and precautions, and that they preferred giving the assault the following day without any previous preparations.

A native spy, whom the Dutch had in our army, informed them of this determination, and they employed the rest of the day and all the night to give us a warm reception. Our assault was to be given at day-break, but was delayed till eleven o'clock, and as the heat was excessive, it being then the 25th of July, we suffered exceedingly. When the signal was given, each man ran to his post; some brought ladders, others mounted to the breaches which our guns had made,

and in a very short time we entered the fort; but we found the enemy well entrenched, their musquetry was well served, and lances protruded and grenades were thrown wherever they were found useful; but not a soldier made his appearance, all were well under cover, so that fearing neither our musquetry or our cannon, they picked us off just as they thought proper. The guns from their bastions took us in flank, and when we approached their hiding-places, they drove us off with lances and musquetry. We remained thus exposed till eleven o'clock at night, when we were forced to retire with great loss, having done the enemy little harm.

Among our killed were our camp-marshal Ferdinand da Mendoza, Francisco da Mendoza, brother of the Conde di Valdereis, and a great number of other officers; and of 950 men who had been engaged in the assault, only 392 returned. The enemy would not allow us to bury our dead; they lay for three days at the foot of the walls, and none of us dared approach to perform this duty. We then raised the siege and withdrew with our artillery to Waygampittia, a village between Negombo and Colombo, where we entrenched ourselves and remained till the month of December following.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Truce between the Portuguese and Dutch is made public. Don Philip Mascarenhas is appointed Viceroy of India, and Manuel Mascarenhas Homen is named Captain-General of Ceylon in his place.

AT the end of December, six Dutch ships of war arrived at Colombo with general Jan Maatzuyker, who brought an order from king John IV that the Dutch should be placed in possession of all the lands belonging to the forts which might be in their hands at the date of the order, or within one twelvemonth from that date. The order had only been issued nine months previously. The same general also brought letters from the king, appointing Don Philip Mascarenhas viceroy of India in the place of the Count d' Aveires, and Manuel Mascarenhas Homen captain-general of Ceylon, in succession to Don Philip. The latter was ordered to hold himself in readiness to depart, as on the change of monsoon a flotilla would arrive from Goa to take him on board, and would bring the new captain-general.

The armistice was published at Colombo for eight years only, inasmuch as two had elapsed since the agreement had been signed which ex-

tended its duration to ten years. On the day of the publication great rejoicings took place at Colombo, as well as on board the Dutch ships, and the allotment of territory was at once commenced. The Hollanders had for their share not only the District or Corle of Galle, but all the country from the Allican river to the gravets, which forms a line of 26 leagues by the sea-side and extends ten leagues inland, comprehending the Colona Corle and a portion of Bitiagama, which falls under Saffragam; so that the Galle Corle, which we had refused to give up two years before, was actually one-fifth part only of the land which we now willingly ceded to them on that coast; whilst on the Negombo side we likewise abandoned to them eight leagues along the coast, extending from Waygampittia to Madampé, with six leagues of country stretching into the interior and forming a good portion of the Seven Corles: All these ceded lands were covered with cinnamon trees.

One of the articles of the truce stipulated that we should be mutually friends to all friends, and enemies to all enemies of each other, in every treaty in which either side might require to be comprehended. The Hollanders made known this agreement to the king of Kandy that he might notify to them if he wished to be included in it. The king answered that he greatly desired it, on condition that there should be no communication between him and us; that he would remain quietly within his territories, and hoped we would do the same within ours; and that in case individuals of the one or other party violated this agreement under any pretext whatever, he trusted that they would be duly punished by their own friends according to the extent of the injury they occasioned. On these conditions he entered into the treaty and promised to observe it religiously. And indeed he did so, in like manner as he had by no means failed in the promise he had given to the ambassadors we sent to him before we attacked Negombo. The country people who had abandoned their villages around Galle ever since the Hollanders had been masters of that fort, had suffered greatly, and many had died of hunger. On the publication of the armistice they returned to their lands and cultivated them as before, the Hollanders being satisfied with the contributions previously levied by the Portuguese.

One of the first cares of the new viceroy was to fetch the body of his brother from Negombo, which the Hollanders had placed in a very decent coffin. They at once gave it up to us and it was brought to Colombo. Don Philip Mascarenhas and all his staff in mourning, went out to meet it, and carried it to the convent of the Capuchin monks, where a magnificent religious service was performed, at the conclusion of which, he embarked in his mourning-dress on board the fleet which had brought Manuel Mascarenhas Homen to Ceylon and sailed for Goa, where he arrived in the month of March 1645.

The Hollanders being in peaceable possession of the lands we had ceded to them, only studied to establish their authority securely ; but as they had some disagreements with the king of Kandy, many of the Singhalese who were the king's subjects refused to obey them. They therefore sent 350 men from Negombo and some lascorins to overawe them, and this detachment formed a camp near our boundary in the Seven Corles. The king of Kandy resolved to drive them from that camp and to force them to remain within their fortresses, and appeared much irritated against them. He asked permission to pass through our provinces ; leave was too inconsiderately given and offers of service were likewise made him. He therefore led his troops through the Portuguese districts, and was everywhere received with marks of distinction, in obedience to the orders to that effect which we had received from the captain-general. He found the Hollanders securely entrenched, and being unwilling to risk an engagement with them, he was satisfied with blockading their camp and preventing provisions entering it; and he did this so effectually, that he soon starved them out, and, forcing them to surrender as prisoners of war, carried them to Kandy, and dispersed them into different parts of his kingdom.

When the Dutch governor at Galle heard this news, he sent to Kandy to demand the delivery of the prisoners and to complain of the infraction of the treaty. The ambassadors who were sent represented to the king that the Hollanders had only come to Ceylon at his request ; that they had faithfully fulfilled all that they had promised; they had put it out of the power of their common enemies, the Portuguese, to do him any injury, and that in reward for all this, he now made war on them, of whom he had no cause to complain. The king had had two objects in view in attacking the Dutch ; in the first place, he wished to exempt himself from paying his engagements to them ; and in the second, he was desirous of keeping alive the spirit of jealousy which existed between the Dutch and Portuguese. In both these objects he was successful ; he replied to the ambassadors that he was ready to deliver up his prisoners, a thing which neither he, or any of his predecessors, had ever done before—and he added that his chief intention in attacking the Dutch camp was to see if, after having concluded so solemn an armistice, the Portuguese would allow him to lead his troops through their provinces, which they had not only done, but had also made him great offers of assistance—that from this the Dutch might learn how much safety there was in treaties made with us, whom he had long thoroughly known and had always found to be deceitful and false.

The Dutch expressed their astonishment at the king's speech: they thanked him for the freedom given to their countrymen, and they

immediately ordered all the Portuguese subjects, whom they had previously allowed to live tranquilly on the lands ceded to them, to be driven thence. Thus the only real sufferers by the war which the king of Kandy had feigned to make on the Dutch, were those poor wretches whose villages lay within range of the forts of Negombo and Galle, who were reduced to beggary, and for the greater part died of hunger and distress.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Truce continues. Sedition among the Portuguese. General Manuel Mascarenhas-Homen is taken and expelled from Ceylon.

THE appearance of hostilities which we have just described was of short duration, and the truce with the Hollanders was undisturbed by any disagreement. Whilst this armistice lasted, our troops were encamped in the following manner: one camp was at Manicavary, comprehending twelve companies of infantry consisting of 450 Portuguese, with a body of lascorins, the whole being under the orders of a camp-marshal, who had subordinate to him a serjeant-major and a dessave; another camp was established in the province of Saffragam, consisting of five companies of Portuguese and some lascorins, under the orders of the dessave of the district. The dessave of the Seven Corles was at a village called Lagoa, with two companies of Topazes, that is to say, natives of the country born at Colombo and converts to Christianity, who, though black, were very good soldiers; to these some lascorins were added, whom he raised in his province.

The camp of Matura was stationed on the Alican river, and included the poor villagers whom the Dutch had driven from the neighbourhood of Galle; they were divided into seven, ten, or twelve companies and received the same pay as soldiers. One company of infantry under a captain was stationed at Caltura; and another company was posted at the mouth of the Caltura river where some magazines were formed with supplies for the camp of Manicavary. The captain-general had ordered a levy of three regiments of 800 men each, who were always to remain in garrison at Colombo; and instead of sending to Malwana the convalescent soldiers who left the hospitals, to recruit their strength there, he kept them at headquarters and formed of them a company of invalids and superannuated veterans.

In this state we remained in the island of Ceylon from the date of the publication of the armistice to the month of October 1652, when

the governor of Galle sent two messengers to Colombo to declare war against us. Those ambassadors at once perceived that we had been slumbering during the truce; we were in want of every necessary, and even oil and wax candles were not to be found to give them light in the residence which was assigned to them. The blame of all this was cast upon the captain-general, and reflexions dishonorable to his character were openly hazarded. At that time there lived at Colombo a Portuguese gentleman named Ruy-Lopez Coutinho, who was esteemed and loved by all; the principal inhabitants held meetings among themselves and determined to make him captain-general in the place of Manuel Mascarenhas-Homen.

What tended to increase the general irritation against the latter was his issuing an order by which all the camps were commanded to fall back on the capital, as soon as seven guns were fired; and as some of the camps were out of hearing of the artillery of the fort, men were stationed at certain distances in the jungle to repeat the signal by musquetry. This conduct, and the order itself, were universally blamed as imprudent and dangerous; complaints were made that all the provisions were sent to the camps and Colombo was left bare of supplies; and meetings continued to be held in which the captain-general was very freely handled. In one of these assemblies Ruy-Lopez Coutinho defended the governor from the imputations laid to his charge, but indiscreetly added that he was "*a hound who would never catch any hares.*" This expression failed not to be reported, and on the same day Ruy-Lopez was severely wounded by some soldiers who had recently arrived from Goa, and left for dead on the spot.

The principal inhabitants took alarm; their suspicions were increased; and they looked on their destruction as certain if they did not anticipate the intentions of the captain-general. The camp at Manicavary contained the chief strength of the Portuguese in Ceylon; reports were sent thither of what had taken place, and it was submitted to them if it was not expedient to depose Manuel Mascarenhas-Homen from his authority. The emotion quickly passed from the town to the camp; the loudest reproach uttered against the captain-general was that he had sold grain to the Dutch, since they had declared war against us; a crime which, if it could have been proved, was indeed atrocious; but I believe the greatest charge which could, in truth, be laid to him was that he was slow and dull, but that he was never wanting in loyalty.

Nevertheless, the soldiers were not slow to believe all the reports that reached them; it was stated that, in the month of September, letters had been received from the viceroy, announcing that the armistice was on the point of ending, and that the war with the Dutch

would certainly be renewed; that instead of acting vigorously on this information, he had ordered every man to remain at his post and to do his own duty, and had forbidden any allusion to be made to a renewal of hostilities, and declared that if even any officer disobeyed those orders he would punish him severely. But I rather think he gave those commands to lead the Hollanders to think that we were in utter ignorance of their plans and movements. He had appointed his son in law Lopez Barriga camp-marshal; he was an active and vigilant man, but not beloved, as he was considered to be a spy of the general, and a minister to his pleasures, and not fit for the dignity, to which he was raised.

The letters from the town were taken to the camp by Gaspar and Antonio da Costa, two brothers born in Colombo, who were well calculated to carry out the commission entrusted to them. They addressed themselves to two old soldiers, their private friends, men of a resolute and discreet character, who undertook to bring over their comrades, and they soon contrived to have fifty men attached to the party of the townspeople. Two days afterwards, these men went out of the camp, carrying a large crucifix in front of them, and crying out "*Long live the religion of Jesus Christ, and down with bad governors!*" This tumult roused the remainder of the soldiers, who ran to arms and joined them; the camp-marshal appeared and wished to quiet the uproar; but they seized him, set his face towards Colombo, and gave him some men to accompany him there; and the next day they sent him by an aratchy everything they found in the camp belonging to him.

Then the soldiers held a council of twelve, being one man from each company in the camp; the reports which had been sent to them were calmly argued, and resolutions were adopted accordingly. They knew that the Dutch were encamped at Angoratota, with 140 men from the garrison of Galle, a company of men from the island of Banda, and 400 lascorins, and that they were plundering the country all around them. Gaspar Figueira was sent with 15 companies to Angoratota, but he found the enemy so strongly entrenched that it was necessary to have artillery and to besiege them in form; before our guns came up, they killed some of our men, but after a few guns were fired, they surrendered and were conducted to Colombo.

Figueira was then despatched to Motapetia, where the king of Kandy was with an army, threatening to lay waste our lands: in four days time he was defeated, but there was no great loss on either side, as the king took to flight immediately we came up with him. Thus the war commenced happily: our enemies did not venture beyond their boundaries; supplies were plentifully conveyed to Colombo, and after having brought a large extent of country under

subjection to our authority, Figueira fixed his camp at Anduné, a place strong by nature, where he remained till May 1653.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Francisco de Mello de Castro is appointed Captain-General of Ceylon. He arrives at Colombo. Battle of Tebuana.

THE viceroy of India, who had just been created count d' Obidos, having learned what had taken place at Colombo, sent thither Francisco de Mello de Castro as captain-general, with 200 soldiers. He arrived there in May 1653, and brought with him Alvares de Atayde, as camp-marshal, an officer who had already held that appointment after the death of Ferdinand de Mendoza at Negombo. Before he landed, the captain-general published, by order of the viceroy, an amnesty to all those who had taken part in the movements of the last year, and who had arrested the former captain-general Manuel Mascaranhas-Homen, who was still detained as a prisoner. But all those parties who were in Colombo declared that they desired no amnesty, that being an indulgence only granted to persons who had been guilty of treasonable practices, whereas they considered they had rendered an important service to their king and had saved the island of Ceylon to the crown of Portugal. They demanded therefrom that a notarial act should be taken of this their declaration.

The new captain-general made no changes, but left every one in the situation in which he found him, as he considered all to have done their duty well since the war was declared to be renewed. The enemy had posted themselves, to the number of 60 carabineers and 300 lascorins, on an eminence on the other side of the Pantura river; and the captain-general perceiving that as long as they kept that station they might inconvenience us greatly, undertook to dislodge them. We were superior in numbers but we had to cross a deep and broad river in front of them, and they were well entrenched; yet we came upon them by surprise and effected our purpose. They had a company of soldiers from Banda, one of the Molucca islands, who are very valorous soldiers, and the most resolute men of the east; a nephew of Joao Mendez de Vasconcellos, who himself bore that name, pierced one of these Bandanese with his lance, and when he tried to draw it out of his body, the man seized it and pushing it deeper in, to come at the Portuguese knight, plunged his creeze with his other hand into his side with so much force as to pierce him right through, and they fell dead one on the other. We gained the height at about four

in the afternoon ; it was one of the most gallant actions fought in that war ; the battle lasted till eight o'clock, and was in fact a continual cannonading, for the enemy would not be driven out of their entrenchments. We then remained a month without doing each other any injury ; till the enemy, taking an opportunity, in their turn passed the river also and placed themselves at the station we had previously occupied.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Battle of Calouamodere, and the defeat of the king of Kandy.

IT was the 10th of January 1654 when the Hollanders crossed the river, and we saw them encamped near us and ready to give us battle, whilst we thought they were still on the other side of the water ; we endeavoured to retreat and the enemy made it a point to come up to us : so that at last we were obliged to make a virtue of necessity and our young soldiers being put on their mettle, we came to a battle with great determination on both sides. The enemy were in good order and made sure of a victory, so that we had much trouble in making good our defence. Don Alvares d' Atayde, who had come from Goa with the captain-general as camp-marshal, would not serve in that capacity ; he remained at Colombo in attendance on Don Francisco, who was very aged, in the hope of succeeding him in the government. The king of Kandy acted in concert with the Hollanders ; he crossed into our territories with the largest army he had ever levied, but did not dare to attack us. The name of Gaspar Figueira terrified him ; as they had never met in arms without the king's being defeated. That officer had his camp on the limits of the Seven and Four Corles ; the king avoided an engagement with him, and turning his camp, placed himself between it and Colombo. Figueira was surprised at this manoeuvre of the Singalese, and thought they must be in greater force than usually ; but he knew that they must be driven from the post they had taken up or Colombo would be famished ; he knew also that the natives loved the king and hated us ; and that even those who belonged to villages within our boundaries would obey his orders with eagerness. This consideration impelled Figueira to risk a battle : he said to his officers, "The issue is in the hands of God, but if we do not venture an engagement, we shall have great difficulty in retreating from where we now are ; our reputation will suffer, and the king of Kandy will gain possession of our lands and will carry desolation everywhere." Many

disapproved of Gaspar Figueira's project: but none dared utter a word of opposition, as he was a man whose haughtiness reached the verge of brutality; he had seen much service and spared no one in his talk; on the other hand, he kept nothing for himself, he gave all that he got to those whom he knew to be gallant soldiers; so that he had many friends as well as many enemies.

Gaspar Figueira had with him eight companies of Portuguese, consisting of 240 men, one company of Topazes or coloured people, numbering 37 men, and 400 lascorins under the orders of the desave of the Four Corles. This was a small force wherewith to engage the numerous army of the king of Kandy; but Figueira, having ordered his men to take their meals about three in the night, marched at daylight, without having communicated his intention to anybody; at seven, our lascorins were in front of the king's army and the engagement began. Figueira was somewhat in the rear; he made his divisions quicken their steps and passed to the front, in doing which he saw a great body of the enemy's troops, and not allowing them to reconnoitre his strength, he fell at once on them, giving his soldiers a good example by throwing himself right in the midst of them. The enemy's fire was at first very warm, but we closed on them so firmly and attacked them so near, that their musquetry became useless: all our blows told; on all sides the enemy fell, so that our lascorins brought off 11,000 heads and took 1,600 prisoners. We had never gained so great an advantage over the king of Kandy.*

About the same time the Dutch came with all their Native troops and 900 Europeans, to besiege Caltura. Three ships and two rafts closed the entrance of the river, and they set up two batteries with seven pieces of cannon. They left in the Raygam Corle 4000 lascorins and a company of carabineers, who committed great disorders there. We marched on them, but they withdrew precipitately; we then tried to do them as much harm as they had done us.

Antonio da Souza Coutinho landed in the kingdom of Jaffna with some troops from Goa: he came to replace our old captain-general; he sent word to Colombo of his arrival and ordered some companies of infantry to be sent to meet him at Aripo on the 15th of June; this was done. He then marched to Colombo, and paid all the soldiers, who had not received any pay for a year and a half, so that they had suffered greatly, many being barefooted and frequently in want of the most common necessaries of life.

* This king was Raju-Singha II. who reigned from 1634 to 1684; it was in his time, that the Portuguese were entirely expelled from Ceylon and the Dutch obtained a firm footing on the island. L.

CHAPTER XX.

Arrival of the Dutch Fleet. Caltura is besieged and taken. The Portuguese are beaten.

ON the last day of September 1655, General Gerald Holst arrived at Galle with a powerful fleet and a considerable reinforcement of soldiery. The Dutch East-India Company had given him ample powers to effect whatever he thought most to their advantage in the island of Ceylon. As soon as he landed he took pains to become acquainted with the respective resources of the Company, the Portuguese, and the king of Kandy : and being informed that it was a matter of importance for the Dutch to gain possession of Caltura, he at once went to press the siege of that fort. The Portuguese force in garrison there consisted of 490 men, who behaved most valiantly ; the Dutch had as yet made little progress, and their batteries had done us no harm ; but when the new general arrived, they doubled their efforts, and besieged us so closely that we were forced to capitulate ; it was agreed that we should leave the place with all our arms, our matches lighted, drums beating, and colours flying. We were then to go to the Dutch camp and deposit our arms there. Our Commandant Antonio Mendez Aranha was to be kept a prisoner at Galle for one twelvemonth ; but if we retook Caltura, he was to be sent to Colombo, where his wife was living, or to any other place he might select. One difficulty stopped the negotiation for a long time ; they wished the garrison to engage not to serve against them any longer in the island ; this we would not consent to ; at last the capitulation was signed, and we left the fort of Caltura on the 14th of October 1655.

The captain-general, knowing that the Hollanders were wholly taken up with the siege of Caltura, ordered Gaspar Figueira, who was at Motapetia, to join him with all his force, as he wished to make a diversion in aid of the place. Gaspar obeyed the general's order, and commenced his march, and at the same time seven gun-boats arrived from Goa with 300 soldiers, sent by the Count of Sarzedo, the viceroy of India. On the 16th of October, Figueira arrived at a small eminence where he halted, and there he learned from the natives that Caltura had capitulated on the 14th ; he did not consider this a sufficient reason to retrace his steps, and as he had beaten every Singalese army he had as yet been engaged with, he had brought himself to imagine that his troops were really invincible. He therefore continued his march, and the next day, being a Sunday, he fell in with the Dutch army ; he at once attacked them, according to his

usual practice, but the Hollanders were not taken by surprise; they at once saw that Figueira had more valour than discretion or experience; they allowed him to approach, and opening to the right and left, made a general discharge of their artillery, which was loaded with grape, on his force and killed a great numbers of the Portuguese and lascorins. Figueira thought after this first discharge that he need not immediately dread a second one, and therefore lay about him as he had commenced; but a second general discharge killed more of his men than the first had done. He had not skill sufficient to rally his soldiers and to effect a retreat; and not knowing what was best to be done, he fled to the jungle and escaped to Colombo, having sacrificed all the best troops and all the good officers belonging to him.

CHAPTER XXI.

Colombo is besieged.

ON the same day the Hollanders advanced to *Nuestra Senora d' Ajuda*, which is at the distance of a cannon-shot from Colombo. The captain-general collected the few troops who had escaped from the last battle, and as he saw that the bastion of St. John was the most exposed and that it was not sloped off from behind, he ordered all hands to bring fascines and earth for that purpose. This work occupied us for five days continually; and in the meantime the Hollanders took possession of the houses on the side of St. Thomas, and as the sea had retired, they set up a stockade on which they planted a battery of three guns, and from that point they gave the signal for attacking us. We had also made the best preparations in our power, and if they made their approaches bravely we received them with equal courage.

Antonio de Mello was on the esplanade with one hundred men to carry assistance to the quarters when it was most needed; and when he heard the noise at the side towards St. Thomas, he ran there and having cut off a detachment of the enemy who had advanced carelessly he killed more than three thousand of them; and if our soldiers had been more accustomed to fighting not one of our adversaries would have escaped. Our loss was also not inconsiderable, especially among the officers, and as our garrison was very weak we could not take advantage of our success. The enemy continued their approaches; they set up mortars and threw a quantity of shells into the town, which distressed us greatly. They then blockaded the port and cut off our communication by sea, seizing all the boats which

were going out or coming in, and placing them under cover of their ships.

As it was not in our power to hinder the enemy from advancing their trenches, and as they had already effected a lodgment at the foot of the St. John bastion, we cut several embrasures into it, and raised a mound behind them on which we planted two guns. The enemy were also near another bastion situated towards Mapane, but as that place was fortified in modern style, they did not attempt to attack it and had but few men stationed there. We perceived this, and made a sortie which was so successful that we opened the way to the neighbouring forest and obtained a supply of firewood, which we greatly needed.

We had taken with us all the slaves in the town who were of great use to us on this occasion. We re-entered the town more easily than we had got away from it, as the enemy knew nothing of our plans and did not suspect that we intended to return; but after this sortie they established lines about the fort and set sufficient men there to prevent another attempt of the same kind. The greatest error committed by our general was that, at the beginning of the siege, he permitted all the countrypeople in the neighbourhood to come into the town, where afterwards they only helped us in consuming our provisions of which we had no great stock; so that we soon found ourselves much straitened, and were forced to turn out all useless hands: this we did on four several occasions, expelling on the whole 2,000 persons. The Hollanders would not suffer them to pass and drove them back; we would not receive them again, so that all these poor wretches perished in the trenches. It chanced at this time that a woman who had been allowed to remain in the town and who had an infant, perceiving that her milk failed from hunger, and that her child was dying, cut its throat and fed on it; one of her neighbours caught her in the deed and betrayed her to the general, who ordered her instantly to be blown from the mouth of a gun. But the priests and many principal citizens represented how great must have been the misery which could have led to her so barbarous an act, and the general pardoned her.

I should never end were I to detail all the incidents of this siege; indeed many of the chief occurrences have already escaped my memory; but I hope that the Jesuit Father Damien Vieira will give a more exact account of it, which he is the better able to do as he performed during its continuance all the duties of a soldier and a captain and was present, among the foremost, in every action of any consequence.

CHAPTER XXII.

Capitulation of Colombo.

ON the 10th of May 1656, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we quitted Colombo, being 63 in number, which was all that remained of the garrison, the others having been killed or maimed, and even we were only the shadows of men. We passed between two lines of the country people who seemed to witness our exit with regret. We left at the gate of the town four guns which had been granted to us by the capitulation, but we had no oxen, mules, or horses to transport them. We also left our arms at the chapel of Nuestra Senora della Vida, and went to pay our respects to the Dutch general, who received us very kindly, saying that he would at once go to meet the Portuguese generals and see the troops file past. We answered that as for the general he might go to receive him, but that he already saw before him all the officers and soldiers who remained of the garrison. He changed colour on hearing this remark, and began to converse with the officers who stood around him.

The king of Kandy was present at the siege with 40,000 men, and insisted that the town should be placed by the Dutch in his hands. He even sent persons to sign the Capitulation on his behalf, but nothing was conceded to him by his allies, so that he came to arms with them and on the 19th. fought a battle which he gained, and then would not listen to any terms of conciliation, being able with his numerous army to keep possession of the open country and to force the Dutch to remain shut up in the forts. Had he entered into a treaty with them, he might have been constrained to yield to them all that we held on the island; as it was, the Dutch and he were engaged in perpetual wars, exposing each other to considerable expense, and the Dutch can only collect the cinnamon which grows near their forts which the king does not find it easy to approach.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Dutch take the island of Manaar and the fortress of Jaffnapatam.

AFTER the loss of Colombo, we all went to Manaar or to Jaffna, in which places we endeavoured to fortify ourselves to the best of our power. Manuel Mascarenhas Homen, who had been appointed governor of the Indies after the death of the Viceroy Count de Sarzedo, had prepared an expedition of a few small vessels to carry provisions and other assistance to Colombo, and given the command

of it to Francisco do Seixas Cabrera, but he fell in with a Dutch ship and was compelled to take shelter at Tutucoryn and to return to Goa.

Shortly after, the governor of the Indies sent a second convoy under the command of Manuel de Mello Sampayo, to whom he gave also the appointment of general camp-marshal, and Antonio de Amaral y Menezes was named captain-general of Ceylon. These nominations highly displeased the Hollanders who saw we were still in a condition to send reinforcements to the island, and that if we could renew our alliance with the king of Kandy, who was not well affected towards them, it would be in our power to annoy them greatly; they therefore resolved to expel us entirely from Ceylon and to keep us as remote from it as possible. They first attacked our settlement at Tutucoryn, where Alvares da Sylva had three ships; of these they sank two, and after having killed and wounded many of our men, they forced us to run the third aground and to burn it. Alvares da Sylva afterwards joined us at Jaffnapatam with as many of his men as he could induce to accompany him.

The Hollanders came thither also, and having set up three batteries, they soon destroyed all our defences; yet we could not make up our minds to capitulate, although very honorable terms were offered us and the enemy knew the distressed state we were in. We kept our ground from the 20th March till the 24th June 1658, when we quitted the fort, 140 in number. The Hollanders did not behave to us on that occasion with the same consideration as they had previously done; and one of their officers was so insolent as to search our women, without any distinction as to their rank or birth, and he even went so far as to shock their modesty; this circumstance was more distressing to us than all that we had previously suffered by losing our friends and our property.

We were put on board ships and conveyed to Batavia where we were long kept in imprisonment; we were ill-treated on our passage there, and our captivity was of the hardest nature.

The chief persons present at this last siege were Joao do Mello Sampayo, governor of the kingdom of Jaffnapatam, Antonio Mendes Aranhas, Diego de Souza de Castro, Manuel de Saldanha y Tavora, his cousin Manuel de Saldanha, Dom Alvares da Sylva, Alvares Ruys Borallis, D. Gonçalho da Sylva, Joao Botado de Sexas, Lançarote de Sexas, Gaspard Figueira de Cerpe, the Treasurer Mathias Catarho, Leonardo de Oliveira, and many other persons whose names have escaped my memory, but who distinguished themselves in an extraordinary manner.

THIRD BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

Of the errors committed by the Portuguese in the administration of their Conquests in India.

CEYLON had always been considered one of our best and most important conquests in India, and that which we ought to guard with the greatest care. We have already said that, independently of the kingdoms of Kandy, Uwa, Jaffnapatam, Batticaloa, and the provinces of Manaar or Mantotte, there were in that portion of the emperor's country which was ceded to the Portuguese 21,873 hamlets or villages, in 10,000 of which cinnamon alone was cultivated, and in the remainder grain was grown in such abundance that there were three or four harvests in a year. The country in which cinnamon is cultivated extends all along the coast as far as Chilaw; it then runs through a portion of the Kandyan provinces, passing near Uwa, and finishes at a distance of two leagues beyond the pagoda of Tenevary. A large quantity of pepper might be produced in the same country, if the people would only take a little trouble; but they are well-off and lazy and do not care about it. Formerly they had the entire liberty to grow cinnamon and to trade with it in any manner they pleased, only paying one-fifth to the crown; but Philip IV was not satisfied with this tribute; he published a royal declaration in 1626, ordering that all the cinnamon should belong to the revenues of the crown, and by that declaration he ruined himself and all his subjects in Ceylon. Attempts have been made to improve the quality of that grown at Quilon* and in the forests of Porca, but none can be made to compete with that of Ceylon in taste or in fragrance; so that a monopoly is established for that island, and the king might very cheaply have bought up all that was grown and have sold it afterwards to foreigners; he needed only to have reserved to his own sub-

Note by the French Editor.

* The spice grown at Quilon and on the whole coast of Malabar, which is called *Cinnamon*, and used as such by the Portuguese since they lost Ceylon, and even previously, is not Cinnamon but *Cassia fistula*; it is whiter, and the English mix them together and sell one for the other, but connoisseurs can easily separate them.

jects or revenue-collectors the right of exporting it. In this way he might have loaded with it, not one hundred only, but a thousand or two thousand ships, and the riches derived from the sale of it would have been immense; pepper, elephants, precious stones, would have been so many other sources of income; and he might have employed negro slaves to dig for rubies, sapphires, topazes and other gems, to avoid oppressing his own subjects. All kinds of timber for ship-building are also found on Ceylon, and everything can be supplied there necessary to equip them. In a word, we might have found on the island itself resources sufficient to maintain ourselves on it and to resist the efforts of foreigners or of the natives to dispossess us, if we had only managed more discreetly than we did our system of rewards and punishments. But we are bound to admit our want of proper conduct in Ceylon, and our governors behaved there as they do every where else; they only enquired what profits their predecessors derived from their administration, that they might obtain more, and in this their chief ability consisted. They cared little whether the fortifications and the garrisons were well kept up, whether the storehouses were full or the forts capable of being defended.

Neither the king or his ministers ever sought to learn the state in which each successive governor left his government, or what might be done for the benefit of the island, to increase its revenue and to strengthen our footing on it; and in a similar state of ignorance we remain with regard to all our conquests. Were not this the case, we should still be in possession of the greater part of them, and more especially of Ceylon, in the same manner as we still retain under our sovereignty Brazil and Angola.

I know by my own experience that the king was left totally uninformed and that his best servants were the worst rewarded; as I myself, after having passed eighteen years of my life in the jungles of Ceylon, going almost naked, and torn by the thorns, and having spent on the whole forty years in the Indies, as I went there in 1640 and returned by an order from the court in 1680, am now just as well off as when I left Portugal.

I have never been able to understand the conduct pursued by our government relative to our conquests in India, after the accession of king John IV to the throne. I am induced to believe that after so surprising a revolution in our affairs, our ministers had sufficient work on their hands at home; and that this compelled them to conclude a truce with the Dutch when they had taken from us Malacca in the peninsula beyond the Ganges and Galle on the island of Ceylon. But why, during that truce, did we not supply our other forts with all that was necessary for their defence, and to repel attacks? How came it that, well knowing the importance of Ceylon, we did not anticipate the

Dutch, and, at the expiration of the truce, make ourselves masters of the only two forts they held on the island? On the contrary, they were not only allowed to maintain what they had, but they were able to take Caltura, Colombo, Manaar and Jaffnapatam, and to prevent our annoying them from the continent of India, they dispossessed us of Negapatam, Ganor and Cochin; and they might with equal care have driven us from all our other forts, if, profiting by the errors the Portuguese had committed, they had not wisely resolved not to occupy a larger extent of country than they had forces to defend. But, in order to enfeeble us the more, they took care to restore Miliapuram, Cranganore, Quilon, and Cannanore to the native kings, and it is from their subjects that we now purchase the small quantity of pepper which we use in India and export to Europe.

CHAPTER II.

Attachment of the King of Kandy to the Portuguese—the Dutch firmly settled in the Indies—Names of the Portuguese Captains-General who governed Ceylon.

I have been frequently questioned, since I returned home, with regard to the reports which were in circulation that the king of Kandy had proposed to us many leagues and alliances; and this proves to me that people in Portugal are little aware to what degree our power in India has declined. The Moors and Arabs, who dreaded us formerly, now equip vessels to cruise against us, pillage our lands, and annoy our traders; whilst, on the other hand, the Dutch are feared throughout the East.

As soon as they became masters of Colombo, they commenced constructing a regular fort there; they threw down the old walls and built others in a more modern style, which enclosed a far smaller space of ground. They built a substantial citadel on the height where the convent of the Augustine brothers was, and placed three forts on other heights commanding the town. They dug around the new walls a deep broad trench which was soon filled with water from the neighbouring lake, and that trench joins itself to the sea.

It is true that the king of Kandy remembers us with affection and regret, as he does not find in the Dutch the civility, politeness, generosity and other good qualities which are natural to the Portuguese. He was brought up amongst us, and had adopted our customs, and if even he had some misunderstandings with our captains.

general it was on account of some special matters which could not go so far as to diminish his goodwill for the nation at large. He has evinced that goodwill most particularly since we have quitted Ceylon, as more than 700 Portuguese families have settled at Ruanwelle, and the king has not only granted them very considerable privileges, but he has also allowed them to live all together in one of the strongest and handsomest quarters of the town, where they have the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and where their priests and religious men reside with them. But there is no probability whatever of our having a chance of re-establishing ourselves on the island, nor will the Dutch ever possess the reputation, power and extent of country, which we had there for so long a period and under fifteen captains-general. These were Pedro Lopez de Souza, Jeronymo de Azevedo, Francisco de Menezes, Manuel Mascarenhas Homen, Nunho Alvares Pereira, Constantin de Sa y Noronha, George d'Albuquerque, again Constantin de Sa y Noronha, Don George d'Almeida, Diego de Mello, Antonio Mascarenhas, Philip Mascarenhas, Manuel Mascarenhas Homen, Francisco de Mello de Castro, and Antonio de Souza Continho, in whose time we lost Colombo. We had, besides these, at Manaar and Jaffnapatam, Antonio d' Amarel y Menezes, who was our sixteenth and last captain-general.

END OF RIBEYRO'S HISTORY.

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I.

RAPID SKETCH OF THE PROGRESS IN INDIA OF THE THREE
EUROPEAN NATIONS WHO HAVE HAD POSSESSION OF CEYLON.

(Partly condensed from M. RAYNAL'S *History of the East and West Indies.*)

1.—The first visit of the PORTUGUESE was to Calicut, at that time the most flourishing port of India. Vasco de Gama conducted an expedition thither from Melinda. On his return to Europe, the adventurous youth of Lisbon, not more eager for the riches of the East than zealous to propagate their religion, embarked in numbers on board the new fleet fitted out under Alvares Cabrel. The kings of Cochin, Cananore, Onore and Quilon joined him against the Zamorin of Calicut, flattering themselves that they should be relieved from their tribute to that suzerain chief.

Each ally acknowledged himself dependent on the court of Lisbon, allowed a fort to be built in his chief town, and permitted the Portuguese to fix the prices of the merchandise they purchased. They were thus enabled to send rich cargoes to their own country, and to convince their king of the value of a settlement in India.

Alphonso Albuquerque commanded the next expedition, and fixed upon Goa as a station of repose for the Portuguese after their voyage from Europe, as it could be easily defended, possessed a good harbour and the advantage of wholesome air. He easily acquired possession of it, and the trade of Calicut transferred itself thither.

After Albuquerque had established the power of the Portuguese in the Arabian and Persian gulfs and on the Malabar coast, his next expedition was turned towards Ceylon. It was found to be well peopled, and inhabited by two distinct races, whom the Portuguese writers call the Veddas and the Singha-
lese, the former being the aborigines of the island. The Cinnamon gardens and Pearl-Fisheries, of course, attracted the attention of the new-comers, spices and jewels being then always, in the European mind, associated with every idea of eastern riches; but although the situation of the island and its large and small harbours were advantages not likely to be overlooked by adventurous seamen, Albuquerque himself made no settlement

there, but proceeded to Malacca, which was the most considerable market for the merchants of the entire East. In 1511, the Portuguese seized on the city of Malacca, and the natives dispersed themselves along the coast or retired into the interior. Their next settlement was in the Molucca islands.

Albuquerque died in 1515 and was succeeded by Lopez Soarez who formed the first settlement in Ceylon, in 1517; but previous to that time the Portuguese had grown licentious and effeminate and ceased to be formidable to the natives of their various conquests. A general conspiracy was arranged against them, the object of which was defeated by Ataida, whom king Sebastian had despatched to India with a powerful escort of men who had distinguished themselves in the wars of Europe. The Portuguese at first recovered their original spirit, and whilst the mother country was reduced under subjection to Spain, they ceased to consider themselves as belonging to it; and entered into the service of the native princes. Public spirit became thus absorbed in private enterprise; and subsequently the too wide extension of their power prevented their making any formidable resistance to the Dutch, when the latter succeeded in emancipating themselves from the sway of the very sovereign under whom the Portuguese had fallen.

2.—Previous to 1590, THE DUTCH had established a very considerable carrying trade; they had gained advantages over the Hanse towns and transported to all the countries of Europe the produce of the East which they purchased at Lisbon. In 1594, the Spanish King, Philip II, forbade his new subjects, the Portuguese, to have any intercourse with his old subjects, the Dutch; these were therefore forced to seek at the fountain-head the commodities they had been in the habit of obtaining in Portugal. In 1595, Cornelis Houtman was entrusted by his countrymen with four vessels which he was to conduct round the Cape of Good Hope to India, and an association was formed in Holland for the prosecution of similar enterprises under the name of the Company of distant countries, "*Het Maatschappy van verre Landen.*"

Houtman purchased pepper and other valuable spices in the Sunda islands, formed an alliance with Java, and returned home with considerable experience, and took with him, among other natives, a pilot perfectly acquainted with the coasts of India. The merchants of Amsterdam preferred Java as their principal place of settlement, on account of its central position as regarded China and Japan, and its remoteness from the chief establishment of the Portuguese in the East. Admiral Vanneck arrived there in

1598; the general hatred of the natives of India towards the Portuguese proved of service to the Dutch at Java and in the Molucca islands; factories were established there and Vanneck returned home with very valuable cargoes.

The Government of the United States of Holland then first set the example to other nations of incorporating a body of merchants as an East India Company, entrusting them with political as well as commercial powers; this company consolidated into one association the numerous ill-regulated bodies which had sprung up in the several towns of Holland, and which threatened a general failure.

A powerful fleet was fitted out under Admiral Warwyk, who fortified the factory in Java, and made alliances with the princes of Bengal; and the chieftains of India then saw two rival European nations arrayed in arms against each other within their territories and appealing for native assistance by a simulated vassalage. The power of the Portuguese was nearly exhausted by their own licentiousness and a want of assistance from home; that of the Dutch was augmented by constant reinforcements and by a shew of humanity and honesty which the Indians had long ceased to experience or to hope for from their adversaries. In opposition to the Portuguese settlement of Macao, the Dutch in 1624 formed one at Formosa, which soon attained an unexampled degree of prosperity, but which ultimately was wrested from the Dutch by a Chinese patriot who disdained to live under the government of the Tartar conquerors of his country. Their attempt to establish themselves in Japan was also unsuccessful, and although they have had a factory there since 1640, the degradation with which this privilege over other European nations is attended, is by no means creditable to the civilized people who submit to it, nor is the profit derived from the intercourse between Batavia and Japan of a nature to account for the patience with which they have, for upwards of two centuries, submitted to indignities beyond conception.

The Dutch next expelled the united Portuguese and Spaniards from the Moluccas, and established a spice-monopoly by inducing some of the native princes to root out the clove and nutmeg trees in the islands under their sovereignty, for which concession a yearly indemnity in money was given to them. They afterwards formed settlements at Timor, Celebes, Macassar and Sumatra, and drove their enemies from Malacca.

Spielbergen was the first Dutch navigator who touched at Ceylon; he anchored at Batticaloa in March 1602, and proceeding to Kandy, was cordially welcomed by the king, who was at

that time vehemently exasperated against the Portuguese. By the united efforts of the Kandyans and Hollanders their mutual enemy was ultimately, in 1658, entirely expelled the island, but it is little to be doubted whether this object was completely effected before the native monarch had reason to think that he should gain nothing by the exchange. The Dutch thus became exclusive masters of another valuable article of the spice-trade, namely cinnamon—whilst their possession of Quilon and other places on the Malabar coast enabled them to establish the same kind of monopoly in regard to it as they had already done in the Moluccas, with respect to nutmegs and cloves.

The revenue which the Dutch derived yearly from Ceylon was about £90,000, but this sum was greatly exceeded by the expences of the government and the costs of the wars, in which they were frequently engaged. Their settlements in the East were too numerous and too dispersed to be profitable; they were constantly under the necessity of conciliating native chiefs, and it is not at all to be doubted that their commerce has become more advantageous, and their position in the East far more respectable, since the chances of war deprived them of their possessions in the south of India, and the consideration or carelessness of the British Government restored to them Java and its valuable dependencies at the close of the European contest.

3.—ENGLAND had a Russia Company and a Levant Company before the London merchants extended their views of commerce to the East Indies. They first obtained an act of incorporation for this object in 1600, for the limited period of fifteen years; and Lancaster commanded the expedition which sailed in the following year for Acheen. The victories of Elizabeth may have been made known by the Dutch to the native princes, with a view of depressing the Portuguese in their estimation; and this circumstance caused Lancaster to be well received wherever he went; he returned home with valuable cargoes of spices. James I left the infant Company to its own resources; its officers and factors soon became more formidable opponents to Dutch trade than the Portuguese could have been, and jealousy gave rise to war, which brought the maritime forces of the two countries in India, into very serious collision.

The Companies of the two nations in Europe entered into an agreement to hold the spice-islands in common, with a view of restoring peace, but this absurd convention was foiled by the Dutch Agents at Amboyna and the English were compelled to seek their fortunes elsewhere. The Portuguese shewed equal care to discourage their settling on the Malabar and Coromandel

coasts, but in 1612 they succeeded in gaining a precarious establishment at Surat. The reigns of James and Charles were not propitious to speculations abroad; but Cromwell renewed the exclusive privileges of the English Company, and their success in India was not inferior to that which their countrymen under the Protector had met with in Europe. An attempt was made, in the next reign, to gain admittance into Japan, but it was unsuccessful, the Dutch having cunningly informed the king that Charles II had married a daughter of Portugal.

That marriage gave to England her first settlement of importance in India, by the cession of Bombay as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza. John Child, the governor, involved the Company in a very dangerous war with Aurungzebe, in 1688, and it was only after very humiliating concessions, that they were permitted to continue to enjoy the privileges which had previously been granted to them in the ports of Guzerat; but the honor and credit of the nation were seriously damaged in the opinion of the Mogul and his subjects; and a division of interests in England, which led to the establishment of a new association, greatly retarded the advance of British commerce in India. At last, in 1702, the parties united in an endeavour to obtain by larger sales of their commodities the advantages of which previous competition had deprived them; and they then improved their old settlements in the East Indies and formed new ones.

The wars between the English and French in Europe extended their effects to the far East, but they gave rise only to temporary interruptions to the progress of the Company, which, from the time when the necessity of there being one privileged association for the trade to India was admitted by Parliament, has gone on enlarging the boundaries of their territories until they have reached their present extent.

The first intercourse of the English with CEYLON began by an embassy from Madras in 1763; this was about the time that the Dutch, under governor van Eck, had first succeeded in reaching the Kandyan metropolis, and for some months maintaining themselves there; but as the negotiations of that embassy were not followed up by the Madras authorities, the Kandyan government was rather impressed by it against us than in our favor. In 1782, the English took possession of Trincomalee, and endeavoured to renew intercourse with the Kandyan court, but the king, no doubt entertaining a resentful remembrance of the previous fruitless embassy, desired that proposals might come to him from the British monarch himself, and forbid all communication

between his subjects and our new conquest, which, very shortly afterwards, was captured by the French, under Admiral Suffrein. When the Stadtholder of the United Provinces took refuge in England in 1794, and the Batavian Republic and its armies and fleets became virtually subjected to France, a war naturally ensued, which placed the Dutch colonies very soon in the hands of the English. Trincomalee submitted to them in August 1795, and Colombo in the following February; and the maritime provinces of Ceylon were then immediately placed under the administration of the Madras Government, with a view of their being held in trust for our ally; but in 1798 they were transferred to the British Crown, and in 1802 Ceylon passed under the control of the Colonial Department, and was secured to England as a permanent possession by the Treaty of Amiens.*

The inevitable consequences of civilization and barbarism being placed in juxtaposition then ensued: the stronger party immediately commenced attempts to elbow out the weaker; and candor obliges us to confess that the underhanded proceedings of the Honble Mr. North, and his secret negotiations with the minister of the king of Kandy for the dethronement of his master, were justly recompensed by the disgrace cast upon his government by the defeats which our troops met with in the interior of the island, in 1803 and 4. In 1814 General Brownrigg renewed a correspondence with the ministers of the Kandyan court, and his invasion of the country terminating in the capture and deportation of the king, the English have been, since March 1815, masters by conquest of the entire island of CEYLON. A serious outbreak took place in October 1817, which occupied the British troops the whole succeeding year; it ended in the death or transportation of the insurgent chieftains. The Kandyan king died in exile, at Vellore, in 1832.

The effectual subjugation of Ceylon has, however, been accomplished by means more honorable than war ever, under any circumstances, exhibits; and wealth and prosperity have been introduced among the natives of the country, at the same time, in a measure which could hardly have been anticipated by Sir Edward Barnes himself, when he employed "the unrecompensed compulsory labour" of the country (as it has been called) to

* 25th March 1802—Amiens—"The Batavian Republic cedes and guarantees, in full property and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty, all the possessions and establishments in the island of Ceylon, which previous to the war belonged to the Republic of the United Provinces, or to the Dutch East India Company."

open the splendid road between Kandy and Colombo. It is much to be regretted that his successors were not allowed, by a temporary prolongation of the same system, and by a continuation of his projects, still further to develop the natural resources of the island. But the Commissioner Colebrooke said "the system of forced labour has been so irregularly maintained and has been productive of so much injustice, that I cannot but recommend its entire abolition by an order of his Majesty in council"—and abolished it accordingly was, in 1833, peremptorily and instantaneously, a liberal measure by which public works of the utmost importance were stopped; native idleness has been encouraged; the possession of lands granted by the native kings for the performance of certain labors, was secured to the holders unconditionally; and European settlers have been reduced to the necessity of seeking a precarious supply of laborers from the coast of India; whilst two-thirds of the island into which, by the formation of good roads, population would gradually have been introduced, and in which agriculture might have been restored, remain unvisited except by the elephants and other wild animals, driven by the advance of cultivation all around Kandy into the recesses of the forest.

II.

EARLY HISTORY, PREVIOUS NAMES, AND IMPORTANCE ATTACHED
TO THE POSSESSION OF CEYLON.

WE are informed by Gibbon that when "the most remote countries of the ancient world were ransacked to supply the pomp and delicacy of Rome," CEYLON, which had been discovered under the reign of Claudius, became the principal mart of the East. "Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of an hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos-hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. The coast of Malabar, or the island of Ceylon, was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in these markets that the merchants from the more remote countries of Asia expected their arrival. The return of the fleet of Egypt was fixed to the months of December or January; and as soon as their rich cargo had been transported on the backs of camels from the Red Sea to the Nile, and had descended that river as far as Alexandria, it was poured without delay into the capital of the empire. The objects of oriental traffic were splendid and trifling: *silk*, a pound of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound of gold; precious stones, among which the *pearl* claimed the first rank after the diamond; and a variety of *aromatics*, that were consumed in religious worship and the pomp of funerals. The labour and risk of the voyage was rewarded with almost incredible profit." It will thus readily be perceived that the pearl-fisheries of Manaar and Tutucorin, and the cinnamon-plantations of Ceylon must have contributed their share in recompensing the adventurers.

Ceylon does not seem to have been known to the Romans until the end of the first century of the Christian era, yet it appears from the native annals to have been conquered and settled by "one Wijayo, the son of Sihabahu, king of the land of Lala, together with seven hundred officers of state," 543 years previous to the birth of Christ. "This prince, who had then attained the wisdom of experience, landed in the division Tam-

bapanni of this land LANKA, on the day that the successor of former Buddhos reclined in the arbor of the two delightful sal trees, to attain nibbanan."

This quotation is made from the sixth chapter of the MAHAWANSO, as translated by that erudite Pali scholar, the late Mr. Turnour of the Ceylon Civil Service. And in the following chapter the much-vexed question is solved whether Ceylon or Sumatra is entitled to claim the ancient name of Taprobane. Buddho, "the ruler of the world, having attained the exalted, unchangeable nibbana," and foreseeing that his religion would be established in Lanka, commanded Sakko "thoroughly to protect, together with his retinue, Wijayo and Lanka." This task was assigned by Sakko to Vishnu; and under his influence the devil-inhabitants of the country were conquered and Lanka was made "habitable for men." After overcoming the Yakkhos, Wijayo "founding the city called Tambapanni, settled there."

"At the spot where the seven hundred men, with the king at their head, exhausted by sea-sickness and faint from weakness, had landed out of the vessels, supporting themselves on the palms of their hands pressed on the ground, they sat themselves down. Hence to them the name of "Tambapanniyo" (copper-palmed, from the color of the soil). From this circumstance that wilderness obtained the name of Tambapanni." The narration goes on to state that "by whatever means the monarch Sibabahu (the father of Wijayo) slew the "siho" (lion,) from that feat his sons and descendents are called "Sihala" (the lion-slayers). This Lanka having been conquered by a Sihalo, from the circumstance also of its having been colonized by a Sihalo, obtained the name of Sihala."

We have thus the derivation of the classical, as well as of the Native and European name of the island of Ceylon, elucidated by the principal native historical record, compiled between A. D. 459 and 477.

After the time of Claudius, Ceylon is mentioned by almost every geographical author among the Romans, and the best travellers of the early modern ages give tolerably accurate descriptions of it, when we consider that their information must have been obtained either during very short visits, or from the almost fabulous accounts possessed by the natives of India, as an example of which we give the following extract from the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot, (vol. III. p. 308) in which the derivation of the name of SERANDIB is explained:

“SERANDIB, the name of the most famous island of the Indian or eastern ocean, which the Arabs call the sea of Erkend. Scheriff al Edrissi assigns to it 80 parasangs in length and as many in breadth, and the Persian geographer places it between the equator and the first climate, and very near to the coast of India, which already shews that he intends to describe Ceylon or Zeilan. In fact, the adjunct *dib* or *div* is the Sanscrit word for *an island*; thus Serandib means the island of Seran or Selan.

All eastern geographers agree that all sorts of *iavakir*, or colored precious stones, are found on this island; and that in one of its vallies a species of diamond is found, which is used in engraving and to cut the hardest gems. The Arabians call that diamond *sundabeg* or *sunbadag*; it is the *smyris* of the Greeks and our emery. The beryl, which, according to the easterns, is the most perfect rock-crystal, is also found in the mountains of Serandib.

In the same island are also found the two animals called by the Arabians *dabat-almisk* and *dabat-almazadat*, that is, the musk goat and the civet; and the trees called *al arz* and *nargil*, the cedar and cocoa-nut, grow there abundantly, as well as the *al-oud*, which is the *xylaloe* of the Greeks, and our aloe.

It is singular that eastern geographers make no mention of the cinnamon bush, which grows only on that island; this must be either because it was not known there in their time, or it has been introduced subsequently; probably from China, which may be the reason why it is called in the east *dar-tchin*, Chinese wood; or perhaps it is the *nargil* which we have already mentioned.

Scheriff al Edrissi says that the Chinese carried on an immense trade with Serandib, which may also account for cinnamon being called *dar-tchin*; and he adds that the king of that island always had among his councillors four Indians, four Jews, four Christians and four Mussulmans, and that he carried in his hand an idol in the form of a sceptre covered with precious stones of inestimable value.

The same author mentions that the chief town of the island, where the king resided, was called Agna,* and that there were twelve other principal cities, of which the following are the names, all of which are unknown to our travellers and geographers—Marnabas, Pariscouri, Abadi, Makhoulon, Hameri, Calmadhi, Sambedouna, Sandouri, Seri, Combeli, Barissala, and Marouba.

Almost in the very middle of the island there is a very high mountain, which is seen by mariners very far off at sea; the Arabians call it

* ? Anoo, the commencement of Ancorajapoorra. L.

Rahoun, and the Portuguese "el Pico de Adam," on account of a tradition which is generally received not only in India but throughout the entire east, that Adam is buried on its summit. There is another tradition related in the Caherman-nameh, namely, that Adam was banished to Serandib after his expulsion from Paradise; some say that Serandib is itself the terrestrial Paradise, and that Caherman-Catel, wishing to bequeathe to posterity a monument to record the birth of his son Sam^z Neriman, caused a town to be built in the great plain at the foot of the mountain where Adam was interred, and that he called the same Khorrem, place of joys and pleasures, such as the Greeks and Latins believed the Elysian fields to have been.

Scheriff al Edrissi mentions in the eighth part of his first climate, that opposite to Ceylon, on the continent of India, there are lakes which the Arabians call Agbab, into which several rivers flow, and by means of which ships transport their merchandise very far inland; he adds that the island of Rami* is very near Serandib.

Some eastern writers call Serandib Serandil—but Serandivl would be more accurate; as the word *divl* is rather the Sanscrit for *island* than *dil*, as may be proved by the name of the town of Diu, which the Indians call Diul or Deibul, according to the Arabs, from its being situated on an island or peninsula, at the sea-side, just where the Indus falls into the sea."

The geographical position of Ceylon may render it of great importance to our Indian possessions, but I always regret to hear its internal advantages, either of soil or of produce, mentioned in terms calculated to mislead the colonist, and to tempt the man of moderate income and adventurous spirit to settle down as a coffee-planter or sugar-cultivator in Ceylon, when his money and energies might, more profitably to himself, be carried to Australia or to Canada, or to other of our East or West-Indian provinces.

The Dutch historian Valentyn commences his description of this island in the following words: "As Ceylon is one of the "largest islands in the East Indies, so is it also one of the most "important and chief provinces which the East India Company "has there acquired by the force of its arms." Now it is certain that Ceylon always was a losing concern to the Dutch, and Tavernier, who visited Galle in 1648, says most correctly:

* Ramisseram. L.

“The Hollanders, before they took all the places which the Portugals had in the island of Ceylon, did believe that the trade of this island would have brought them in vast sums, could they but be sole masters of it; and perhaps their conjectures might have been true, had they not broken their words with the king of Candy, who is the king of the country; but breaking faith with him, they lost themselves in all other places thereabouts.

The Hollanders had made an agreement with the king of Candy, that he should be always ready with 20,000 men to keep the passages that hinder the Portugals from bringing any succours from Colombo, Negombo, Manar, or any other places which they possessed upon the coast. In consideration whereof the Hollanders, when they had taken Ponte Galle were to restore it to the king of Candy, which they not performing, the king sent to know why they did not give him possession of the town; to which they returned answer that they were ready to do it, provided; he would defray the expences of the war. But they knew, that if he had had three kingdoms more such as his own, he never could have paid so great a sum. I must confess indeed the country is very poor, for I do not believe that the king ever saw fifty thousand crowns together in his life: his trade being all in cinnamon and elephants. As for his cinnamon, he has no profit of it since the Portugals coming into the East Indies. And for his elephants, he makes but little of them, for they take not above five or six in a year; but they are more esteemed than any other country elephants, as being the most courageous in war.”

The King of Kandy, who reigned in the time of the Dutch conquest, styled himself “Raja Singha Raju, the most high monarch, the most grand, powerful, and magnanimous EMPEROR of this very famous island of Ceylon, KING of Kandy, Sittavaca and Saffragam, of Dinavaca, Dambadenia, Anurajapura, Udanuwera, Yattenuwera, Tumpane, Arciapattoo, Doombere, Pansiapattoo, Hewahetta—PRINCE of Uwa, Bintenne, Velassy, Batticaloa, Trincomalee—COUNT of the port of Cottiar, Panawa, Matura, Belligam, Galle, Alican, Caltura—KING of Cotta, Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, Madampe, Putlam, Calpentyn, Four Corles—GRAND DUKE of Seven Corles, Matelle, Japhnapatam, Manaar, and of the Pearl-Fisheries, and of the Golden Sun, &c.”

And this in spite of Tavernier's assertion—“I must confess indeed the country is very poor, for I do not believe the king ever saw fifty thousand crowns together in his life.”

We must receive Ribeyro's account of the riches of Ceylon, particularly that given in the first chapter of his third book, with the degree of indulgence which all ancient writers require. From Herodotus downwards, these words of Major Reynell apply to almost every racy old traveller: "The same want of attention has confounded together the description of what he *saw* and what he had only *heard*: and which he might think himself bound to relate." With regard to Ribeyro, there is an impress of truth on all his descriptions of the battles in which he was personally engaged; but immediately he commences to sum up the available riches of Ceylon, an air of exaggeration is so evident as to hardly require to be pointed out.

The Dutch Governor van Goens refers his successor to a letter of the King of Portugal to one of his generals, in which he says that "he would rather lose all his possessions in India, than even run the risk of the loss of Ceylon"—and the importance which was attached to Ceylon both by the Portuguese and English, is fully evinced by the following extract from the

"ARTICLES OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY CHARLES II AND THE
LADY INFANTA OF PORTUGAL, IN 1661.

"XIV.—But if the King of Great Britain, or his subjects, shall at any time hereafter take out of the hands of the Hollanders, or others, any towns, castles, or territories, formerly belonging to the crown of Portugal, the King of Portugal, with the advice and consent of his council, doth grant the sovereignty and full and entire and absolute dominion of them, and every of them, unto the King of Great Britain, his heirs, and successors, for ever, freely, entirely, and absolutely, except Mascata, which is at present inhabited by the Arabians; and if at any time the island of Zeilon, by what means soever, come into the hands of the King of Portugal, he is by this treaty obliged to deliver unto the King of Great Britain the town and port of Galle, and to grant and transfer the full and absolute dominion and sovereignty of the said town and port, with the possession thereof, and all the appurtenances thereunto belonging, unto the said King of Great Britain, effectually, yet reserving unto him, the said King of Portugal, the town and port of Colombo; but the cinnamon trade to be equally divided between the English and the Portuguese. As also, if at any time the said island shall fall into the hands of the King of Great Britain, he is obliged, and with the consent and advice of his council doth promise, effectually to restore and deliver the dominion and possession of the town and port of Colombo unto the King of Portu-

gal, the cinnamon trade being, in such manner as aforesaid, divided and to be divided between the English and Portuguese."

(*Chalmers' Treaties, vol. II. p. 292.*)

I think I recollect reading that a Portuguese Minister chanced, a few years ago, to light upon this "article" and quoted it in some negotiations between the courts of Lisbon and St. James's, but, of course, found it treated as a dead letter; in the same manner as we ourselves, in the recent case of the Spanish marriages, have referred, without any effect, to the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht concluded in 1702; so true is the observation of Knickerbocker—"Treaties at best are but complied with so long as interest requires their fulfilment: consequently, they are virtually binding on the weaker party only, or, in plain truth, they are not binding at all. No nation will wantonly go to war with another, if it has nothing to gain thereby, and therefore needs no treaty to restrain it from violence; and if it have anything to gain, I much question, from what I have witnessed of the righteous conduct of nations, whether any treaty could be made so strong that it could not thrust the sword through." (Witness Cracow, *in ré* GREAT-BRITAIN and FRANCE, Plaintiffs *vs.* AUSTRIA, RUSSIA and PRUSSIA, Defendants.)

The two articles, which follow this, and which are headed "CEYLON IN 1740" and "CEYLON IN 1762" are by Governors, who, on quitting the administration of Ceylon, followed the usual, and very excellent, custom among the Dutch, of transmitting under their own hand to their successors a detailed description of the field they were entering upon. To such documents due value must be attached, as they are not likely to exaggerate in any manner the subject they treat of, being in most respects confidential communications; and it should be borne in mind that these two despatches were written in the most flourishing periods of the Dutch Government.

I annex to them a "Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure of Ceylon under the Dutch Government from the year 1739—40 to 1760—61," obtained by me from the most authentic source, and by which there appears to have been an average annual deficit of upwards of fourteen thousand pounds.

Except in the extract from the "Articles of Marriage" above-quoted, we have no evidence of England having cast a longing eye on Ceylon during its possession by the Dutch. The mere chance of war threw that island into our hands together with almost all their other acquisitions both in the East and West Indies.

We gather from the "Malmesbury Diaries and Correspondence" (vol. III. *passim*,) that during the negotiations for peace between England and France, carried on at Lisle in 1797, the abandonment or retention of the conquests already made by Great Britain from France and her allies was one of the chief objects in dispute, and became finally the principal reason of the Treaty being broken off.

On July 16th—Lord Malmesbury informs Mr. Pitt.

"As to the general turn of the Treaty, I am inclined to think (without, however, anything like strong ground for my opinion) that if it proceeds in the way in which it is begun, we shall be able to retain one of the two great Dutch establishments, and this will probably be Ceylon."

Mr. Pitt had given Lord Malmesbury private instructions to surrender Ceylon to the French, rather than break off the negotiations, so anxious was he for peace.

On July 31st—Mr. Ellis says, in his account of his private interviews with Mr. Pein (Maret's Agent):

"I told him that Lord Malmesbury's instructions were positive; that our *first* object had been to evince our sincerity by the reasonableness of our proposals; that as to Ceylon, any definitive demand of that island would show a determination of depriving us of all means of defence in the East Indies, where we have no other port; and that such a demand could only be dictated by the previous desire of recommencing the war in that country as soon as the finances of France should enable her to send a fleet there. That the Cape, I was very sure, was not an object of profit to any nation; that it was necessary, like Ceylon, for the preservation of our territory," &c. &c.

September 3d—The Directory had applied to the Dutch Republican Government for its determination respecting the bases of the projected treaty with Great Britain. After much of that vacillation, with which a country which has lost the *reality* of independence keeps up the *semblance* of it, an anonymous correspondent of M. Pein informs him:

"Je views à l'instant d'apprendre de la part sûre et authentique ce que portent les reponses de la Hollande. Le Comité des Relations Bataves y declare de la manière la plus positive, qu'il ne peut jamais consentir à céder à l'Angleterre Ceylon ni Trinquemale, qu'il regarde comme la source des richesses du pays et la clef des autres possessions; que ce serait rendre l'Angleterre maîtresse de l'Inde."

On September 13th—In his account of a parting conversation with Maret, Lord Malmesbury states in his Diary:

“ He said he believed we should be able to get from the Dutch Trincomalee, and all the towns and military establishments in Ceylon, if we would consent to carry on the trade in common with the Dutch, and not monopolize the commerce; that some means might be devised for making the Cape neutral, under all circumstances of peace or war. He wished to know of me whether these conditions would be sufficient. I hesitated as to the Cape; but believed some arrangements like that he proposed, might be made for Ceylon.”

On September 20th—O'Drusse (Talleyrand's secret agent in London) says:

“ The Bishop can undertake, if he remains in power, to get us one of the Dutch settlements (Ceylon, probably) for £200,000, without any *conditions onéreuses*.”

By the preliminaries of the peace of Amiens between England and the French Republic, signed in London, October 1st 1801, Great Britain was to retain Ceylon in the East Indies and Trinidad in the West, and by the 5th article of the treaty subsequently agreed on, the Batavian Republic made that cession of Ceylon absolute.

III.

CEYLON IN 1740.

CONDENSED AND TRANSLATED FROM A REPORT RESPECTING THE ADMINISTRATION OF CEYLON, LEFT BY BARON VAN IMHOFF FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF HIS SUCCESSOR, W. M. BRUININCK, DATED 12TH MARCH, 1740.

THE possession of Ceylon is important rather in a geographical point of view than intrinsically, as, with the exception of cinnamon, its products are not considerable, but it is the key of Western India, and the industry of the Company's servants and colonists may render it one of the most advantageous settlements. Cinnamon was the first cause of Europeans seeking to establish themselves in Ceylon, for before the Portuguese came there, that spice had been scarce in Europe for centuries, and the difficulty of procuring it by the way of India made the Portuguese anxious to secure to themselves this branch of trade while they were busy in extending their traffic. But they were so tyrannical that the native king sought the alliance of the recently formed Dutch Company, who finally took possession of Jaffnapatam in 1658.

The best account of the first settlement of the Dutch is contained in the memoir of M. Maatzuyker to M. van Kittenstein, dated 27th February 1650, which is comprised in Valentyn's History of Old and New India, a work which however in many parts strays from the truth, and which has been of great injury to the Company.

(M. van Imhoff praises the general custom which had obtained in the Dutch service, that every Governor, on leaving his post, should draw up a summary for the instruction and guidance of his successor. These summaries had continued from 1650 up to this time, and every successive Governor showed how much he had contributed to raise the condition of the Company's dominion over the Island. He then wishes to impress on his successor the necessity of so uniting the interests

of the natives with those of the Company, that the former may not solely be desirous of obtaining the presents which the Dutch annually sent to the Court of Kandy, and that the latter may have other advantages besides Cinnamon from the upper country. He states that he had begun to plant *Pepper* and *Coffee*, the former of which grew plentifully in the high grounds, but the latter not so well. He had, after a hundred repetitions, at last persuaded the Kandyan Chiefs that planting pepper would be of greater profit to the King and themselves than all the benefits which they expected from other sources.

He describes the limits which separate the Company's territory from that of the King of Kandy, and then proceeds thus:)

“ It is well known that what may be called the Company's possessions on Ceylon, besides Jaffnapatam, consist of three chief divisions, the Dessavony of Colombo, the Galle Corle, and the Dessavony of Matura, each of which is governed by a competent European Director, and the Regent of Matura is assisted by a Landraad, to settle disputes among the others. This has been found very efficient—its nature is described in my Register of 1737, and I shall therefore only now say that it is well worthy of being kept up on its original footing: for which purpose I would advise that it should not be permitted to neglect the rule of constantly sending to the Governor duplicates of its proceedings, that he may know that its meetings take place regularly.

In the Colombo Dessavony and Galle Corle, there are only a Dessave and an Inspector, but no Landraad. I know not the reason of this, for it has always appeared to me that the business of these important districts was more than a single man could satisfactorily execute. In Colombo especially, any man who knows how fond the natives are of litigation, must feel the necessity of a native, or rather a mixed, tribunal for the settlement of disputed property. The Dessave is now obliged to decide on thousands of cases between the natives; when these are of little consequence, they may still remain for the decision of the Dessave, say as far as value of 5 rds.—cases of a higher nature may be referred to the Landraad, while those of the most important consideration should be sent for the Governor's more special settlement. The same principle should hold in criminal cases, where fines may be inflicted of the amount of 5 rds. or upwards—at present the more important duties of a Dessave are impeded by these minor occupations, which also require his attention, and which often cause him to consider the

improvement of the province confided to him rather as an additional work than as his chief duty.

One of the principal considerations of any man in high authority in any of the districts of the Island, is, to settle properly the disputes regarding inheritance or landed possessions which so very frequently arise,—the ground is left uncultivated while these disputes last, and the Government receives no revenue from it—the natives would rather destroy an entire crop than suffer a person to derive advantage from it, whom they consider not entitled to it. This shews the necessity of a Thombo, or land-registry, but the native chiefs who obtain profit from the confusion now existing oppose this, and at Matura nine months have already been spent on this task without any marked progress in it. In the Colombo Agency, with the exception of the Hapitigam and Alutcoor Corles, there are either no registries, or very defective ones. Olas and certificates of gifts are now produced which frequently contradict each other, and not seldom are forged when required. This was the case recently when I saw myself compelled, on strong suspicion, to hand over the Modliar Marcus de Silva to a judicial investigation. This would be remedied by a Landraad, in which there would enter so many natives that it would be hardly possible that all would agree so perfectly as to be able to mislead the other members who were less conversant with the language. Such a College would likewise best contribute to the quick formation of a Thombo. In the province of Colombo the Landraad should consist of the Dessave as President, the Fiscal as Vice-President, three other qualified Europeans as members, with a Secretary—and to these should be added the Maha Modliar of the Governor's gate, the Modliar and Interpreter of the Dessave, the second Modliar of the gate, the Modliars and Corales of the Hewagam and Salpitty Corles. These all might be permanent members, and the other Modliars or Mohandirams might be sometimes invited in turn to assist with their advice on special occasions. This Landraad should meet once weekly—whereas the Dessave is obliged to attend to such subjects as might be referred to that court, twice in each week, to the great disadvantage of his other occupations. Two or three days in each month should be set apart for the formation of the Thombo, and all land-owners should be required to produce their title deeds. Each Corle might have a month assigned for the production of its documents which might be examined at leisure and registered if in good order. The land might be classed as paying duty, as parveny, or in any other way, and where title-deeds were wanting, witnesses might be examined to prove property. The de-

cision of the Landraad should be final, except in some special case when the Governor might be advised to allow an appeal to himself and council. By this method true owners would be quieted in their possession, and the Company would also learn what lands were not claimed and therefore belonged to itself and remained at its disposal. At all events a perfect Thombo would be completed.

(He then dilates on the necessity of such a Registry and the best mode of rendering it effective.)

The number of the native headmen should be as limited as possible, and on this account I have omitted to fill up many vacancies which have taken place in recent years—on the other hand, due obedience of the natives to their own headmen should be enforced, and these should impress on the minds of their humbler countrymen deference to their European masters.

The land should be regarded as belonging to the Company by right of conquest, and with all the claims and privileges which their own Kings had. These received tithes from the produce of all private property, and had other advantages which, without any assumption on the part of the Company, yet would render Ceylon a more profitable possession than its other colonies are; and this again shews the necessity of a Thombo.

The Company should never give away land without reserving to itself the *Dude* or *Otto*, which alone would prove its right of sovereignty over the territory given; grants of land might be made to advantage for the encouragement of good services, but never should the Government part with any claims which prove its supreme authority.

He then describes the different qualities of land in respect to the claims of the Company on them—

Malla Pallas—Lands whose owners have died without heirs.

Niele Pallas—Lands abandoned by their owners.

Ratmaharres—Waste and uncultivated lands, which have reverted to the masters of the soil.

Ratninde—*Mottetoe*—Lands cultivated for the profit of the Company—meaning master's land—the first applying to fields—the latter to garden and high lands—which give half to the Company.

Ottoe—Lands giving one-tenth to the Company.

Paravenies—Private lands, also paying a tenth of the produce.

Owittes—High lands only cultivable every 3 or 4 or 6 or 7 years.

Wattoeraves—Low, muddy ground, covered with reeds—only cultivated in dry seasons, being too moist.

Moélaries—High, steep ground, only cultivable after rains.

Dedennies—Sandy plains planted with fine grain—such as korakan, or nacherry, a seed like barley.

Some lands are left untaxed to the *majoraals* or villagers, on condition of their furnishing provisions to the Company's servants or troops when they pass their villages.

The villages Gampaha and Weke, in the Alutcore and Hina corles should not be alienated; they are of too much value to the Company, as furnishing provisions for Negumbo and Hangwelle. M van Imhoff cancelled many grants which had been made at these two places, and resumed them wholly for the Company.

The province of Jaffnapatam is not to be regarded in the same point of view as the southern provinces. It is a kingdom of itself, having inhabitants of a different nation, not being under the authority of the Princes of Kandy, but wholly subject to the Dutch company; its chiefs are those who receive the Company's taxes. In 1738, and 1739, the Surveyor Helt laid down in maps the whole of the northern provinces from Moeselly to the seaside. (Refers to M. Swardecroon's memoir of 1697.)

The inland trade of Ceylon—Arrack, much of which is taken to Batavia; the profit may be reckoned at *f*150,000 (£12,500) yearly; but great care must be taken to prevent smuggling from Kokkelaye and the ports between Trincomalee and Batticaloa, as well as from Walawe. The duties on this article are considerable in the Galle and Matura districts and should be well collected.

There is also a small profit derived from the Chank fishery, Salt is bought and sold on the Company's account—but it gives little profit. The Cinnamon peelers are permitted to provide themselves with this article from the leways on the south east coast of the island. The Chief of the Mahabadde obtains a permission to this effect from Government, and the quantity is always regulated by the greater or smaller collection of Cinnamon which he proves to have taken place. The salt from that coast is fetched by boats which can only go there from December to April; for the rest of the year it is obtained on the western coast from Caymelle northwards. The Company place it as ballast in their boats from the opposite coast—and from Colombo and Galle they provide the people of Kandy with it. Jaffna has sufficient without coming southwards for it.

The trade in Elephants is generally much more important—every year two expeditions for their capture take place in the neighbourhood of Matura—these suffice to obtain what is required, without needlessly taking the people away from agriculture.

From Colombo and Matura 50 beasts may be obtained yearly.

The inhabitants of the Wanny should furnish $50\frac{1}{2}$ on the average, every year.

Those of Mantotte and Wellancoelam may give from 20 to 25—so that we can always depend on having from 110 to 120, of which at least from 100 to 110 remain disposable for sale: which is amply sufficient. The value varies from 100,000 to 130,000 guilders yearly (about £10,000).

The remaining profits of the Company's commerce are derived from the sale of goods imported on their account, but we should only reckon as profit made in Ceylon, that which is derived from the consumption on this Island; what the Government sells for re-exportation cannot be called profit, so far as Ceylon is concerned.

During my government, the average profit derived from the sales of the many small articles consumed here has been from 190 to f217,000 (about £17,000); but as our commerce with the interior extends itself, this branch of income will become more profitable, and what the Company expends in purchases it will get back again by sales.

Ceylon, from its position, might be the warehousing port between Eastern and Western India, but it has been too much the fashion to think that if the people are to be well treated here, the island must remain an expensive settlement for the Company. As an example of this light way of reasoning, I need only refer to the opinion expressed by Mr. Versluys, that the cultivation of pepper in Ceylon could never become advantageous, whereas the Indian authorities now prove that pepper was in former years an article of the greatest profit here, yet even in 1730 the General and Council spoke depreciatingly of its probable success.

I am decidedly of opinion that Ceylon may cover all its expenses by the profits of its produce and trade. Persons of knowledge in these matters reckon that the consumption of pepper might be 200,000lbs., of copper in bars 100,000lbs.; spelter and lead as much more, half as much tin; the greater part of these things are wanted for home use, the rest and even much more might be exported, as the merchants who come here to

purchase elephants are rich and would gladly take with them things easily procurable and of so useful a nature.

One thing might contribute towards an increase of trade; a proper manner of keeping the books, which are now drawn up in too general a way. The accounts sent to Batavia should be very specific; they should shew the receipts and disbursements of each separate province, and the causes of any increase or decrease of income or expenditure. I think it quite unnecessary to send copies of daily accounts, but most requisite to give such summaries as may enable the Company's Directors to make remarks or to require explanations, which may stimulate the idle or encourage the persevering Dessave.

Among the items of income the Farming of the Taxes claims particular notice. In good years this may give *f*170,000 (£14,150); but this sum has so diminished of late years by the low produce of Arrack, that I have caused all the lands between Galkisse and Caltura to be surveyed and laid down on a map, with an idea of distributing those lands to persons who are inclined to plant them with cocoanut trees and to pay Government duties on them. At present nine-tenths of these lands lie waste, from a fear of Cinnamon being rooted out, but the head of the Mahabadde assures me that the growth of Cinnamon does not balance the loss of other produce in any degree. I propose therefore that all licenses to plant, already given by the Dessave, should be withdrawn, in cases where the owners have not availed themselves usefully of the land, and that new grants should be issued of 25 roods in breadth alongside the road and extending inwards, and that such grants should be resumed if the parties to whom they are given do not plant the land in the best possible manner within two years' time.

The ground from Colombo to Caltura might be thus disposed of in shares varying from 40 to 50 roods, each of which shares would enclose a thousand trees at least, and being in the best part of our territory, this would ensure occupation to many industrious persons. Our own gardens at Calawille, Bentotte &c. should be also enlarged by at least a thousand trees yearly.

The tenths also claim notice—these are levied in money in the province of Jaffna, but in the other districts in paddy. I hope in my time to hear that Jaffnapatam needs no import of provisions; it must perhaps be necessary to resume whatever is not properly cultivated, and to introduce an improved method of agriculture, and then the North may feed itself, but in Colombo and Galle this is not to be hoped for, as too much of the best land has been already thoughtlessly given away, or is occupied by the

Cinnamon-peelers of the Company. The other taxes on land vary according to the several districts.

In Jaffna, in addition to the tenths paid in money, the Company receives ground-rents, capitation-taxes, place and adigar taxes—the difficulty is to find honest Collectors.

In Colombo there are also taxes on lands in some places, but not in all—but in Galle and Matura everywhere the watteddoo is collected. This arises from a commutation of the third of every garden, the produce of which was always sold for the benefit of the lord of the soil. Besides this watteddoo, there is the deccum, or head-money; the polayepenam, or tenths of the cocoanuts; the delpanam or net-money; ocroepanam or dhony tax; toepetiepanam, or the return-gift for linen given; and other taxes which are collected in money or in areca-nuts. All these trifling imposts give 1000 rds. in money and as much more in areca-nuts in this dessaveship—the latter on account of their coming from Caltura, where they grow the largest, are much sought for. Besides these several taxes, there are also the Mot-tetoe, Ratninde, and Andê fields, already described—of which the Company receives the half of the paddy. These fields are few in this Dessaveship, but numerous in the Gampaha and Weeke villages, and in the Girewaayes and Raygam. These lands are so fruitful that, under the improved system now contemplated, I think they will yield at least 200 tons of corn for the consumption of the less productive district of Colombo.

These several taxes are important. In addition to the produce of oil, they yield an average of *f*262,800 yearly (£21,900) and their amount has even been *f*400,000 (£33,000), in some years. Last year the amount was *f*472,716 but we must deduct from this *f*100,000 produced by the sale of lands (leaving £31,000.)

The articles of export which remain to be mentioned, are:—

1. Cinnamon, which may be placed at the head of our inland produce, and the circumstances regarding which are amply detailed in the memoir of M. van Rhee, of 25th February 1697; my own reports on the subject are of the date of 1737. It was first prescribed to us that a yearly supply of 1000 bales would be required, but now we have seen that for the Company's stores in India, this year, 1500 bales were found necessary, and that further 200 bales were in demand for Persia and 400 for Coromandel, making with other smaller demands 2100 bales, besides the 8000 always wanted in Europe* The Chalias of Cosgodde, Wellitotte, and Madampe, principally belong to the so called Maha-

* The Bale was then 88lbs.

badde. The first peeling should take place in the early part of April, and this is the greater harvest of the two. These Chalias always are forward with complaints, although they are the best-conditioned of all our Ceylon subjects: and they have constantly some pretext to excuse their own negligence, which is much to be guarded against.

2. 3. Elephants and Arecanuts have already been mentioned.

4. Cardamoms were formerly also produced here, of which 8 or 10,000lbs. are usually demanded by the Company. We have only supplied lately 7600lbs. but last year we sent 9400lbs. The rains in the high lands of Matura have caused the falling-off in quantity; this seed coming principally from those places and from the Kandyan country, or what belongs to Kandy on the confines of the Matura district. The supply is not very regular nor, indeed, is the demand always the same. Our natives prefer that which comes from Malabar to their own growth. At Hangwelle there are some productive shrubs, but perhaps my desire that pepper should be as much as possible cultivated has caused the culture of cardamom to be neglected. I have commanded the Corale of Hangwelle, in whose garden some of these shrubs grow, to spread it by planting the cuttings which the shrub yields abundantly. The advantage to be derived hence is not great, but no source of profit should be neglected by a Governor.

5. Pepper is a far more important article, and, unlike Coffee, it is not probable that the demand will be lessened by a change of opinion as to its salubrity, or by its being overgrown in other places, as all grounds are not able to produce it. Last year we exported 46500lbs.; this year our stock will be larger. At Batticaloa 3 to 4000lbs. have been gathered, rather more at Calpentyn, and here from 7 to 8000lbs. besides the large quantity which we may expect from the Kandyan provinces in April, when that spice is gathered there, its harvest beginning in December and ending in April. With industry we may expect great improvement in this important branch of our commerce.

6. Coffee has been mentioned in my reports to which I refer you.

7. Silk has not been so successful as we anticipated when we began to grow it here.

8. Choya and Ruinas roots are said by the natives to be less valuable here than those produced on the Malabar coast, but from the Island Bendverte towards Jaffna it is produced of a quality not thought to be inferior, the price has been fixed at $8\frac{1}{2}$

dollars the bhar of 480lbs. The price should be raised to 10 or 12 dollars to compensate the growers, this dye being much used in coloring the linen which comes from the Malabar districts.

9. The cloths died red at Jaffna might be sold here and at Batavia with a profit of 40 and 50 per cent, but the quantity prepared is very small. This year the people of Manaar have yielded half as much again as was demanded of them, and this may continue if those sandy plains obtain the rain they require. The Choya and Ruina roots may be mixed in dying, and the cloths which cost about f6. 6, the piece may yield a profit of 3 or 4 Rds. on each bhar of the root which is used in dying; but the growers can now hardly derive a sustenance of dry rice from the price given them for their labor.

10. The Caramanian Goats have been unsuccessfully tried here; that branch of trade is more nominal than real.

11. The cultivation of Indigo is no longer looked upon as an advantageous employment.

12. Chanks are found on our coasts.

13. The Pearl-fisheries of Aripo and Tutucoryn are productive. The income which the Company derives from these must be reckoned as much augmented by the quantity of cloths sold to the people who congregate at the time of the fisheries. But the Company must not hope to have any pearls exported for their profit; the prices go here far beyond the limits of purchase assigned us, and the Moormen even import old pearls by swallowing them and sell them with the profit obtained for new ones. It remains to enquire whether these pearl-fisheries are not more productive in show than in reality. In weighing the disadvantages resulting from them, I point attention first to the expenses of the officers commissioned to superintend them, our soldiers employed at the time, provisions, vessels &c. the chances of misfortune by allowing so many strangers to flock hither who cannot be controlled by the handful of troops whom we send to keep order; the disease generated by bad air and putrified oysters; the rise in the price of provisions; and the smuggling of linen which cannot be prevented and which injures our trade considerably; and the contraband importation of pepper and arecanuts. All these things make me consider a fishery as unprofitable, unless it be on a very large scale. What I would suggest is that we should follow in this respect the same course as with respect to chanks, namely, that boats manned by a limited number of persons should be allowed to fish at certain places for

a fixed time, at a rate previously named, and that there should be no Government fisheries. There is now time to consider this subject, as the banks give no appearance of an immediate fishery taking place, and indeed I am told that on previous occasions the banks have been unproductive for many successive years. In 1732, the fishery was so mismanaged that we have reason to think that the divers from some cause of discontent did not spare the young oysters, and the banks were stripped so bare that we have not had a fishery since.

14. The Maldive boats import Cowries, which also form an article of our trade; it is not a profitable business, but also not expensive, and therefore, even as ballast, cowries are worth sending home. I have fixed the price this year at rds. $2\frac{1}{2}$ the cottie of 24lbs. All that the Maldive Sultan asks in return is to have 50 ammonams of arecanuts at 5 rds. per ammonam, without paying export duties. This I have granted and he has shown his gratitude by sending us a larger quantity of cowries this year than the last. The annual demand from home is 400,000lbs. weight, and we must therefore encourage the Maldive merchants to give us exclusively all they can find. This quantity would sell for $f100,000$ (£8,800,) but yet if we can send home Madura cloths, the vessels need not be filled up with casks of these shells, which yield so disproportionate a profit.

15. We may reckon as the last article of our trade the traffic in cloths imported from Madura and re-exported.

(He then refers to the alarm occasioned by his letter of January 12th 1737, addressed to the seventeen Directors, regarding the state of Ceylon, when he took over the Government, which was very backward from the neglect of preceding Governors.

Proceeding then to the administration of Government he says :)

1. The maintenance of a Clerical establishment should be our first care; (He states this to have been much neglected before his time, and to have met with no encouragement in his own wish to leave it in an improved condition to his successor. He wishes a proper translation of the Bible to be widely circulated, and adds, that though a press was only first set up in Ceylon in May 1737, yet he had managed to print and publish a prayer-book and a communion-service in Singhalese, and three catechisms in Malabar. The four Gospels had also been translated into Singhalese, and he was busy with the task of having the New Testament prepared for the press in Malabar. He had lately obtained a second press which should also be chiefly devoted to

that object. A Dutch Clergyman, two members of the Ecclesiastical council, two Malabar Proponents, and many of the natives learned in the language, were employed in preparing that translation. A revised catechism had been drawn up, and the native youths were encouraged to copy it on olas for their own use. The Psalms had also been translated, and service was performed at Cotta, Caltura and Negombo, and the holy Sacrament duly administered every three months.)

2. The institution most immediately conducive to the preceding object is the Seminary, conducted under the care of a Dutch minister. He and his assistant performed church-duties, and as instructors taught their pupils Latin and Greek in so perfect a manner, that it was astonishing to hear the little black fellows chatter in Latin and construe Greek, when they hardly knew Dutch.

3. Missionaries are much required to spread the word of God in Ceylon. They must know Portuguese, Malabar and Singhalese, and they should be desired to abstain from sending in lists of the converts they have made to Christianity, when they only cause that religion to be ill-understood and ridiculously observed. The Romish priests do the Dutch Company much injury; they are warm and zealous in their opposition to its interests, and very closely united among themselves; and it is my opinion that the Company will never flourish in Ceylon till they are put down by more efficient teachers of our own faith.

4. The administration of Justice should be our next consideration. The highest authority in this respect in the Island, is the Council of Justice held in the Fort of Colombo. It is the High Court of Appeal here, but a further appeal from its decisions is had to Batavia, in civil or criminal cases going beyond certain limits. I have always maintained that those limits were too indulgent, as this people is so very litigious that they will go to the utmost authority without any chance of bettering their cases. (The limit was 300 rds. or £75).

5. The Political Council consists of numerous branches—the College of Orphans the Commissaries of matrimonial cases, the municipal council, the parochial authorities—all are so many petty colleges which unite in one general Council. There are also two other colleges which might be brought under the head of Ecclesiastical matters:—

6. The Ecclesiastical Council, which consists of Preachers, Elders, and Deacons, has authority over Church matters.

7. The Scholarchal College, which is composed of members of the Executive Council and Ministers of the Church, has the Dessave for its President, and a Secretary—its resolutions are submitted to the Governor.

8. The Deaconry—a charitable institution which needs no remark.

9. The Leper-house, which is placed at a convenient position at the mouth of the Mutwal, has its own friends and regents. All persons subject to this disorder are examined by the Medical officers, and sent to that establishment, unless their friends guarantee their being kept from the public view in some retired spot of their own. The Directors of this charity, as well as of the Deaconry, are forced to give an account of their funds and expenditure yearly. There are also Orphan chambers in the other provinces, to which are confided the management of intestate estates, but I have learned by experience that the native chiefs are not the best guardians of such property.

I shall now go over to our Military Establishment. Formerly the number of troops fixed by a regulation for Ceylon was 2,200 men; I think now that 800 men at Colombo and its outposts, 300 at Jaffna and Manaar, 300 at Galle and Matura, 100 at Trincomalee and Batticaloa, 100 for the smaller stations, and 50 at Calpentyne, making a total of 1650, would be plenty in time of peace. But as it happens that we are sometime required to send detachments to the Malabar coast, I would fix the number at 1800 men. In cases of great need we might receive assistance from Batavia, and this would be more advisable than to keep up garrisons and to erect forts, too many of which were built on our first occupying this island. On the other hand, I must say, that in case of war with any European power, we should require at least 2000 men in addition to the number assigned of 2200.

The greatest security of Ceylon is its insular form: I should otherwise dwell largely on the position and state of our fortresses. I refer however to my Journal of 1738 for a report regarding Trincomalee, and to that of 1737 for a description of the bay of Galle. If we had to fear for the safety of Colombo, we ought to have small redoubts at Hulfsdorp and Wolvendahl, where the Portuguese formerly had regular lines, as the old map testifies—for that ridge of high land commands this place on the east, south and north-east, and it may make the town inaccessible from the Lake to the Sea. The same effect might result at the southward from a trench or ravine being

cut at the washers' quarter, where there is a branch of the lake; a redoubt of 40 or 50 roods in length might sufficiently prevent any attack on this fort, if the trees were cut down and no obstacle allowed to exist in the way of the artillery with which that redoubt might be armed. We must remember that the Venetian arsenal has for its motto: "*Felix est civitas quæ tempore pacis de bello cogitat.*"

For our yachts and sloops with which we keep up a communication with the coast, we require a small marine force; in former years we obtained recruits for this service from Batavia, but this reinforcement has ceased, and as we have to furnish occasionally seamen to the ships homeward-bound, we are rather ill provided with this useful force. Our rope-yards are badly manned, we cannot respond to the calls for cables and rigging, particularly since our coir has obtained so good a reputation in the Navy. We are told that cinnamon is strengthened in flavour by being laid on the coir, and we have this year tried its effect by sending that article instead of malabar pepper with a shipment for Batavia.

What we principally require from home is 1stly, specie for our trade here and on the coast. 2ndly, rice for our troops; we formerly required 1000 tons, but owing to our demanding payment of taxes in rice we now only want 400 tons, and that quantity may be lessened to 300 or even a smaller amount. 3rdly, powder, of which we have now 77,811lbs. in store; but we ought to have twice that quantity at Colombo alone, and 20,000lbs. for the other fortresses. Our own mills are out of repair, or they might yield us 100,000lbs. yearly: indeed we have had from them even lately 33,500lbs. in four months. If those mills were properly repaired, we might supply our own wants and increase our trade by the superfluous produce of this article, especially if mills were set up at Galle and Jaffna.

Our expenses are increased by a too great number of inferior servants, who are not zealous because their work is insufficient; we have also too many workmen on the Company's account. Great reductions might be made with good effect. This will now soon take place under the order from Batavia of 1737, which order is founded on the Report which I gave in, as the Commissioner of Inquiry both here and on the coast. I have principally remarked that we have too many clerks; we should get on better with fewer, who would then be more efficient. I was the more persuaded of this when I made my tour of the Island in 1738. The principle of giving employment, to assist private parties at the expense of the public, has caused our

offices to swarm with useless clerks; and the cost of these men has made us reduce the number of soldiers and sailors, who are much more necessary than they are. I have myself erred in retaining too many of these persons, but on the other hand, I can boast of having commenced a reform here in Colombo, where I have dismissed some of these writers from each office, recommending to those that remained to be more industrious, and suggesting to those that were dismissed to enter our army or navy, where I found them employment, unless they preferred to be altogether free from the service. At Galle and Jaffna, the same principle has, at my desire, been acted upon. The artificers and workmen should also be reduced in number as soon as the extra works now on hand wil allow of this being done. We have since 1729 increased the number of our workmen on fixed pay from 70, 80 or 90, to 180 and even 190, which cannot have been required by the small increase of work to be executed. I am rather inclined to believe that a better order of things existed then than now prevails. There should be a regular system in this respect, which would leave the Governor nothing to grant or to refuse, and then his good nature would not be put to the test. I would therefore suggest—

1. That no person should be admitted into the Company's service, even as a clerk, under any other classification than as a soldier or a sailor. He should not receive more than 9 florins (15s.) if under 15 years of age; if under 12, only 7 or 8 florins, and if of a less age, only 5 or 6 florins; he should be engaged for 10 years, and when half that time had expired, he might then receive the highest rate of salary (9 florins) for the remaining 5 years.

2. It should be reckoned a sufficient favor to be introduced into the Company's service, and no young man, even of European parents, should be allowed to ask for more than his 9 florins and the usual rations, even if he made himself ever so useful at his pen, or in the workshop; and he should not be allowed to give up the service under five years after having entered it.

3. European descendants should be preferred as clerks, but if any person whatever be removed from one branch of the service to the other, he should still complete the time of his engagement, without increase of pay.

4. With respect to the clerks, a person coming from Europe, and having completed his time, should be re-engaged for five years as an assistant at 24 florins (£2), if he gave proof of

competency and industry, receiving the same rations as previously. We find at present all kinds of youths engaged for indefinite periods and at different rates of salary. When they have completed the time of their second engagement, they might be again enlisted at 30 florins (£2. 10.) for 3 years, as Book-keepers—having already served the Company 15 years.

5. A more strict arrangement should take place to secure competent artificers for our workshops.

6. There should be a difference made with respect to native clerks, in which designation I include all persons born in India without distinction. They can begin the service at an earlier period than persons coming from Europe—they should serve from 5 to 12 or 15 years for 8 or 9 guilders monthly, and then should be re-engaged for 3 years as temporary assistants at 16 or 20 guilders—after which for 5 years as permanent assistants, at 24 guilders (£2) and then for 5 years longer as Book-keepers at the usual salary of *f*30 (£2. 10.), with proportionate rations. An industrious youth would go through these steps in 18 years, and be then only 30 years old, at which age he would have received for the last 5 years more florins monthly than he could number years, and his term of service would be only five years longer than that of an European, who could not enter into an engagement at so early an age as himself.

7. The work-people should be engaged in a similar manner, but as they are more useful, their increase of pay in the several steps should be an augmentation by one-half of the pay of the step they quit. And persons born in India, having not the same inducement as persons coming from Europe to return home, should not be put on a footing with the latter. They should, on the contrary, be considered as having attained the summit of their ambition when they have obtained the last of the abovementioned steps in the service.

The Company is as much a mercantile as an administrative association, and the former character should not merge so entirely in the latter, as to prevent our taking care of the pecuniary interests of our masters. This Island has not been profitable to the Company from a want of due economy—our last return of income and profits amounted to *f*1,311,754 (£109,313) but our expenses exceeded that of former years by *f*171,003 (£14,250) which shews that our economy does not keep pace with our industry.

We may divide our profits in the following manner:

We receive from our dependencies on the coast	<i>f</i> 165,600	£ (13,800)
From our profits on the Cloth Trade	<i>f</i> 100,000	(8,333)
From Areca-nuts, on an average	<i>f</i> 150,000	(12,500)
{ though these have produced } { from 220,000 to 280,000 } { florins in some years }		
Our elephant-trade yields an average of.....	<i>f</i> 120,000	(10,000)
in 1709 it gave <i>f</i> 215,479 (£18,000;) in 1710, { <i>f</i> 229,251 (£19,100) and in } { 1715 <i>f</i> 266,907 (£22,242) } { but those were extraordinary } years.....		
Cinnamon may be reckoned at..	<i>f</i> 150,000	(12,500)
The Taxes produce on an average	<i>f</i> 160,000	(13,333)
Other smaller sources of income give	<i>f</i> 200,000	(16,666)
Our sale of Carratchy and other smaller places has given us this year an income from the Land belonging to the Company of <i>f</i> 472,716 (£39,400)—but deducting this extraordinary aid, we may reckon our income from Lands at the yearly sum of	<i>f</i> 350,000	(29,167)
TOTAL..		<i>f</i> 1,395,600 (116,300)

We have to place against this income our list of expenses, which we will reckon not at what they now are, but at what they might be under proper management.

We must hope that the number of our servants will be reduced to what it formerly was, and then, although we now spend in allowances and rations &c. *f* 231,552 (£19,300) we may compute that item of expense at..... *f* 180,000 (15,000)

Many outlays which cannot be classified, go under the general head of Ordinary Expenditure, and though these have been lat-

terly far above that amount, yet we may reduce our Military stores, our Stationery, Hospital expenses &c. and bring this item down to.....	<i>f</i> 110,000	£ (9,166)
I would reckon the extraordinary expenses at	<i>f</i> 35,000	(3,000)
Repairs of Fortresses may be reckoned at	<i>f</i> 30,000	(2,500)
Ships' Crews and expenses of our little Navy	<i>f</i> 200,000	(16,666)
The general pay of Heads of Departments, Civilians, Military, Navy, &c. must be reckoned at	<i>f</i> 500,000	(41,600)
We spend in presents and gifts of various kinds.....	<i>f</i> 40,000	(3,333)
Sundry non-enumerated charges.....	<i>f</i> 30,000	(2,500)
		<hr/>
	TOTAL..	<i>f</i> 1,225,000 (102,100)
		<hr/>
	or say..	<i>f</i> 1,250,000 (104,166)
		<hr/>

Thus we see, with a little management, there may be a tolerably good balance in the Company's favour; and although Ceylon must not be regarded as a profitable settlement, yet it will not be by any means a burthen.

There have been four changes of opinion respecting this Island: In the first place, it was regarded as a jewel in the Company's coronet, and so much fuss was made about it, that it resembled the tulips of Holland which have a nominal price that they seldom realize.

Then came a change. All was to be done through indulgence and kindness. Lands were given away which the Company might have kept; harbours were thrown open, which were once strictly guarded: and yet the jewel Ceylon did not shine with the lustre expected.

The third period then opened on us. Indulgence made way for oppression: one Governor's little finger was thicker than the loins of his predecessor, and the Island assumed an appearance which would have made it indeed a burthen to the Company. The harbours were closed, every small source of profit was greedily snapped at, and this state of things continued until the death of Governor Rumph.

I changed again this system, and applied myself to improve agriculture and turn our possessions to profit. I have collected the Company's revenue conscientiously, yet indulgently. I have not tried to force the fruits of the Island, which will with care grow naturally. I shall not enlarge on other subjects with which this memoir might be lengthened; for example, it is unnecessary to speak about 400 bales of Cinnamon sent in exchange for Malabar cloths &c. All these things will soon be learned by my successor and anything else which I may have omitted.

G. W. VAN IMHOFF.

Colombo, 12th March, 1740.

IV.

CEYLON IN 1762.

 SUMMARY OF THE MEMOIR LEFT BY GOVERNOR SCHREUDER FOR
 THE GUIDANCE OF HIS SUCCESSOR L. J. VAN ECK.

IN drawing up this Memoir, Mr. Schreuder follows a general rule imposed on all Governors, by the Company, that they should not hand over the administration of affairs without instructing their successors in all that might be useful. He refers to the successive memoirs of the Governors Maatzuyker 1650 R. Van Goens, 1663, the Directors at Batavia, 1664, the same R. Van Goens, 1675, R. Van Goens jun. 1679, Peil 1692, Van Rheede 1697, De Simonsz 1707, Bekker 1716, Pielaat 1734, Van Imhoff 1740, Overbeek 1743, Van Gollenesse 1751, Van Loten 1757—and to the papers carefully set apart during his own Government.

“The legal possession of Ceylon by the Dutch is not to be disputed either by foreign nations or by the Ceylonese themselves; it rests on a contract with the king, in which the Dutch performed their part, and on the right of conquest. Laurens Almeida, admiral in the service of the king of Portugal Don Emmanuel, cruizing with nine ships off the Maldives, came here by chance in the year 1505. The Portuguese were already known here by their deeds of arms, and the king of Cotta, Aboe Negaboe Pandar, the mightiest of the native Princes, sent to Almeida an embassy with presents, which were acknowledged by the return of a deputation and gifts from Almeida to the king. A contract was entered into, by which the king engaged to pay a yearly tribute of Cinnamon to Portugal, and in testimony of this he erected a stone pillar with an inscription bearing that Laurens Almeida had taken possession of the island in the name of his Sovereign Master Don Emmanuel, king of Portugal; that the king of Cotta freely gave it up, and confessed that he was no longer master of it. In pursuance of this contract, in 1517, Lopes Suarez erected hastily a fort at Colombo, which was completed soon after by

Lopes Brit, and afterwards they rendered themselves masters of all the sea-coast, and of the several ports of the Island. The son of Aboe Negaboe Pandar was Don João Perie Pandar—he succeeded his father as Emperor of Ceylon, and was converted to the Roman Catholic religion. His tombstone is till this day seen in our Dutch Church, and bears an inscription stating that he, in the year 1580, by will bequeathed the whole empire of Ceylon to the Portuguese monarch Don Henry. This legacy was maintained by the Portuguese; they called the succeeding monarchs of this Island kings of Kandy, but not of Ceylon, as may be seen by another contract concluded in 1633 between them and the king of Kandy. When Don João died, his subjects swore fealty to the Portuguese monarch, and the king of Kandy, Hina Pandar, engaged to pay yearly a tribute of two tusked elephants, as a token of his sincerity. In 1602, however, in the time of the Kandyan king Don Juan, Joris Van Spilbergen came to the east of the Island, and offered that king the friendship and alliance of Prince Maurice and the States-General of Holland, which were accepted, and an answer was returned that if the Dutch would build a fort in the Kandyan country, he, his queen, and children would carry the materials on their shoulders. Spilbergen went to Atchin, having first been honored with presents, and leaving two deputies with the king. Sebald de Weerd came in 1603 with seven ships, concluded a treaty with the king, but lost his life in a quarrel at Kandy. Prince Cenuweerat Adasava when he ascended the throne, took the name of Cama Pati Mahadaseyn, and himself sought the friendship of the Dutch. In 1612 Marcellus Boschhouwer concluded a second treaty, which, among other things, excluded all foreigners but the Dutch from trade with this island. In 1638 our alliance was again requested by Raja Singha, and Adam Westerwold entered into a further treaty, engaging to protect Kandy against the Portuguese, and receiving admission for the Dutch to the exclusive trade with Kandy, and further the promise that if we succeeded in driving the Portuguese from the sea-coast, he would acknowledge us as his friends, allies, and the lawful owners of those districts. In consequence of this treaty, we took Batticaloa from the Portuguese, with whom we were then at war, in 1638. In 1639 we took Trincomalee, in 1640 Negombo and Galle, in 1655 Caltura, in 1656 Colombo, and in 1658 first Manaar, and then Jaffnapatam. When we had taken these places from them, on the occasion of the next peace, the Portuguese recognized our lawful sovereignty both here and over the places in India of which we had become masters, and our mutual allies acknowledged us as such. I refer to the treaty of 1609 between the States-General and the Por-

tuguese Princes the Archduke Albert, and the Infanta Isabella, Clara Eugenia of Spain: that of 1641 concluded at the Hague between Don John of Portugal and the States-General, the additional treaty of 1645, the treaty of peace of 1648 between Philip IV, of Spain, and the States-General, and the treaty of 1661 between the king of Portugal and our masters. Therefore, as the king of Kandy has specially recognized our sovereignty over the lands which we hold, and as they are defined and their limits are stated in special agreements, and as he sends embassies to us as to his equals, and as this order of things has existed a century already, in spite of occasional attacks on the part of the Kandyans, we must be recognized as indisputably the masters of the places we hold, and indeed we might claim the 7 Korles, 4 and 3 Korles, and Saffragam, as having been possessed by the Portuguese—and, they being expelled, as having devolved on the Company. We are fairly entitled to keep Ceylon, as we won it, namely, by the sword. To render this possession as profitable as possible, we must take advantage of all its opportunities of trade and collect our taxes in the best way we can devise. This island is the key of our Indian possessions westward, and we have here more real extent of land than in any other part of these westerly dominions of the Company. Cinnamon is nowhere to be found in quantity or in quality as it is here—the Portuguese were first attracted by that article of trade and the Dutch are now more intent on this than any other object. The collection is not so easy as is generally imagined—we have every year the annoyance of asking permission to peel the shrubs in the Kandyan country—the Chalias are also very untractable, and they are constantly seduced from their duty by the Kandyans. It is to be regretted that our own Cinnamon grounds produce so little as to render us dependent on Kandy for the supply required; and the King knows this so well that, whenever he commences his system of annoyance, his first attack is on our Cinnamon grounds near his limits. One great duty of every Governor should be to extend our plantation; we have already completed in a few instances our shipments without having recourse to Kandy, and might do so constantly, with a proper degree of attention.” (He refers to the despatches of 1757 on this subject. He enlarges on the many ways in which the King of Kandy annoys the Dutch—and points out the necessity of strengthening themselves on the coasts and securing the trade of the interior by force, if it be refused.) “The Forts already existing are many, but the distance between them is too great. We should have one at Matura, one at the river Waluwe, one at Cotyaer, one at Mulletivo and one at Odem”

pacara or Chilaw—those in the interior may be done away with, for if we keep for ourselves an open path into the Kandyan provinces, the natives can make little resistance, their jingalls being their chief strength." (He wishes the sea-force to be augmented: the crews should be 2000 men at least.)

"Measures should also be taken to raise troops in the island, as the men from Europe seldom come out sufficiently drilled and the artillerymen are very incompetent for their duty. Nor have we Engineers—and as for the *Surveyors*, we are so badly provided with them, that we have never been able to get our own lands surveyed, leave alone that we cannot prevent disputes among the natives respecting their boundaries: their number is too few, and with the exception of the Surveyor-General who has just come from Europe, there is hardly one who can go beyond the first rules of his art, or knows more in theory than he does in practice."

He enters very fully into the means to be adopted to secure quiet with Kandy. He wishes a new treaty to be entered into, and among other matters the prices of the things to be fixed which are to be procured thence. "I am of opinion that if we agree to pay the Kandyan Court 8 rds. for a bale of 88lbs. of Cinnamon, we shall easily settle other matters to our satisfaction. For elephants we should pay them the same as we pay the Waniyas for those which they give beyond their tribute. For a pound of pepper with the overweight of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, we should give 4*d.* a pound: of coffee without any overweight 2*d.*: for an ammonam of Arecanuts containing 26,000 nuts, 3 to 4 rds., for 100 lbs. pure wax 25 rds. But though we may give these prices to the Kandyan Court, we still should make our own Chalias give the annual quantity,—but I am of advice that we should pay them by the bale, instead of giving them cloths and rations, and not allow them any longer to enter private gardens for the Cinnamon, but they should peel only in the mokelanes or jungle. The price we should give our own people should not exceed 6 rds. for 88 lbs. and at this price they should engage to yield a certain fixed quantity. It would have a good effect if we gave up our right to enter private lands, for it must be apparent that now the natives are induced to root out what grows on their ground; if we left it to themselves to peel and bring it in at the fixed price abovementioned, we should have a chance of obtaining as much as we want without having recourse to Kandy." [The Batavian Government ordered M. van Eck to plant Cinnamon on the Company's account at Pelligore or some other place, commencing with 10,000 bushes.]

The 4th chapter gives an account of the succession of the Kandy monarchs from 1,400 upwards—this island was a possession of the Carnatic kings, and pledged by them to Princes of the southern end of India. An account of the Theuver, the princes of Travancore, the Sultan of the Maldives, &c. follows: The Maldivian islands are well known; they have a coin of their own, and the Sultan's residence is at Bodderode; they send a yearly embassy to the Dutch in Ceylon with presents of cowries and other trifles.

“Ceylon has its native chiefs as well as Dutch Dessaves: the former cannot be depended upon, but yet they are for the present indispensably necessary to the Company. They must be cautiously chosen, for there are few good men among them, their descent must be carefully regarded as well as their private characters &c. It would be well to make the post hereditary, but to punish the evil-disposed by depriving them and their families of rank. The common people are lazy, stupid and poor, yet proud. The lowest castes are most attached to the Dutch, but they must be compelled to perform the duties which are imposed upon them; all the petty chiefs should be registered and their numbers limited. All disputes should be settled by the Dutch chiefs or by the Landraad.

Most of the Singhalese have service-lands given them by the Company, which are called Paravenias and Accommodesans—the former go to their wives and families: the latter to those who follow them in their employments. Some of the Singhalese have no share of land. Strangers must do oeliam duty. The Revenues are farmed, but no Modliar, Coraal, or Moorman, is allowed to be a rent-holder.

The Paddy rent consists of the Company's tenths, and of half of its own lands; any grounds taken without permission for cultivation pay half the produce. This is complained of, but permission is never refused, and therefore if a man will not ask for what he wants he is justly taxed hardly. There are few lands regularly surveyed. In the Colombo district the lands which have been surveyed are, the villages of Kalloebowille, Heywille, Pallidore, Nendemale, Nienesse, Pepliane; in the *Salpitty Korle*, Kandane, Attedie, *Galkisse*, Kargampitty, Atterapolle, Wattermoele, Timbirigasjaye, Noengegodde, Paggodde, Gangadawille, Killepane, and Ratmalane, of which all the gardens, fields and jungles, are divided into portions. The Pearl-fisheries of Aripo, between Manaar and Calpentyn, and between Calpentyn, and Negombo—those of Tutucoreen between Wallemoekar and Coertale, with the islands. The salt-river in the Jaffna district. These sur-

veys have taken place in my time; my predecessors caused to be surveyed in Colombo, the Vidahn lands in the village of Weeke in the Hina korle of the Oedegahapattoo, the fields of Gampaha in the Alutcoor korle of the Raygampattoo, the fields of the Pannebakkery in the Pallapattoo of the Hewagam korle, the village Attadie in the Pallapattoo of the Salpitty korle, the fields of the village Kalany, in the Gangabadapattoo of the Hina korle, the Moor and Chitty quarters in the four gravets, the greater parts of the village Paloewe in the Mendepattoo of the Hina korle, the fields of Raygam with the villages in the Adikarepattoo of the Raygam korle. The gardens to the west of the road between Galkisse and the Caltura river, which are in the Pallepattoo of the Salpitty korle, and in the Adikarepattoo of the Raygam korle.

In Manaar, the Giants' tank, or Kattoekarre and Tekeum in the country of Nanatan; in Matura the Dolosdas korle; in the Girewaaypattoo, the fields of Marrekadde, Kahawatte, Konoekettie, Kanne and Wallasmoelle.

The limits between Galle and the Belligam korle.

The pepper grounds planted by the Dessave de Jong, on the east side of the fort of Matura in the village Makawitte, the mountains called Agerlande, also prepared by that Dessave for a pepper plantation in the Battoewitte of the Gangabodapattoo. The lands on the east of the fortress of Matura in the Oedoewe Baygam, the lands of Palladoewe in the same situation.

In the Galle district the fields of the Vidahn village of Karagodde in the Galle korle under the Talpepattoo, Kotoewedde and Imedoewe.

It is not an easy matter to survey lands here, for the natives have offered opposition to our Surveyors entering their fields, but we must encourage them by double pay to work when the natives are not laboring on their lands. I am informed that within the last 25 or 30 years, the number of fields brought into cultivation by the natives has increased from 12,000 to nearly 30,000, in this dessaveship alone, and that some Singhalesses have from 10 to 30 gardens each, part of which they have obtained legally, but the greater part without permission from this Government. This should be enquired into."

(He then gives a long description of the divisions of the Jaffna district.) It was contemplated to construct dykes at the salt river, but this was thought to be too difficult a task; that work would have been useful, as the river now spoils several cultivable fields.

Governor van Imhoff agreed to pay the Wannias for elephants above their tribute, 300 Rds. for a male and 250 for a female, but as the selling prices have diminished, I have been forced to reduce those rates of payment, when the beasts are under $5\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high, and to order that none under 4 cubits should be received for the tribute. The Thombos of the Colombo and Galle Corles are complete—but those of Jaffna not in so perfect a state. The Portuguese had a land and head Thombo, we found the latter but the former is missing. The land Thombo, should be renewed every 15 years and the head thombo every three years. In 1759 I had the satisfaction to see completed the Thombo of a part of the Salpitty korle of the Whoby, the Pasdow, and a portion of the Wallawetty korle, the remaining portions being under the Galle district, and I drew up instructions for the Thombo keeper, that those Thombos might be kept in order. The Thombo keeper is under the Governor's sole control, and he may make no alteration in the Registers without express permission. The natives are glad to see this task done, but the Modliars throw obstacles in its way. The Matura Thombo is yet in a very unfinished state, although it has been in progress since 1741. The Morruwe korle, 2 villages of 4 gravets, ten of the seignory of Belligam, 3 of the Belligam korle, and 96 of the Girewayepattoo and the rest of that valuable province are not surveyed; since the Kandyans destroyed Matura the old Portuguese Thombo has been missing as well as the portion above-mentioned which we had prepared.

A correct Thombo of this kind would assist us in collecting our revenues: a Parawany garden purchased pays no duty; one given pays the same duty as gardens planted with leave, service paravenies bind the tenants to perform duty according to their rank. Taxed paravenies pay either money or perform service. Free paravenies are wholly unburthened, accommodessans or dirvel gardens are given, when fields are wanting. Mulapale gardens or those which have reverted by death to the Company, are always taxed when again given away, and the same holds with the Nielepale or abandoned gardens. Gardens planted with permission pay one-third, and those without permission one-half of the produce." (He then enlarges on the subject of the Registry and states that to induce the poorer orders to assist in forming it, all gardens which paid from 20 styvers to 1 were excepted, and yet they were adverse to this taxation and would rather pay so much yearly. The areca trees should also be registered, some pay the tax in a share of the nuts, others in money. The Colombo District had no registry of these trees, but Galle and Matura had.

He recommends with regard to Cinnamon, that the gardens should be increased as much as possible; the penalties on destroying the shrub should be enforced; the present gardens should be surveyed.) "In my time the quantities peeled have been as follows:"

.....	1751—7502 $\frac{3}{10}$	=600172
	1752—7671	=609280
	1753—7831	=626480
	1754—8089	=647130
	1755—8127	=650160

Making in the first five years, a total of
Bales 39,1653 $\frac{3}{10}$ =3,133,212lbs.

or an average of 7833 $\frac{3}{10}$ Bales, or 626,642 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.

In	1757—5891	=551280
	1758—5057	=404560
	1759—8128	=650240
	1760—8254	=669320
	1761—8741	=699280

Making in the last five years of my Government a total of Bales 37071=2,965,680lbs.

or an average of Bales 7414 $\frac{1}{4}$ =593,136lbs.

We have records shewing that the quantity delivered from 1658—9 to 1669 averaged per year 6683 bales, although, from disturbances or other causes, in seven years no single bale was shipped. We reserve 1000 bales for our Indian friends, and send to Holland all the rest that we can collect. The Captain of the Mahabadde receives a gift of ten guilders (16s. 8d.) for each bale which he sends in over and above the demand of 6000; and he has lately received increase of rank. With respect to packing cinnamon, that which is destined for Holland should be put up in cow-hides if they can be got; otherwise in double gunnies. I was lately assured that coir bags are best adapted for packing cinnamon, and that the Portuguese always used them. I am told the origin of the Challias, or Cinnamon peelers, was this: Their ancestors were linen-weavers on the coast and belonged to a good caste. In 1250, seven of these men came here among the Moormen dealers, and were kept at the Kandyan Court, but getting tired of their trade, they were disgraced and placed in a low caste. At that time they had increased in number considerably, and when they were sent from the upper to the lower country, the King of Cotta received them and gave them Dekkum villages to live in and

cultivate, for which they paid head-money; this was in 1380. In 1406, they fell again into disgrace and were then ordered to peel cinnamon for their support; in the same manner as some of the native castes already did. The Portuguese increased their *angebade* or tax of labour; but gave them as a compensation for the time passed in the jungle 2 parrabs of rice and 12lbs. of salt fish, or money instead of those rations, and from 24 to 30 cubits of linen. We have kept them to the same duty, making such arrangements as suited our purposes.

We have enforced the rule that the original Chalias shall not marry into families of higher rank, that their families may not be exempt from the father's duty; this is a common usage among the natives, and with respect to the Chalias we have added the weight of our authority to compel its observance. The number of those employed at cinnamon peeling is as follows:

2749	Peelers
2077	Dekkum-karreas
5	Modliars
7	Mohandiram
25	Aratchies
60	Canganies
1754	Lascoryns
12	Hoelwalaise
105	Paneass
<hr/>	
6794	Persons.
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Cinnamon-oil is distilled from the cinnamon itself; two members of the Council of Justice superintend the operation to prevent fraud.

Pepper was once cultivated here, by the Company's desire, with much diligence; it has latterly been collected with less care, for it appears it was thought that if the Company obtained so much here, the demand for it on the Malabar coast would be lessened, and the surplus would fall into the hands of our rivals in trade, and the price of it be lessened in Europe; the growth will not be very speedily revived; it has been so long neglected; but if it be desired to renew it, we should accept whatever is brought in by the Natives and encourage them by prompt payment and speedy shipment. Raising the price of an article has more effect with them than harsh mea-

tures; 1d. per lb. should be given. The following quantities have been yielded in my time:

1751—	2—	lbs.	226240 $\frac{1}{2}$
1752—	3—	—	47564
1753—	4—	—	198494
1754—	5—	—	87388
1755—	6—	—	144490
1756—	7—	—	243521
1757—	8—	—	137173
1758—	9—	—	298218
1759—	60—	—	218252
1760—	1—	—	199282

1,086,446 an increase, in 5 years, of lbs. 372,268 $\frac{1}{2}$

Coffee is a cultivation to which the Natives had been with great difficulty induced to attend; and unfortunately when at last, in 1739, we had brought matters so far as to obtain from this island 100,000lbs., the supply from Java and the West Indies became so large that our prices here could not be maintained, and we were forced insensibly to let this article of produce slide from us, or at least not to urge it on the Natives in any manner whatever; in fact, we reduced our buying prices from 5 to 2 stuivers, which was scarcely a rate to give compensation for the trouble of growing coffee. The disturbances at Java, however, have had a bad effect on their cultivation, and we have been ordered again to encourage the growth here, and to receive all that is offered us for purchase: this state of things should be kept up, at least we should never have in store less than what is sufficient for one shipment.

Cardamoms are also grown here; there are two kinds, that produced from plants brought from the Malabar coast, and the native Singhalese. Both sorts are bought by us at the same price, viz., two and two-fifth stuivers per lb.; but although we had in the Hina, Hewagam and Pasdoon Corles 64747 plants of the first kind, they have been so much injured by the ants that the seed has become worthless, and we have given up our demand of it, still receiving whatever the Natives bring in of their own growth. We have raised our buying prices of the Singhalese Cardamoms on this account to 4 stuivers, in order to encourage the Natives to grow it, and especially the Kandyans, in whose lands it is chiefly produced. Our own subjects of the Galle and Matura districts yield us the greatest quantity; none is grown as yet in the province of Colombo.

Areca-nuts grow here and in the Kandyan provinces; we obtain them at a low price, and in many places in payment of taxes. We purchase them here by the ammonam, at from 7 to 4 guilders; at Caltura and Negombo we pay 6 guilders, (10s.) and we receive them in exchange for other commodities at Calpentyne, at *f*4. 16.=(8s.)

When we receive the nuts as an equivalent for money, we reckon the ammonam at Negombo, Caltura, Galle and Matura at rd. $1\frac{1}{2}$ at the first two places, and at $\frac{1}{2}$ rds. (2. 10.) only at the two last. Some areca trees grow to the north of this island, and all that is produced is sent here. We sell these nuts to the native boatmen at Galle and Calpentyne, by whom they are conveyed to the coast and exchanged for rice and linen. We receive *f*12. 8. (£1. 1.) for those grown at Colombo— (£2. 1.) for those of Galle and Matura, and *f*18. 4. (£1. 10. 4.) for those of Calpentyne, per ammonam; which is a considerable profit. The coast boats which come to Trincomalee wish to receive cargoes of this produce, and I cannot tell the cause of its not having been permitted. Smuggling would be prevented, and we have always sufficient to load three or four boats there. The quantity now produced does not equal what it formerly was; our English competitors on the coast get so large a quantity from Atchin which they sell cheaper than we do, that we are partly driven from the market. I have been authorized to reduce the purchase price by 1 or 2 rds., and also to send cargoes to Surat, which, together with the prevention of smuggling, will have a good effect on this branch of trade.

It has been suggested to the Company to throw this trade open and to allow parties to export areca-nuts from certain parts where a fixed tax may easily be collected. We should then save the expense of keeping up cruizers to prevent smuggling, pack-houses, collectors, and many other charges. I am opposed to this change, which I cannot persuade myself would be productive of any good.

Choya-root, for dying red, grows in the northern province, and on the coast, and I am assured that an equally good quality may be found between Negombo and Caltura, but the Natives will not dig for it; they are afraid, if once they undertake the labour, it will be forced upon them as a constant duty: and as the northern provinces produce as much as we require, we do not care to oblige them to commence the work. The best sort grows on the island of Amsterdam and Delft; then follows that of Manaar; that from the coast is so inferior that we have al-

ready authorized our officers there to abandon the growth of it, and to sell by public sale whatever is in store. The inhabitants dig for it, as a service which they are bound to perform. When I went to Jaffna, I raised the quantity which the Adigar had to furnish from 19000lbs. to 28500, and that which the Adigar of Manaar sent in from 30,000lbs. to 45,000.

We once obtained for the same use ruina-roots from Persia, but they are found at Amsterdam, although of a less bright colour.

Salt gives us a considerable profit, and is found here in abundance, especially in the king's country, from the east of the Batticaloa river to that of Waluwe, on the southern part of the whole province of Uwa, and on the north of Negombo towards Calpentyn. Wherever the king's lands extend to the sea, we find enclosures squared for the collection of salt, into these the sea-water is admitted, and the salt carefully prepared.

In the Jaffna province there is an abundance for the inhabitants. It is also plentifully found at Calpentyn, and to the south of the island at leways in the Girewaypattoo and at Matura. But most of our salt is brought from Tutucoreen, and to encourage the importation from that place, I have raised the purchase price from *f*1. 10. to *f*1. 14. the parrah (*2s.* 6*d.* to *2s.* 10*d.*) The salt of our leways is given to the Chalias who perform their duty properly, they fetch it in dhonies and take it to their villages, but we must guard against smuggling, which on this account becomes so very easy.

The only grain collected here on the Company's account is paddy, or rice in the husk, in which the cultivator pays his tax. We receive 800 tons yearly from Batavia, but this not being sufficient for our consumption, we purchase it also from the coast-boatmen and even from English ships. We once had so much grain here that there was generally a surplus for sale, and we commuted our tax into a money-payment. We now pay *f*56. 6. per ton (£4. 13. 10.) having given in former times from *f*36 to 48 (£3 to 4.)

Tobacco grows chiefly at Jaffnapatam, Trincomalee and Negombo; most of it is consumed on the Malabar coast, but we once exported it to Holland, but this was abandoned as it took up more room in our ships than its profit was equivalent to, and we locked up more capital in the trade than it was worth to us. The sum which we receive from selling the monopoly of the exportation from all the three places

abovementioned is so considerable as to merit our paying great attention to it.

We obtain building materials, viz. wood, lime, and stone, from Jaffna, Batticaloa and Calpentyn; yet we receive planks, beams, hoofs and knees from Batavia yearly for our work-shops.

Our other smaller products are tamarinds, jaggery, coir, ar-rack, cocoanut-oil, Manaar butter, and precious stones, all of which are treated on in preceding memoirs to which I can add nothing of value.

Our Pearl Fisheries are at Aripo, Tutucoreen, Chilaw and Jaffnapatam, (the three last scarcely worth noticing.)

In 1750 we farmed the fishery in the bay of Trincomalee for $\text{f}6960$ (£580).

The banks of Caymelle, Chilaw and Jaffnapatam should be inspected once every three years. At Tutucoreen, if we follow the same course and do not disturb the oysters by inspecting them too frequently, we might expect to have three fisheries in every ten years. I regret to say that in my government no fishery has taken place at Tutucoreen or Aripo, I therefore refer to preceding memoirs as to what took place in the days of my predecessors. I shall merely add that when M. van Imhoff showed the advantage which the Company would derive from a change of its system, and by farming out the fishery instead of conducting it on its own account, the Government of Batavia adopted his advice and let the fishery on duly defined conditions.

	<i>f.</i>	£	s.	d.
In 1746 The Aripo fishery gave	57200	=	4766	13 4
1747	256800	=	21400	0 0
1748	462960	=	38580	0 0
1749*	820500	=	68375	0 0
1753	76320	=	6360	0 0
1754	17628	=	1469	0 0
1747 The Tutucoreen fishery gave	60000	=	5000	0 0
1748	114720	=	9560	0 0
1749	63600	=	5300	0 0

These banks should not be inspected oftener than once in three years. In general, respecting our Pearl-fisheries, I particularly recommend that the banks never should be stripped too bare,

(* This large fishery seems to have caused 4 years' stand-still, and subsequent failures.) L.

or disturbed too often, for that which is called a good and valuable fishery can never compensate for the loss we sustain by the banks not being in a state to be fished upon for many years following. If we plague the young oysters, our profit from this source may wholly cease, but we should be content with three fisheries in ten years, as I have already said.

The stamp-pearls are the mis-shapen or useless ones, together with the broken matter or powder sifted on the sea-shore. These are employed in the China trade, and are sometimes sent to Holland. The Company farms the right of exclusive sifting, and at one time $82\frac{1}{16}$ lbs. of the material was collected.

Chunks are found off Manaar and Calpentyn, the best are on the opposite coast, there are 5 different sizes; this fishery is also now farmed out.

Another sea-produce is the *Roggevelen* or skin of a fish named Roche; it is found off Tutucoreen, Manaar and Calpentyn, and exported hence to Japan.* A sample for our guidance has been sent here from that country, the size is not reckoned an advantage, but they should be smooth, and have large round head-like knobs on the back. We have as yet done very little in this article, but now that it is in demand, our fishers may be encouraged to take trouble about it.

The Ceylon elephants are held in such esteem that we do much trade in them. We obtain them as tribute, or by purchase, or by having kraals on our own account. I have already said that we receive them as tribute or by purchase in the Jaffna district. We catch them in kraals in the Matura and Colombo dessaveships; we have two captures each year, the kraal in Matura is the great capture, that in Colombo the small one. The animals are driven by natives, who are retained for that service, into strong enclosures, and thence into smaller ones, from which they are led out by experienced men, with the assistance of tame elephants. They are then taken by land to Jaffna and sold there. The sale depends of course on the position of affairs on the Coromandel coast, for in cases of disturbance the merchants are hindered from resorting to Jaffna. The mode of sale is, that accurate descriptions of the size and qualities of the beasts are sent to the Coromandel coast, and the merchants come prepared with money to purchase them. I refer to the letters from Jaffna from 1757 and 1760 on this subject.

We obtain from our horses also some profit, besides reserving a sufficient number for our own use. We should see that we obtain a good breed from Persia and Arabia, and take care

* ? Biche-de-mar. L.

that Delft is not neglected; the milk-bushes* should be cleared away, the tanks kept clear, and the best fields should not be allowed to be enclosed so as to exclude the horses.

Our further income proceeds from the following rents:

AT COLOMBO.

The duties on all cloth imported here and at Galle.

The duties on all other imports and anchorage money.

The farm of all duties payable in money.

IN THE PROVINCE OF COLOMBO.

The drawing of toddy and arrack within the Fort.

The farm of duties within the town and outside the Galle gate, and from this place to Hangwelle and Negombo.

The farm of the garden Palanchene.

The farm of the market where betel &c. is sold.

The farm of the fisheries in and out of Colombo.

The farm of the fisheries of Mutwal.

The farm of the fisheries of Galkisse, Morotto, Makoen and Payegalle.

The farm of the fishery of the river from Alican to Barbeyn.

The farm of the garden of Tanque Salgado.

The farm of the cocoanuts of Galkisse.

The farm of the garden at Baygamme.

The farm of the garden at Kalawille.

The sale of the arrack of Nambapane.

The sale of the tobacco of Negombo.

and from many other smaller duties. Although I have restrained no person from purchasing these farms, and have acted most liberally in allowing reductions of the farms in some cases, yet our general income from these taxes during the last five years has been— $f1,241,536 = \text{£}103,461. 5s. 7d.$ making an average of $f248,307 16 = \text{£}20,692 5s. 1d.$

He then speaks of the Government boats and small craft, of the fortifications and forts on the island: of the reduction of expenses which the Company had ordered, and of the requisite diminution of establishments. Some useless clerks had been dismissed, and yet there remained too great a number of them. He would not reduce the soldiery, militia, artillery or seamen, but he would send away many writers who were both

* A species of *Euphorbia*, which creates blisters when broken by cattle, and greatly annoys them. It is called in India the *amah tree*, L.

lazy and stupid, and who thought it a disgrace to learn a useful trade, or to become soldiers or sailors. "To encourage the really worthy clerks, (he says) I should recommend you to adopt the system laid down by M. van Imhoff in his memoir; the number of these is but few, compared with that of the worthless ones."

Then follow some short remarks on the Judicial, Ecclesiastical and School Commissions, all of the same nature, as those given by M. van Imhoff in his memoir.

J. SCHREUDER.

Colombo, 17th March, 1762.

The first of these is the fact that the

Date	Description	Debit	Credit
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1892	...		
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2000	...		

Total

V.

SUMMARY OF THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF CEYLON UNDER THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT, FROM THE YEAR 1739-40 TO 1760-61, INCLUSIVE.

(Compiled from the Ceylon Year-books in the Chamber of Archives at Amsterdam.)

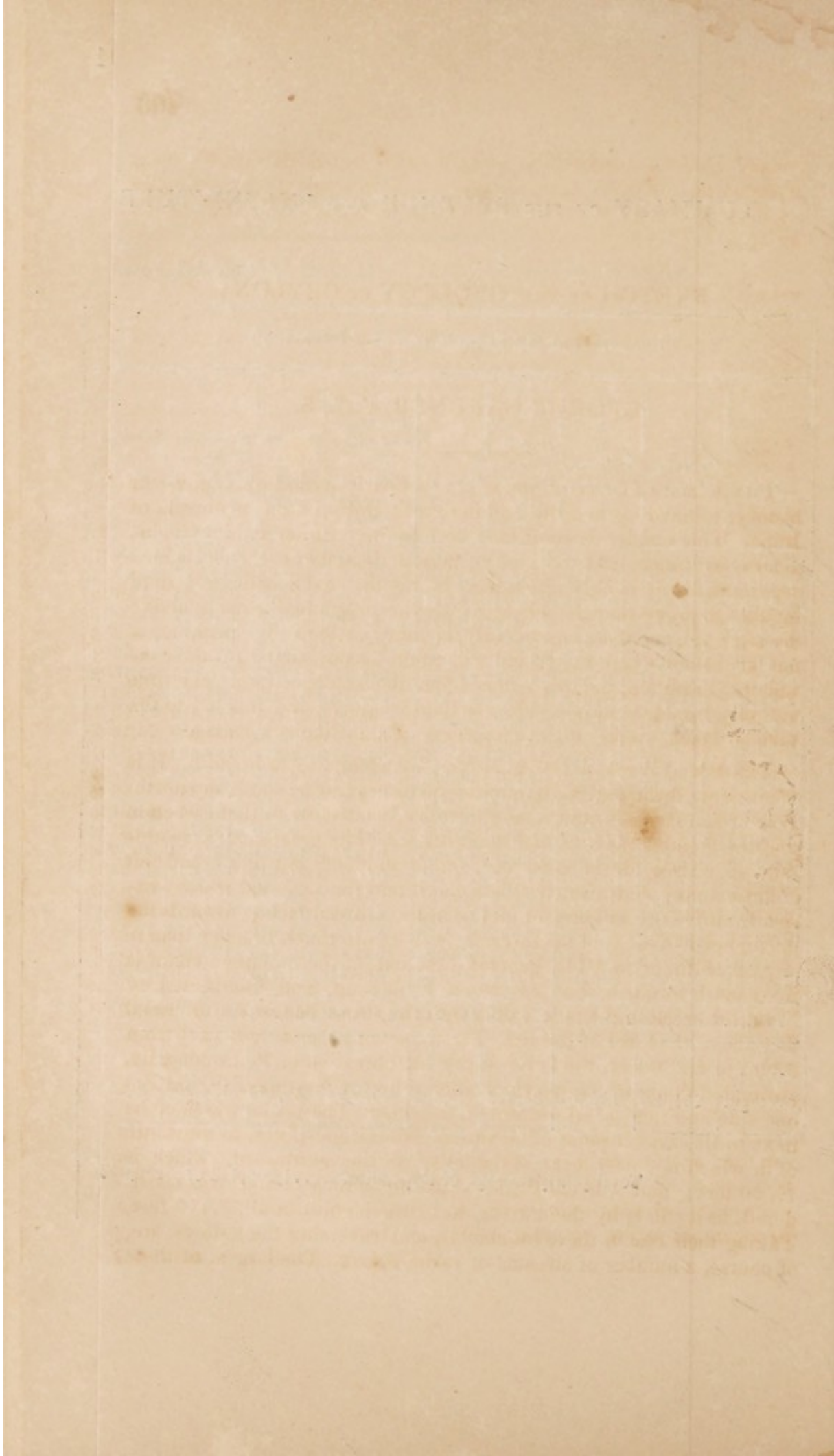
EXPENDITURE (12 FLORINS TO THE £ STERLING.)								REVENUE (12 FLORINS TO THE £ STERLING.)								SUMMARY.						
Year	Ordinary Salaries	Ordinary Expenses	Extra-ordinary Expenses	Presents	Wages of European and native Subordinates ashore and afloat	Fortifications and repairs	Expenses of Ships and Boats	Sundry Expenses	Year	Profits on the Coast Trade	On Cloth	On Arrack	On Elephants	On Cinnamon	On Farms	On other internal Revenue	Sundry Profits	Year	Total of Expenditure	Total of Profits	Excess of Revenue	Excess of Expenditure
17-39-40	183,636	122,783	42,566	40,333	540,285	23,024	205,211	16,562	17-39-40	54,866	61,935	77,646	16,394	192,792	129,503	257,457	92,669	17-39-40	1,174,903	825,282		349,621
17-40-41	175,141	123,649	39,871	18,508	505,194	21,503	217,137	24,235	17-40-41	94,840	46,176	80,518	48,565	46,814	121,321	207,131	94,302	17-40-41	1,125,142	739,170		385,972
17-41-42	176,833	135,626	34,238	16,691	515,594	21,678	226,554	21,049	17-41-42	117,060	47,781	106,299	32,949	106,244	130,165	219,186	147,959	17-41-42	1,148,262	907,647		240,614
17-42-43	197,225	138,721	34,020	18,085	560,796	29,179	215,329	23,554	17-42-43	102,730	47,223	87,677	67,461	85,072	124,014	224,226	147,016	17-42-43	1,216,946	885,566		331,316
17-43-44	191,784	133,074	48,848	2,1628	575,411	31,313	161,625	23,887	17-43-44	85,247	61,018	118,825	33,644	104,154	138,626	216,234	95,020	17-43-44	1,177,318	852,871		324,446
17-44-45	194,128	129,044	56,904	16,918	550,553	34,937	269,407	28,604	17-44-45	64,813	56,687	109,567	55,647	92,328	151,622	283,677	144,000	17-44-45	1,304,376	917,855		386,521
17-45-46	186,411	126,594	59,584	22,153	565,673	38,437	187,143	35,479	17-45-46	49,381	54,966	23,270	96,803	81,571	188,419	389,147	109,802	17-45-46	1,206,753	1,093,361		113,392
17-46-47	194,426	118,217	42,656	50,537	565,515	30,029	204,400	42,900	17-46-47	117,411	42,322	21,205	83,074	88,611	166,570	551,926	185,937	17-46-47	1,248,872	1,257,059	8,187	
17-47-48	202,817	113,666	30,259	29,870	534,261	27,155	178,810	21,139	17-47-48	166,891	24,532	89,591	49,368	98,849	184,233	801,596	113,531	17-47-48	1,169,764	1,528,593	558,831	
17-48-49	197,931	118,336	30,305	51,152	574,805	25,618	153,999	29,504	17-48-49	140,210	30,072	82,988	69,200	62,990	219,688	1,077,499	78,886	17-48-49	1,136,117	1,763,337	672,220	
17-49-50	194,995	115,290	31,248	43,179	545,833	26,835	198,434	29,908	17-49-50	139,300	31,875	86,277	29,760	73,775	237,612	462,111	65,531	17-49-50	1,214,696	1,126,244		88,451
17-50-51	194,945	119,825	42,227	30,971	561,798	24,061	192,238	60,279	17-50-51	36,778	19,987	124,261	61,859	52,635	260,199	321,018	114,605	17-50-51	1,210,413	991,343		219,069
17-51-52	195,883	125,044	30,308	7,317	612,165	27,501	209,383	58,484	17-51-52	115,785	34,045	155,861	64,002	82,538	256,538	214,852	64,041	17-51-52	1,213,757	987,532		326,125
17-52-53	218,073	121,157	35,010	40,695	597,288	17,958	180,346	41,215	17-52-53	104,284	35,092	132,839	58,682	70,166	333,745	379,528	68,142	17-52-53	1,269,623	1,182,572		87,050
17-53-54	215,884	124,757	19,543	34,702	639,688	17,660	156,714	30,818	17-53-54	95,583	35,123	114,843	78,792	91,570	207,906	266,534	57,059	17-53-54	1,197,369	947,414		249,954
17-54-55	223,194	128,809	18,350	97,899	619,753	12,911	137,074	31,902	17-54-55	76,319	23,869	107,313	23,566	106,671	217,813	276,856	138,607	17-54-55	1,238,903	971,147		267,756
17-55-56	227,973	130,801	14,337	30,103	677,975	31,303	155,064	41,209	17-55-56	104,815	43,477	45,940	54,828	106,864	234,841	284,143	114,950	17-55-56	1,250,547	989,781		260,766
17-56-57	249,055	99,776	17,748	33,697	556,385	80,894	150,802	45,947	17-56-57	43,770	41,313	81,785	12,882	102,012	280,866	302,747	130,842	17-56-57	1,255,308	945,920		409,307
17-57-58	202,889	86,698	13,101	25,304	514,527	71,552	115,852	22,902	17-57-58	64,580	51,650	103,741	145,293	73,002	253,612	423,836	54,832	17-57-58	1,094,586	1,049,786		117,375
17-58-59	198,823	64,083	8,729	28,375	539,894	85,231	114,296	19,742	17-58-59	91,663	30,724	84,756	40,729	89,806	241,712	281,533	75,950	17-58-59	1,054,251	936,825		111,604
17-59-60	195,702	78,434	12,836	28,023	563,667	103,480	128,720	21,350	17-59-60	37,922	12,836	100,127	88,119	91,219	263,085	287,959	115,789	17-59-60	1,107,963	996,338		584,673
17-60-61	214,083	86,830	8,290	9,734	563,216	81,515	119,830	194,297	17-60-61	40,207	5,803	18,385	6,538	119,426	252,097	191,418	79,497	17-60-61	1,298,249	713,575		
Total	4,431,402	2,560,138	673,808	647,943	12,501,669	863,788	3,878,578	356,999	Total	1,945,466	838,639	2,053,918	1,097,400	1,955,717	4,544,207	7,919,957	2,254,099	Total	26,414,129	22,609,404	994,239	4,798,964
Yearly average.	201,427	116,370	30,628	29,452	568,258	39,263	176,290	38,954	Yearly average.	88,430	38,120	93,360	49,882	88,896	206,555	359,998	102,459	Yearly Average.	1,200,642	1,027,700		994,239

Total yearly average of Expenditure... 1,200,642 or £100,053

Total yearly average of Revenue... 1,027,700 or £85,642

Annual deficit... 172,942 or £14,410

3,804,723



VI.

SKETCH OF THE GEOLOGY OF CEYLON;

BY

GEORGE GARDNER, F. L. S.

THE Island of CEYLON appears, at an early period of its physical history, to have formed the southern extremity of the peninsula of India. This opinion is confirmed both by its position and its Geological constitution. At the present period the narrow channel which separates them is only a few feet in depth, and I believe I shall be able to prove that the whole of Ceylon is gradually rising above the sea level, and that consequently the time, geologically speaking, is not far distant when the Island will again become united to the continent. Tradition, indeed, records that the passage was at one time not only broader but much deeper than it now is, and this led to the survey which preceded the deepening of the Pomban passage.

The Island is about 270 miles long, by about 145 in breadth. It is of an ovate form, and its extremities point nearly due south and north. It is broadest at its southern extremity, and it is in that direction that the greatest mass of high land exists. The great central mountain range rises, for the most part, rather suddenly out of a broad belt of flat country that stretches between it and the sea, and which varies from twenty to sixty or eighty miles in breadth, but towards the north, north-west, and north-east, the flats are much broader than in any other direction. The general direction of the mountain chain is from south to north, but it is much broken up, and intersected by beautiful broad and fertile vallies, varying from one to six thousand feet above the level of the sea. The mountains themselves vary from 3,000 to 8,280 feet, the latter being the elevation of Pedrotalagalla, a rounded dome which overlooks the valley of Newera-Ellia on the one side and that of Maturatta on the other. The peaks which come next to this one in point of elevation are Kirigal-potta, to the south of it, which is 7,810 feet; Totapella, to the eastward, which is 7,720 feet; and Adam's Peak, which for a long period was considered, as it still is by the natives, to be the highest of all, 7,420 feet. Taking their rise in these mountains, and traversing the valleys, are, of course, a number of streams of various sizes. The largest of these

is the Mahawelli-ganga—the Ganges of Ptolemy—which has its origin near the summit of Pedrotalagalla, and, after a very tortuous course of nearly 200 miles, ultimately falls into the sea near Trincomalee, on the north-east side of the Island. Three or four other streams of considerable size empty themselves on the west coast.

Although the geological structure of the Island is very simple, it offers notwithstanding much that is interesting to the geologist. The series of rocks are but few in number. The lowest, which is also the most common, is that to which the name of Gneiss is given. In some places it is overlaid by extensive beds of Dolomitic lime-stone; and on some parts of the coast that very modern formation known by the name of Breccia is found to exist. The clay slate, silurian, old red sand-stone, carboniferous, new red sand-stone, oolite, and chalk systems, which form such remarkable features in the Geology of England, have not yet been met with in Ceylon, nor is it at all probable that any of them ever will be found, as the island has now been traversed in all directions without any traces of them having been seen.

Gneiss rocks are the lowest of that division to which the name of stratified is given, in contra-distinction to those which show no traces of stratification, such as Granite, Basalt, and Lavas. Wherever the undersurface of the Gneiss series is sufficiently exposed, it is always found to rest on Granite; but owing to the great thickness of the system in Ceylon, and notwithstanding that it has been much broken by the upheaval of the mountains, I have not yet been able to trace their connection. It has, however, recently been discovered at Mount Lavinia, near Colombo, by the Rev. Dr. Macvicar. The mechanical structure of Gneiss shews that it has been formed at the expense of Granite by disintegration, much in the way that the sand-stone of the carboniferous system has had its origin, and that which is now being formed on the sea-shores of our own times; and that it has afterwards been partly fused by heat from below. Mr. Lyell, indeed, asserts, and all that we yet know of Geology goes to prove the truth of the assertion, that Granite itself has been formed by the complete fusion and reconsolidation of pre-existing stratified rocks, and that as new stratified rocks are slowly deposited by water above the earth, the older ones which they cover are gradually reabsorbed by the interior heat of the globe, and converted into Granite. According to this view we have, as in the organic world, an endless round of production and decay going on from pre-existing materials; and it is from this circumstance that Mr. Lyell has given the name of metamorphic rocks to those lower stratified ones, to which the name of transition was formerly applied.

The materials of which Gneiss and Granite are formed are the same, consisting of the minerals called felspar, mica, quartz, and hornblende, in greater or less proportions; but if a portion of each be carefully examined, these materials will be found to be in a very different state of molecular aggregation. In Granite these minerals are always found to be perfectly crystallized within, and to have externally a regular geometric figure, while in Gneiss, though the internal crystallization remains, the felspar is rounded like water-worn pebbles, or broken into fragments, and the plates of mica are contorted by irregular pressure among the felspar, and quartz, shewing that they were brought together by the mechanical influence of water, and not by chemical attraction while in a state of fusion, as in Granite. These distinctions, however, are only of practical value when small portions of either rock are under investigation, for while Granite, in the mass, presents no evidence of stratification, in Gneiss, on the contrary, it is always observable, particularly where sections of the rock in *situ* have been made; and as such sections are now everywhere to be met with along the new roads which intersect the interior of the Island, the various bendings, elevations and depressions which these rocks have been subjected to since they were quietly and horizontally deposited in the bed of a primaeval ocean, can be very satisfactorily studied.

Portions of these rocks are sometimes of a very arenaceous character, so much so, indeed, as often to cause them to be taken for actual sandstone by common observers. Such portions can always, however, be traced running into the regular and more compact Gneiss. Extensive veins of both pure quartz and felspar are often met with in the Gneiss, and probably have been produced by the same cause which mineral veins owe their origin to, viz., a fissure which has been filled up from the surrounding rock by chemical and electrical action, long but steadily continued. Those chalk-like deposits which are met with at Newera-Ellia and elsewhere, are formed by the disintegration of felspar veins, and constitute that substance to which the name of porcelain clay is given.

In several parts of the island the Gneiss is intersected by veins of trap rocks, which have been thrown up from below in a molten state subsequent to the consolidation of the Gneiss. Such veins or dykes may be seen on the beach between the Admiral's house and the dockyard at Trincomalee, on the ascent of Adam's Peak from Ratnapoora, and close to the sea on that side of Mrs. Gibson's hill which looks towards Galle. The latter consists of pitch-stone porphyry, highly impregnated with iron,

and the effect which it has produced in altering the nature of the Gneiss, where it has come in contact with it, is very striking.

With regard to the existence of metallic veins in the mountains of Ceylon almost nothing is known. Traces of Tin have lately been said to have been met with; and it is not at all unlikely that it may hereafter be met with in greater abundance, as it is principally in the metamorphic rocks that metallic veins are found to exist, and mostly in mountainous countries or their immediate neighbourhood. As their existence however cannot be predicted, further knowledge concerning them will only be obtained by actual examination of those parts of the Island most likely to possess them.

It is often asked if there is any chance of Coal being found in Ceylon. Although from all that is yet known of the Geology of the Island, the chances are very much against any thing like a true Coal formation being met with, yet it would not be safe to give a decided answer on the subject; for, unlike the carboniferous beds of England, which have in general one or more systems of stratified rocks intervening between them and the Gneiss, those of the north of India were found by Dr. Royle to rest on the Gneiss itself. This much, however, is certain, that, whenever Gneiss forms the uppermost rock, Coal need never be looked for, as it is well known that in all parts of the world, the series of rocks which form the crust of it, hold a regular and undeviating relative position to each other, and hence, the upper rock of any country being given, a Geologist can tell with the greatest certainty what system or systems of rocks will never be found beneath it.

The nature and origin of laterite or Cabuc, which is so common on the west side of the Island, have given rise to much diversity of opinion. Some have supposed it to be a volcanic production, and others a deposition from water; but I have most completely satisfied myself that it owes its existence to neither of these causes, but to the simple decay of Gneiss rocks. I was first led to this view from the examination of a cut through a knoll on the road from Galle to Belligam, and afterwards from others on the road between Colombo and Ambepusse, and in numerous instances of the same nature in the Central Province. In many of these cuts there is no difficulty in tracing a continuous connection, without any definite lines of demarcation, between the soil and the laterite on the one hand, and the laterite and the solid rock on the other. In no part of the world, save in the Peninsula of India, have I witnessed a like decomposition

of Gneiss, and this renders it probable that the cause is due to some peculiarity in the chemical nature of the rock itself.

As in almost every other country where the Gneiss system prevails, immense deposits of crystalline lime-stone are found in various parts of the interior of the island, overlying the Gneiss. Thus, it is well known to occupy a large space in the vallies of Kundasale, Matele, and Peradenia, at the latter place, and between it and Kandy, being extensively converted into lime for building purposes. This like all other lime-stone strata has evidently been formed by aqueous chemical deposition from an ocean which overlay the Gneiss, and its highly crystalline structure is probably owing to the same heat which partly fused the Gneiss itself previous to its solidification. It is not simply a carbonate of lime, but contains besides a considerable quantity of carbonate of magnesia, and to such combinations the name of dolomite is given, It is still undecided by Geologists whether the magnesia of such rocks was originally contained in the solution from which they have resulted, or from the action of heat on the rocks with which they are connected, and which, as is the case with Gneiss, are known to contain a certain proportion of Magnesia.

Passing over all those series of rocks to which the names of secondary and tertiary have been given, none of which are known to exist in Ceylon, we come to those very modern ones called post-tertiary, which are being formed at the present day, and which either shew themselves in the shape of elevated terraces of shells, or in a more solid form arising from the agglutination of particles of sand and fragments of such corallines and shells as still inhabit the surrounding seas. Such elevated shell banks, and such rocks are to be met with in several places along the coast. Thus the greater part of the Peninsula of Jaffna is formed of them, and I have likewise noticed their existence at Galle and at Belligam. The study of these modern formations are of peculiar interest to the Geologist, as they are fraught with important analogies as to the process of nature in more ancient times. At Jaffna the lower portions of this breccial rock is quarried for building purposes. It is compact in its structure, but abounds in very perfect remains of shells and corals, and in its general structure resembles very much the same kind of rock in which human remains have been found on the north-east coast of the main land of Guadaloupe. Along the shores of the lagoon which separates the main land from the peninsula of Jaffna, and but little elevated above the present sea level, the formation of this rock may be seen in

various states of progress towards solidification. Some specimens which I collected there consist of nearly an entire mass of small shells similar to those which are still found abundantly alive within the present tidal range, and are beautiful examples of the manner in which those lime-stone rocks of the secondary strata which are so full of the remains of shells and other marine animals, have been formed. At Galle a somewhat similar kind of rock is used for building purposes, but the shells and corallines of which it is composed are more comminuted. At one of the places where this rock is worked, situated about a mile from the sea, and about six or eight feet above its present level, I found firmly attached to those portions of it which were exposed by the removal of the alluvial soil which covered them, numerous oyster shells, exactly similar to those now found alive on rocks at present washed by the waves of the ocean. At Belligam a large tract of alluvial land, which at the time I visited that place, in 1844, was planted with sugar cane, is underlaid by a thick stratum of sea shells and fragments of corallines, which are more or less firmly agglutinated together; and I have no doubt that many other part of the coast offer similar phenomena.

The existence of these masses of shells above the present level of the sea, yields the same evidence of the gradual rise of the Island of Ceylon, that is afforded by similar appearances in other parts of the world, and from which similar conclusions have been drawn by the most eminent Geologists of the day. In many places where such rises are slowly but surely going on, the rate is so imperceptible that but little change has been observed during the historical period; whereas in others, such as the Scandinavian peninsula, the rise is as much as three feet in the course of a century. From all that I have seen I am led to believe that the whole of that flat sandy country which stretches along the west coast of Ceylon, as well as that of a similar nature at Batticaloa, which, except Trincomalee which is rocky, is the only part of the east coast that I have yet visited, has, at no very recent Geological epoch, been gained from the sea by the elevation of the land.

The conclusions to be deduced from the above slight sketch of the Geology of the Island are very evident. In the first place, the non-existence of secondary and tertiary rocks overlying the Gneiss and Dolomite, prove that from the period of the first elevation of Ceylon above the level of the ocean, it has not been subjected to the numerous submersions and upheavals which, it is well ascertained, such countries as possess them have been liable to: indeed, there is no evidence to prove

that it has even once been covered with water since the time at which it first became dry land, for nearly the whole of the soil which covers it, with the exception of the sandy portions along the coast, and a very thin layer of alluvial matter, has been formed from the decay of the Gneiss rocks. Nowhere have I met with traces of diluvial drift, except, indeed, where it can be traced to the action of streams. In the second place, the gradual rise of the whole Island may be fairly inferred from the existence of the elevated beaches which I have alluded to, and I have no doubt that when further attention has been given to the subject by those who have opportunities for so doing, still more satisfactory evidence of the fact will be afforded.

VII.

SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON THE FLORA OF CEYLON;

BY

GEORGE GARDNER, F. L. S.

ALTHOUGH CEYLON is celebrated for the luxuriant vegetation by which it is covered, the plants which compose it are less known to Botanists than those perhaps of any other portion of India of equal extent. While the history and uses of the vegetable productions of the possessions of the East India Company, and most of the islands of the Indian Archipelago have been given to the world by modern Botanists, those of Ceylon are at the present day nearly as little understood in Europe as they were one hundred years ago, when Linnæus published his "Flora Zeylanica," founded on collections which had been made in the Island by Hermann, a Dutch Botanist, about seventy years before. It is true that during the last few years the descriptions of several Ceylon plants have been published in different scientific periodical publications both by Indian and European Botanists, but although a botanical institution has been maintained in the colony at the expense of Government for upwards of the last thirty years, those who have superintended it have done nothing almost either for their own credit or the honour of the establishment. Since the publication of the little book of Linnæus, the only work which has been produced on Ceylon Botany is the "Catalogue of Plants growing in Ceylon," published, in 1824, by Mr. Moon, who was then Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens,—a work which never was of much use, and which is now quite obsolete, as being merely a catalogue, there are no characters by which to recognize the species he has enumerated. As connected with these observations, I may remark that I am at present engaged in preparing a work which will contain descriptions of all the vegetable productions indigenous to Ceylon, at least so far as I can obtain them, illustrated with coloured figures of some of the more rare, beautiful, or useful species. This, however, will be a labour of several years to come, as I have still to explore different parts of the Island, the productions of which are totally unknown.

The vegetation of all countries has its general character determined by two great principal causes—physical aspect and climate. The former having already been detailed in the preceding geological sketch of the Island, I shall here offer a few remarks on the latter. The two monsoons which occupy the greater part of the year, materially influence the climate. That from the south-west lasts generally from April to September, while the north-east prevails from November to February, the intervening periods being subject to variable winds and calms. The western side of the Island, which is exposed to the south west monsoon; has a humid and temperate climate similar to that of the Malabar coast, while the eastern, which is open to the north-east monsoon, has a hot and dry climate similar to that of the Coromandel coast. The seasons and climates of the south-west and north-east portions of the Island are therefore very different. While on one side of the Island the rains are falling in torrents, the other is suffering from drought; and it not unfrequently happens that the opposite sides of a single mountain exhibit at the same time these opposite states of climate.

The great variety of surface and of climate, then, which the Island possesses, are favourable not only to a varied, but to a luxuriant vegetation, especially in its Central and Southern districts. From the study of plants taken in connection with these circumstances and their various other physical conditions, has originated the science of Botanical Geography, one of the most interesting branches of Botany, and one which some day will no doubt throw much light on the laws which have regulated the production and dispersion of species. It is only of late years that attention has been given to this subject, for, till the natural productions of different parts of the surface of the globe came to be investigated with the attention and accuracy which are peculiar to the present age, naturalists rested satisfied with the vague idea that all animals and vegetables had originally radiated from a common centre, and that in the same parallels of latitude the same species would be found. This we now know not to be the case, and it can be as safely asserted that every large tract of country has had its own peculiar creation of both plants and animals, as that two and two make four, the exceptions to this general rule being accounted for by disseminating causes now in operation. In no other way can we account for Europe having a totally different class of plants from that part of North America which lies immediately opposite to it; or for the Botany of Southern Africa having little or no resemblance to that of the same parallels in South America, or to that of Australia; or for many small Islands, such as that

of St. Helena, possessing a vegetation totally different even from that of the nearest continent. Islands, however, in general approach nearest in the nature of their productions to that of the countries to which they most nearly range in a geographical point of view, and this we shall find to be the case with Ceylon.

Both the climate and the soil of the maritime parts of the western side of Ceylon being very similar to that of the Malabar coast, we find that a large proportion of the plants of both places are identical; and the same holds good with reference to the northern and north-east coasts of Ceylon and that of the opposite Coromandel coast, although each district in both countries is found to possess species which are peculiar to each. A vegetation more or less similar to that of the coast extends inland to the foot of the great mountain chain; but from thence upwards a very great change is found to take place in it, and almost every thousand feet of elevation shows a vegetation which, though merging into those immediately above and beneath it, offers species which do not range beyond it. It is at an elevation of from 2,000 to 8,000 feet that the greater part of the species of plants peculiar to Ceylon are to be found; but most of these belong to forms, that is to natural orders or genera, which form part of the vegetation of neighbouring countries, such as the Neelgherry mountains in the peninsula of India, the Himalaya mountains, the high lands of Malacca, and of the Eastern islands, but more particularly Java, and I have lately met with a few species which indicate an affinity with the continent of Africa.

I shall now offer a few remarks on the nature of the vegetation which characterizes the different botanical regions of the Island. The truly littoral plants of all countries offer a greater number of identical species in widely separated localities of the same parallels, than those of any other, and this, indeed, was to be expected from the fact that the ocean forms a ready medium for their transmission from one country to another by means of tides, winds, and currents, while at the same time their seeds, unlike those of most other plants, are not injured by immersion in salt water. Most of the shrubs which inhabit the muddy shores of the sea and of the salt lagoons which are so numerous towards the north of the Island, and which are known by the name of Mangroves, belong to that natural order of plants which Botanists call *Rhizophoreæ*, a tribe which is strictly intertropical. My researches have already yielded me about half a dozen species, all of which I find are common to Ceylon, the shores of

the continent of India, and of those of the Eastern islands; and the same I find to be the case with a few other shrubs belonging to other tribes, such as *Ægiceras fragrans*, which extends even to the shores of Australia, *Epithinia Malayana*, *Pemphis acidula*, *Dilivaria ilicifolia*, *Lumnitzera racemosa*, *Thespesia populnea* (the Tulip tree of Ceylon), and *Paritium tiliaceum*, the last having a far more extensive geographical range than any of the others, as I possess specimens in my herbarium from the shores of the West Indies, Brazil, and the Sandwich Islands, besides from various parts of India. The Cocoa-nut tree which gives so marked a feature to the West coast of Ceylon, and which is now so generally cultivated along the shores of all intertropical countries, is essentially a seaside plant, and has as good claims to be considered indigenous to Ceylon as to any other part of the world. The same observations that apply to the shrubs of our shores, apply also to the herbaceous vegetation.

The great flat tract which extends between the sea-shore and the central mountain range, is possessed of a very extensive Flora, but as its general character is stamped by a few species which are very numerous in individuals, it is to them chiefly that my remarks will extend. In this tract a very great proportion of the species are identical with those of similar ones on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. The generally acid nature of its soil, together with its much drier climate than that of the interior is well shown in the Northern Province especially by the more wiry and stunted nature of the trees and bushes, their prickly stems and branches, and the smaller size of their leaves, together with a much greater proportion of fleshy shrubs, such as Euphorbias &c. The species which preponderate in individuals in the Northern province are different kinds of *Acacia*, mostly very thorny, the wood apple (*Feronia Elephantum*), *Limonium alata*, *Salvadora Persica* (the true Mustard tree of scripture, a tree which extends northward and westward to the Holy Land, and which I was the first to point out as a native of Ceylon), *Carrissa spinarum*, *Gmelina Asiatica*, *Pleurostylia Wightii*, *Eugenia bracteata*, *Elæodendron Roxburghii*, *Ochna squarrosa*, *Cassia fistula*, *Cassia Roxburghii*, and *Memycelon tinctoria*. These are chiefly shrubs and small trees. The large trees, which are mostly of no great size, are two or three species of *Terminalia*, *Bassia longifolia*, the Margosa (*Azadirachta Indica*), the Satin wood (*Cloroxylon Swietenia*), the Ceylon Oak (*Schleicheia trijuga*), the Tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica*), and the Palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*), which is particularly abundant on

the peninsula of Jaffna.* The mass of the herbaceous vegetations belongs to the natural orders *Scrophularineæ*, *Leguminosæ*, *Rubiaceæ*, and *Compositæ*.

Proceeding southwards through this flat country, a considerable difference in the general appearance of the vegetation is observed, arising no doubt from the greater amount of rain which falls during the course of the year. The trees are not only larger, but their foliage is heavier, and of a darker hue; and the numerous acacias which give so striking a feature to the north almost disappear. Between Colombo and Galle, shrubs belonging to the natural order *Euphorbiaceæ* are very numerous both in species and individuals, as well as a variety of *Rubiaceæ*, of which the beautiful *Ixora coccinea* is not the least common. It is only in this range that the pitcher plant (*Nepenthes distillatoria*), which is not, however, peculiar to Ceylon, is met with, growing in moist places and supporting itself among the bushes. About Galle, and from thence inland to the base of Adam's Peak, one of the most common shrubs is that which has been named, in honour of the great Humboldt—*Humboldtia laurifolia*; and on the low hills near Galle a few trees are met with which farther north do not exist under one thousand feet of elevation, but this is easily accounted for by the greater atmospheric moisture of that district. One of these trees is a new and remarkable species of durian (*Durio Ceylanicus*, Mihi.) It is in this district that the greater number of the Sugar plantations of Ceylon exist.

The east side of the Island being much drier than that of the west, the consequence is that its vegetation has more of the character of that of the Northern province than of the opposite coast. It must, however, be remarked that, with the exception of the immediate neighbourhood of Trincomalee and of Batticaloa, the eastern side of the Island is a *terra incognita* to the Botanist.

Generally speaking, the first two thousand feet of the mountain range is covered with a dense forest of large trees, which are characterized by a foliage of a much larger size than that

* Since the above was written I have made a most important addition to the trees of this region, and, indeed, to the Flora of the Island, in the shape of the far-famed Upas-tree of Java and the Moluccas (*Antiaris toxicaria*), having discovered some fine large trees of it a few miles to the eastward of Kornegalle, early in August of the present year (1847). This discovery proves how little the investigation of the vegetable productions of Ceylon has hitherto been attended to. (G. G.)

of the low-country forests, and nearly of a uniform dark green colour, except, indeed, when the large Iron-wood tree (*Mesua Ceylanica*) is putting forth its young leaves, which are of a blood red colour, and at that season give a remarkable aspect to the forest. To the general observer the trees of the next two thousand feet appear but little different from those of the first, but the eye of the Botanist can at once detect many species in both that are peculiar to each. The mass of the herbaceous vegetation of both is made up of *Ferns*, *Scitamineæ*, *Urticaceæ*, *Cyrtandreæ* and *Compositæ*. One of the most marked features of the second two thousand feet is the existence of large open grassy tracts on the sides of the hills to which the natives give the name of Pattanas. Such tracts extend to the highest parts of the island, differing more or less at different elevations in the nature of their vegetation. Scattered through the lower ones, and giving them an orchard-like appearance, are two trees which are almost peculiar to them. These are the *Careya arborea*, and *Embllica officinalis*. The herbaceous vegetation consists chiefly of numerous tall coarse grasses, growing for the most part in tufts, the most common of which is the Lemon Grass (*Andropogon Schoenanthus*), intermingled with which are several *Compositæ*, principally consisting of several species of *Blumea*, *Knoxia Corymbosa*, the representative of the old and accurate historian of Ceylon, the broom-like *Atylosia Candollii*, and *Impatiens Balsamina*, the origin of the common garden balsam. It is on the forest land of this tract that the principal Coffee estates have been established.

The next two thousand feet, which brings us to an elevation of 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, and into a region which has a much lower temperature than any of the preceding, is still covered with forest having occasional patches of Pattana, but both give support to a very different vegetation. The trees are much smaller, grow closer together, have their stems and branches covered with pendulous masses of lichens and mosses, and many kinds of small *Orchideæ*. Their leaves are mostly small, and their varied tints remind one of the autumnal forests of more temperate climes. The under-vegetation consists of numerous species of beautiful herbaceous and suffruticose Balsams (*Impatiens*), a great variety of suffruticose *Acanthaciæ* (Nilu), beautiful and delicate Ferns of all sizes, from those scarcely a few inches in height, to tree ones which throw up their stems surmounted by large masses of verdant fronds to an elevation often of twenty feet, and rivalling in gracefulness the Palms of the low country. It is in this range that the lovely Tree-Rhododendron, which is so

common in more elevated tracts, first makes its appearance. The Pattanas at this elevation are more spongy in their nature than those below, the grasses which are peculiar to them grow more closely together, and are smaller and more wiry in their texture; while the shrubs which are scattered through them are principally species of *Hedyotis*, and *Osbeckia*, the latter producing beautiful large rose-coloured flowers.

The two thousand feet which succeed to these include the most elevated portions of the island, and embrace chiefly the mountain-tops, and the vallies or plains which divide them from each other. The vegetation of this region has still a more alpine aspect than the preceding one, and of all the others is that which is possessed of the greatest interest to the Botanist, from the great number of European forms that are mixed up with those whose range does not extend beyond the tropics. The tree that first claims our attention in this range is the Rhododendron, not only from its great beauty, but from its vast abundance especially in the open plains, which during the months of June and July are clouded with red from the great profusion of its blossoms. I have met with two well-marked varieties, if they are not, indeed, distinct species of this tree. One of them is principally met with in the plains or in their wooded margins, and is easily recognized by the rusty-coloured under side of its leaves. This is the variety which is so common on the open plains of the Neelgherry range of mountains in the peninsula of India. The other variety, so far as I am aware, is peculiar to Ceylon, and is always found in the forest, and at a greater elevation than the other. It is distinguished by its greater size, and the silvery under side of its leaves, which are besides narrow and rounded at the base, not broad and cordate as in the other. Several fine trees of this variety occur on the ascent of Pedrotagalla from Nuwera-Ellia, and close to the temple on the summit of Adam's Peak; but the finest I have met with in my excursions among the mountains of the interior, was in crossing over Totapella, where there is a large forest of them, many of which are from 50 to 70 feet in height, and with stems more than three feet in diameter. In these forests are also to be met with some four or five species of *Michelia*, the representatives of the Magnolias of North America, several arborescent *Myrtaceæ*, and not a few *Ternstroemiaceæ*, the most common of which is the Camelia-like *Gordonia Ceylanica*.

There is much here to remind the European of his native country. Different species of *Rubus* and a Barberry abound along the wooded margins of the plains, as well as two species

of *Viburnum* or Guelder Rose, and a shrubby St. John's wort (*Hypericum Mysorense*), bearing large yellow flowers. The dry open banks are covered with violets and *Lysimachiae*, while in the open plains are to be found two species of *Potentilla*, an *Anemone*, a *Geranium*, two kinds of *Ranunculus* or butter-cup, a Ladies' mantle not unlike the *Alchemilla vulgaris* of England, a little blue star-blossomed Gentian, two species of sun-dew or *Drosera*, a campanula, a *Valeriana*, and in the bogs several kinds of *Juncus* and *Carex*.

At the health station on the plain of Newera-Ellia, which is about 6,200 feet above the level of the sea, there are several gardens in which most of the vegetables of Europe grow freely. European fruit trees have also been tried, but no success has attended the experiment: nor was such a thing to be expected, for although during the cold season the thermometer falls occasionally in the morning to nearly the freezing point—the annual range being from $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to 80° , with a mean daily variation of 11° —, the cold is not sufficiently intense nor of long enough continuation to give those trees the period of rest which they require. In place of losing their leaves for nearly six months of the year, the Peach and the Cherry are here evergreens, and are hence kept in such a continued state of excitement as to prevent their bearing. The Peach does, indeed, give a poor crop of fruit of a very inferior quality, but although the Cherry blossoms annually its fruit never comes to perfection.

Although the Neelgherry range, from its near geographical position, has more species in common with the tracts of a similar elevation in Ceylon than any other part of India, yet these from their small numbers are evidently only stragglers northward, the very great number of species peculiar to the mountains of Ceylon, and to them alone, proves that these mountains form a distinct centre of creation. This I shall illustrate by a few examples from some of the better known natural orders and genera of plants. Beginning with *Ranunculaceæ* we find three species of *Ranunculus* belonging to the Flora of the Neelgherries, and two to that of the mountains of Ceylon, one species only being common to both countries. Of *Magnoliaceæ* Ceylon possesses four or five species of *Michelia*, all of which are different from the solitary one which is found on the Neelgherries. Each country has a violet peculiar to itself, with another that is common to them both. Both places possess about half a dozen species of *Elæocarpeæ* each, but only one is held in common; and the same is the case with the order to which the Tea belongs—*Ternstroemiaceæ*. The genus *Impatiens*, that to which the garden

Balsam belongs, affords one of the strongest arguments which can be offered in favour of the fact I am now illustrating, for while each country possesses upwards of twenty species, certainly not more than three are common to both, and none of the other Ceylon species are known to exist elsewhere. Of *Rosaceæ* we find that the Neelgherry range has only three species of *Rubus*, while there are no less than eight found on the mountains of Ceylon, three of which are peculiar to them. Both countries have an *Alchemilla* in common, while the Agrimony of Ceylon does not exist on the Neelgherries, but is found abundantly on the *Himalaya* range; and I have lately described a new species of *Poterium* from Adam's Peak, the only one which has hitherto been met with in India. Two species of *Potentilla* grow in Ceylon, and three on the Neelgherries, one only of which is common to both countries. A comparison of this kind might be run on with to a great length, but enough has already been shown to prove that while the Flora of the central part of the Island has more affinity with that of the Neelgherries than with any other part of the world, yet it must have had a creation of its own, nearly allied, indeed, to the other in forms, but very distinct in individuals.

Although many of the genera found in the upland regions of Ceylon are such as are common in Europe, yet none of the Ceylon species are identical with European ones. Indeed, there is not to be found growing really wild in the Island, a single species exactly the same as any European one. There are, however, a few which have become more or less naturalized, having been introduced along with garden and other seeds. These are the common sow thistle (*Sonchus Oleraceus*), the common Chick-weed (*Stellaria Media*), the Mouse-ear Chick-weed (*Cerastium vulgatum*), the Corn Spurry (*Spergula arvensis*), and the annual meadow-grass (*Poa Annuæ*). All these with the exception of the first, which is much more general, are mostly confined to the plain of Newera-Ellia. In all countries plants which are introduced from others and find a congenial soil and climate, and which produce their seeds in profusion, and of a nature to be easily blown or carried about from place to place, are sure to naturalize themselves, and often in the course of a few years are not to be distinguished from those which are really original denizens of the clime. Besides those from Europe just enumerated, there are many others natives of distant tropical countries which are now rapidly spreading themselves on the Island; and as it is of the utmost importance to distinguish them from those which are truly natives, I shall here enume-

rate all those species of which I possess sufficient evidence to establish their exotic origin, and mention the countries from which they have been brought.

The two species of Prickly Pear (*Opuntia*) which are now so common in dry sandy localities in the low country, are natives of the tropical parts of the Continent of America, as, indeed, the whole of the *Cactus* tribe is. The beautiful rose coloured Periwinkle (*Vinca rosea*) which has so completely overrun the Cinnamon gardens at Colombo, and other similar localities, is a native of the island of Madagascar, though it has now perfectly established itself in nearly all tropical countries. The climbing *Alamanda cathartica*, with its dark green leaves, and golden bell-shaped blossoms, is a native of the Guianas, and was no doubt introduced by the Dutch. The Lantanas, which are to be met with almost every where in bushy places and in hedges, are natives of the West Indies; and such also is the case with the yellow flowered *Turnera ulmifolia* which is common by road-sides about Colombo. The Cape Gooseberry (*Physalis Peruviana*) now so common about Rambodde and Newera-Ellia, is a native of the mountains of Peru. The four o'clock plant (*Mirabilis Jalapa*) common about Kanly, is a native of Mexico and the West Indies; and the Ipecachuana plant, as it is erroneously called, (*Asclepias Curassavica*) with its orange blossoms, and seeds with long silky tails, is a South American. Most of these must have been long established before the English took possession of the country; but the following are well known to have escaped from the Botanical gardens at Colombo or Peradenia during the last five-and-twenty years. The small white flowered *Passiflora foetida*, now so common a weed everywhere, is a native of the West Indies and Brazil, and was only introduced to the Island, by Mr. Moon, so short a time ago as 1824. Two species of *Crotalaria*—*C. Brownei*, a native of Jamaica, and *C. incana*, a native of the Cape of Good Hope; the Mexican Coreopsis-like *Cosma caudata*; the Peruvian blue-flowered *Nicandra physaloides*; and the South-American sensitive plant (*Mimosa pudica*), are now not only common weeds about Peradenia and Kandy, but are fast extending themselves in all directions, the first mentioned species having now nearly reached as far as Rambodde on the Newera-Ellia road. *Brucea Sumatrana*, a shrubby native of the Eastern islands, and an escape from the Peradenia gardens, now forms part of the low jungle on the neighbouring Hantane range: and *Buddleia Madagascariensis*, a native of Madagascar, and two small kinds of Passion flower (*P. Suberosa* et *glauca*) both natives of the

West Indies, are fast following. *Ageratum conyzoides*, everywhere a common weed, and one of the great pests of the Coffee Planter, is of American origin, though now thoroughly naturalized in all tropical countries,

The above, though only a rapid sketch of the more prominent features of the vegetation of the Island of Ceylon, is sufficient to shew the great interest and variety of the materials of which it is composed, and of the relation which it holds to that of other parts of the globe. Much, however, still remains to be done before a detailed exposition of it can be offered to the world.

VIII.

GENERAL VIEWS ON THE COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF
COFFEE-PLANTING IN CEYLON, BY W. AUSTIN ESQ. OF HUNASGIRIA.

THE COFFEE TREE was, probably, first introduced into Ceylon by the Arab traders, as it was found when the Portuguese gained possession of the island; but it seems to have been reared by the Ceylonese rather on account of the flower than the fruit, and it is a question whether they knew the use of coffee as a beverage.

When the British took possession of the Kandian country, they found, at a place called Hanguranketty, a considerable tract of land planted with coffee, under forest-trees; this went by the name of the King's garden, and the flowers alone were used for floral offerings in their temples.

The coffee tree was also found near all villages in the Kandian Province, and trees of very great age may now be seen. The Dutch, with their usual colonial policy, stayed the cultivation of this valuable article, for many years, within the maritime provinces of Ceylon, the object being to foster the growth of cinnamon here, and of coffee in Java.* Coffee has now become the principal and most valuable staple production of this island, while the consumption in Great Britain, in Europe in general, and America, is increasing to an enormous extent; and as the trees increase in age, and more care and experience are manifested in the cultivation and selection of land, it is natural to suppose that the quality of Ceylon coffee will improve, and that under the fostering care of the colonial and home governments, the day is not far distant, when the West-Indies and Ceylon will entirely supply the British market, to the exclusion of Java, Brazil, and all other foreign coffees, the flavor of the one being so much more palatable to our countrymen than the other. Before this can take place, however, the trade must be placed on a very different footing to that which it now occupies.

* See *ante*, page 193. L.

The climate and soil of the interior of Ceylon are admirably adapted for coffee cultivation, and Humboldt's remark on Mexico will apply equally well here, for the traveller, with barometer and thermometer in hand, can establish himself in any elevation or climate, ranging from the fervent heat of a tropical sun to the cold and frosts of our fatherland. The two monsoons, also, ushering in heavy and continual showers of rain, together with the cloudy and misty weather that accompanies those seasons, are of immense advantage to the planter; they ensure him two planting seasons; the one monsoon sets in in time to develop the fruit, the other to ripen it and invigorate the trees, after the crop is nearly gathered, thus rendering unnecessary the artificial irrigation practised in India. Although, as in all countries, we are, at stated periods or cycles, subject to seasons of drought, yet they seldom occur to any extent, and the vitality of the coffee tree is such, that after the driest season, the tree revives as soon as the genial showers set in, and as has been lately proved, although one crop may be entirely lost from long continued dry weather, the following year will make up for the deficiency by giving the proprietor a double crop or gathering. Again, in the mountainous districts, at an elevation of 3000 feet, dry weather is seldom experienced.

The soil of Ceylon, as compared with other countries, may be characterized as poor; it is principally of a mineral character, and formed of decomposed rocks, varying in quality as the description of rock predominates, that from quartz being the most inferior. The soil may be divided into three qualities, the dark chocolate, or nearly black soil, the deep red, and the yellow. The former produces the finest coffee and most luxuriant tree, and will always be found to possess a much larger proportion of humous and vegetable matter than the other soils, but we have generally to attain an elevation beyond 3000 feet before we meet with it. The red soil will also produce splendid trees and very fine coffee; while the yellow, from its generally tenacious character, being alike impervious to rain and to the vivifying influence of the sun, is the most inferior, although a considerable extent of some of the mountain ranges, where there are numerous estates, consists of this description of soil. I do not include the quartzose sandy soils, because they ought never to have been selected for cultivation.

In no part of the world does the coffee tree bear more fruit than it does in Ceylon; twenty hundredweights per acre are frequently obtained, and estates have often been known to average fifteen hundredweights; but taking year with year, eight cwt. may be considered a good return and very fair crop.

The tree bears the largest quantity of fruit the third, fourth, and fifth years, after planting, determinable by the elevation, soil, and particularly by the humidity of climate. The quality may be considered the finest the first year of bearing, probably from the quantity always being small; afterwards the quality will again improve with the age of the tree, providing the selection of soil has been good; but many estates have been formed on land, that will be totally exhausted after bearing five or six crops.

I am fully aware that many persons will differ from the foregoing opinion: I give it however as the result of careful investigation, and I well know that as the tree increases in age on a good soil, the coffee will improve in strength and aroma, but the berry will be larger and finer the first year.

In a dry and hot season the comparatively low estates suffer in quality, but seldom in quantity, and the high estates improve both in quality and quantity: while in a wet and cold season, the high estates have an inferior quality and smaller quantity than in dry years, evincing that a full proportion of sun as well as rain is required to develop the coffee berry to its most profitable extent.

At the present time, the position of those who have embarked their capital (many have their all) in this cultivation is very critical, and several are already ruined. Until the last four months, the market, even for very fair qualities, was at the lowest possible paying limit, and few estates could have done more last year than pay their expenses.

The reasons for this unfortunate state of things are manifold, and I shall proceed to state the most glaring of them. In the first place, labor has been very scarce, and as a natural consequence too dear; this is owing in a great measure to the want of unanimity in adopting means to secure an abundant and steady supply, an evil that is at last occupying the attention of the agricultural community. When laborers could not be obtained in sufficient numbers, competition for their services took place, and an unnatural, and unnecessary, high rate of pay was the result, and this rate has continued: since here, as in all other countries, it is found much easier to raise the laborer's hire than to decrease it again. Glaring as this evil was, it is only lately that planters are beginning to stir themselves to remove it; and it is a pleasing evidence that the torpid state has passed over, that they are at last endeavouring to enforce means to remedy so great an injury.

Another cause of failure has been the system that was almost universally followed of purchasing and cultivating any description of land; the mere fact of forest-trees being on it was to many persons sufficient evidence of the land being good; hence every acre of whole mountain ranges has been purchased, shewing that little care in selection was practised.

The consequence is that a great number of estates are formed on land that should never have been cleared for such a purpose; or the clearing should only have been in small patches or fields, so that the bad land might be left in forest. Many such estates are already exhausted and consequently abandoned. Few productions are more exhausting to land than coffee; large crops are taken from, and nothing returned to the land, which, with the great heat of the sun, soon evaporates and exhausts all the good qualities, even of very fair soils. A system too that prevailed, to a great extent, in the selection and cultivation of land led inevitably to a like result: I allude to the fact that it was not considered necessary that a coffee-planter should have any previous knowledge of his profession or of agricultural operations generally; on the contrary, the great body were from all trades and professions of men: all who came to Ceylon were immediately employed to form or manage estates, and although a great many of these have become successful and energetic cultivators, this has resulted rather from good fortune than sound reasoning; the majority have failed; and it is now known and felt that some preparatory knowledge and experience is required in coffee planting, as well as in other professions.

Again, a very unwise and most expensive system was practised from the commencement, particularly when we consider that Ceylon has no resident laboring population. I allude to the common custom that prevailed of forming, what may be called for coffee cultivation, immense estates, varying from two to six hundred acres in extent; it is now an acknowledged agricultural fact that a small extent of land, kept in a high state of cultivation, will pay much better than a large extent, in an indifferent state, and this remark will apply to few things more aptly than to coffee.

I may cite as another cause of failure the large capital sunk in the purchase of the land, which gives of course no return; so that a person with a capital of three or four thousand pounds, who sank one half or more in the purchase of land alone, was subsequently obliged to borrow at ruinous interest before his estate was half formed; and yet his first capital should have been sufficient to form a good, though small estate, had he been

able to procure his land on the terms I shall mention in a subsequent part of this article.

It follows as a sequence that where labor is scarce, and the supply not at all equal to the demand, every new estate commenced is an injury and a drawback to all properties already formed; and here was a source of failure, a means of defeat, most deeply felt, for only last year almost every estate lost, from the want of a full supply of laborers, a considerable portion of its crop, varying from one fourth to one tenth, and even some estates lost what would have given them a fair profit for the year.

In Ceylon estates were formed and planted in such rapid succession (and the most inferior land will give three or four crops) that the production and supply of coffee * increased much faster than the consumption, or demand; the price consequently fell, and to add to our disasters, two almost ruinous blows were at this time inflicted by the home government, the one being the reduction of the differential duties, making an alteration of fifty per cent in favor of the foreign grower—the other, a change in the upset price of land from five to twenty shillings per acre, and this took place when the greater portion of the good and available land had been already purchased in most extensive tracts.

It is almost needless to speculate now, but how different would have been the position of our producing and commercial prospects, had the Government granted the land, or sold it in tracts of nine hundred acres, at a nominal value of one or two shillings per acre, on the condition that one fifth of the land sold should be brought under cultivation within one or two years and that the money derived from the sale of such land should have been appropriated solely and entirely to opening bridle and cart roads through the different mountain ranges. It would have been desirable to have done this before the land was sold, the money for such purpose being raised on loan, or otherwise, and repaid on the sale of the land. Had this plan been followed out, it is true there would not have been much more land in cultivation, but there would have been more resident proprietors, more roads open, and therefore cheaper transport, and we must

* I am aware that the converse of this is now likely to be the rule, and that the consumption is now supposed to be increasing faster than the production; the consumption for the first quarter of this year was at the rate of 42,000,000 lbs., or 375,000 hundredweights—but they have yet to receive the increased supply from Ceylon both this and next year.

hope more abundant and less costly labor, the men from the roads going to the coffee estates. In this way the immense capital now irrecoverably sunk in the purchase of extensive tracts of land, would have been expended solely in cultivation and in producing, and the import and export revenues would have been greatly increased thereby.

Notwithstanding the difficulties to be encountered, and the gloomy prospects which have now for some years been apparent, coffee cultivation has increased to an enormous extent, and in a most rapid manner, in this island, although now there seems a complete check to this state of things, for we hear of no estates extending, or new properties forming. In fact, under the late state of affairs, a man would be mad to attempt either the one or the other. In the year 1839 there were only some eight or ten estates in Ceylon, there are now about two hundred and fifty, occupying an extent of fifty thousand acres of cultivated land, which will yield a yearly crop of *400,000 cwts. of plantation coffee alone.

If we allow that the same extent only of cultivation will be kept up, by new land being cultivated or new estates being formed, in place of what is exhausted and abandoned, we shall still supply fifty thousand cwt. of plantation-coffee alone, which is more than the consumption of Great Britain, even at the present increased rate, and the native coffee may amount to as much more; so that we have to look to a foreign market to take off these 100,000 cwt. in excess, as well as the quantity produced by other British colonies and that supplied by foreign growers.

I will mention one instance of the rapid increase of cultivation. In the year 1840, I was the second person to purchase land on an extensive range of mountains near Kandy, where there are now fifty estates, averaging each two hundred acres of planted land, which will yield an average crop of 80,000 cwt. of coffee, for there is only one indifferent estate among them; and yet in 1839, not a tree had been felled on this range of mountain; and the progress in other districts has been quite, if not more rapid, though not with the like success. Every acre of the above range is purchased, and that in large tracts, or there would have been double the number of estates in cultivation.

* It is only really good estates that will average for a continued period anything like eight cwt. per acre, although nearly all will do it for three or four years, but I suppose that this amount will be kept up, by good land being cultivated in place of bad land abandoned.

From the foregoing it may be safely asserted that there is much more money sunk, and irretrievably lost, in the cultivation of coffee, than has been, or indeed is likely to be, gained for many years to come; in fact, the production must diminish almost as rapidly as it has increased, unless every means is adopted, both by the government and individuals, to foster and encourage the cultivation of this valuable article, on which the prosperity of Ceylon and its existence as a useful colony entirely depend; for no one will continue to keep up and cultivate estates at a loss; they will be abandoned, as they have been in the West-Indies. New roads should be opened, every encouragement given, every means enforced, to secure a regular and abundant supply of labor; the former are required to enable the planter to send his produce to a shipping port at a much lower rate than he now pays.

With all this, however, it becomes a question whether coffee cultivation can be carried on here unless the advantage of a differential duty in our favor be continued to us, for we know that in the year 1843, when the differential duty was lowered, and the tax on foreign coffee brought within fifty per cent of that levied on British growth; thus assimilating the duties to a greater extent than they were previously, the price of British coffee fell in the English market to little more than one half its former value. It is not therefore the mere difference in the sum of the two duties we have to fear, but every step to equalization has the effect of depreciating the value of British coffee to an alarming extent. It has been seen that capitalists were induced to enter into coffee cultivation in Ceylon at a time when land was cheap, and when the protective duty amounted to 150 per cent, in favor of the British grower; but no sooner were numerous estates formed and a very large sum invested than the price of land was raised 400 per cent, while the protective duty, our great stay, was lowered to fifty per cent, so that the British cultivators were at once placed in a false and most unfortunate position, and it is yet a question whether they are not fully entitled to more favorable measures and greater encouragement, particularly when we consider the difficulties they have encountered and surmounted, the distance they are from the mother country,* and the total want of a resident laboring population under which they are now suffering.

The catalogue of difficulties and disappointments is not yet complete, for within the last two years, we have had two most serious natural enemies to encounter, the one a species of aphis,

* At the present time (September, 1847) freights from Ceylon are £7 10 per ton, or 8s. 6d. per *cwt.* whilst in Brazil they are probably below half that amount. L.

which preys on the coffee tree to the destruction of one half the crop and the serious if not permanent injury of the tree; the other a common field-rat, which has this year appeared in great numbers, in some districts, and which destroys both young and old trees, by cutting off the primary branches and the bearing wood, to the destruction of the tree in the former instance, and the loss of a great proportion of the crop in the latter, and entailing the extra expense of two or three years' cultivation, and even then a like result may follow. In fact, few speculations will shew the indomitable energy and perseverance of the British cultivator more than the coffee estates of Ceylon, and few things require these qualities more than such cultivation in such an Island.

From the foregoing remarks, the result of some experience and observation, the following conclusions may be deduced: That the causes of failure, as far as Ceylon is concerned, are threefold—first, the high rate of wages—secondly, the want of a regular, and abundant supply of labor—thirdly, the great expense of transport, from the want of good roads. The first fact is proved by the circumstances that a laborer in Ceylon can live on one third of his pay, and save two thirds, that he actually does so, and carries his savings, after remaining here for a few months, away from the place in which they are earned to another country: a state of things scarcely paralleled in any colony.

The second drawback is the cause and consequence of the first, for if the supply of labor were regular and abundant, the rate of pay would be lowered to a fair and just standard, both for employer and employed; this is far from the case at present, for in no other part of the world can the daily laborer save two thirds or even one half of his pay.

The third, and very important statement is proved by the fact that many proprietors have to pay as much as 6*s.*, 8*s.* and even 10*s.* per cwt. before their produce can be taken to a shipping port, which in fact is giving a rate for transport which would amount to a moderate profit, and much more than is likely to be obtained under present circumstances. In this I assume that ten shillings per cwt., or four pounds per acre, would be a moderate profit, but this, with the risks and dangers of a tropical climate, and in such a place as Ceylon, is any thing but a fair remuneration for capital invested, and the farmer even of our own happy land frequently obtains a larger net income from his acres, yet how many in Ceylon would be glad to compound for this return, amounting as it would to about ten per cent on the outlay.

But the foregoing is not the only or principal injury that accrues from the want of roads and cheap transport, for the pro-

duce is thereby kept on the estate till the rainy weather sets in, and then from its being cured and shipped in wet or damp weather, the quality is deteriorated in value to the amount of ten and frequently even twenty shillings per cwt., and if this has already proved to be the case, what will it be when fully double the quantity of plantation-coffee is shipped from Ceylon? It may be remarked that the planter should, in such cases, keep his produce on the estate, but in addition to the deterioration and expense likely to ensue from such a proceeding, he loses the interest of money, and requires cash to go on with, which he can only obtain by drawing against his shipments; again, if this were extensively practised, with our present limited means of transport, the new crop would be in before the old one was away, and our position would become worse than before.

The projected railway, *when completed*, will, it is true, remedy this evil, but under existing circumstances, and present low prices, how many estates will be in existence by the time the railway is finished? and if only the first thirty-two miles are to be made, it will be of no use to any one, for as that is on the easiest and most level part of the whole road, it would never be worth while to remove so bulky an article as coffee twice, for the sake of so short a distance, though we may be sure that if thirty-two miles are made, the remainder must be gone on with, or the shareholders must be content to lose all they have expended, and the government to pay the five per cent on the amount, for which they have given their guarantee.

It is now generally supposed that the coffee market has seen its lowest state, that a reaction has already taken place, and that prices must improve, and it is certain that unless this really occurs, all that can be done here will be of no avail; estates will not pay, and all but the very finest (a very small proportion of the whole) will be abandoned, and Ceylon may then revert to a more insignificant position than she occupied before coffee cultivation was commenced, for the cinnamon trade is also nearly annihilated and is no longer a government monopoly.

As an instance of the depreciation in the value of property here, I may mention the particulars of a public sale which took place only last month, when an estate that was sold in 1843 for £15,000 was knocked down for £440 only. Numerous other examples could be brought forward, and it is certain that before a healthy state of things can be looked for again, or the cultivation of coffee can be extended, or even continued, the market for medium qualities must be maintained at 70s. and 80s. while for the last three years it has been at 45s. and 50s.

What then would be the effect of an equalization of duties to the Ceylon planter? We should infer utter and entire ruin, and the abandonment of nine-tenths of the estates. The effect of every change in the differential duties heretofore has been, to lower the value of British coffee to a much greater extent than the mere difference of duty would amount to, and I know of no sound argument why the same result may not be again expected, from a like cause.

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*Memorandum of Coffee exported from Ceylon from the year 1836 to 1847.**

Year.	Quantity.
1836	cwt. 60,329
1837	,, 43,164
1838	,, 49,541
1839	,, 41,863
1840	,, 63,162
1841	,, 80,584
1842	,, 119,805
1843	,, 94,847
1844	,, 133,957
1845	,, 178,603
1846	,, 173,892

* This memorandum has been obtained from the Custom-house at Colombo. L.

IX.

THE CINNAMON TRADE OF CEYLON.

WE learn from Scripture (*Exod.* xxx. 23.) that Cinnamon and Cassia were in demand among the Hebrews for religious uses; but we find no allusion to the country from which they were obtained, or the merchants by whose means they were imported. There can be little doubt, however, that the Arabians traded from the Red Sea to the Malabar coast and Ceylon, and introduced them into Egypt, Tyre and Palestine, (*Ezek.* xxvii. 22.) whence they found their way farther westward. Pliny calls that part of Æthiopia which borders on the Equator the "cinnamon-bearing," in the idea that it produced the fragrant reeds: and the Greeks were generally of opinion that they were obtained from Arabia.

Cinnamon is indigenous to Ceylon, and whilst its exportation was protected by a strict government-monopoly, it was universally allowed that the very best qualities were produced in that Island only. The Cingalese name the tree *curundu-gaha* (කුරුඳුගහ) and the bark *curundu-pottu* (කුරුඳු පොතු.) The Latin and English name appears to be derived from the Hebrew *kinmon*, which (according to Parkhurst) is the substantive form of the verb *kinom*, to smell strongly. The blossom of the tree is like jasmine; its berry, of the size of a small olive, yields an oil, when boiled, which may be used as an ointment, and was formerly collected to be burned in the lamps of the king's palace. It is the second bark of the bush which furnishes the cinnamon; the outer rind is stripped from it with a crooked knife, and exposure to the sun gives it, when dried, the form in which we see it in Europe. Long quills are preferred in our markets. Cinnamon is not found in the north of Ceylon; it is principally collected from Madampe, southward of the Chilaw river, right across the Island, until we arrive a little below the Waluwe river. Several places near Batticaloa produce it also. The root of the tree can be made to furnish the strongest camphor.

There are three sorts of cinnamon: the first is the produce of moderate-sized bushes; the second, which is coarser, is collected from older and thicker trees; and the third sort is gathered in the jungles. The last kind is to be had on the Malabar coast and in other places, but the Dutch were the sole possessors of all the countries producing the spice. (*Valentyn.*)

The Singhalese attached little value to this article which was so much coveted in Europe. When Admiral Spielbergen visited Kandy in 1602, and an alliance between the native king and the Prince of Orange was arranged, the present given to the admiral consisted only of 3000 pounds weight of pepper and cinnamon; and the king apologized for the small quantity, saying that the admiral's arrival had been unexpected, and that he had never attached any value to these products, but that, on the contrary, he had rather caused the cinnamon to be rooted out and forbidden the collection of it, in order to annoy the Portuguese.

One article of the treaty made by the Kandyan king with Marcellus de Boschhouwer in 1612, stipulated that the Dutch should be free to trade with the Singhalese at all places of the island, and that a certain quantity of the best cinnamon should be sold to them yearly at a fixed price; and in 1687, four hundred bales of cinnamon, with a quantity of wax and pepper, were given to the Dutch Commissioner Westerwold as an earnest of the fulfilment of an offensive and defensive alliance, then entered into, against the Portuguese.

In 1649, an ill-feeling towards the Dutch had arisen in the mind of the native King and the Dutch General Maatzuyker complains that, in the neighbourhood of Galle, no cinnamon was collected, and that at Madampe he had met an Appoohamy with some lascoreens who plainly told him that he had been sent there by the King to prevent any Chalias coming from the Portuguese territory, as his Majesty wished the country to be so deserted that the Dutch should not be able to gather any cinnamon from it.

In 1650, the Hollanders became independent masters of Galle and their President, J. van Kittenstein, received regular instructions from General Maatzuyker respecting the collection of cinnamon. He was advised to patronize and protect the Chalias, a caste in low estimation among the natives, but who would be found of great utility to the Dutch. They were said to reside in the southern province, between the villages of Cosgodde

and Lanamodere, some scattered settlements being also found near Matura. They had their peculiar chief, who was called Captain of the Mahabadde, and he had four Vidahns under him. July, August, September and October were then the months for peeling, and the Chalias, whose turn it was to go on duty, were to be properly registered and made answerable for two *bahars* each; receiving for one bahar $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollar, (7s. 6d.) and furnishing the other gratuitously. The Captain was to be held responsible that the fixed number of 515 workmen went into the forest and remained there till they had brought in the stipulated quantity, which amounted to 898 bahars of 480lbs. each=431,040lbs. The cinnamon, when ready, was to be put up in gunny bags and sent to Batavia.

In 1650, the Kandyan king, to keep up an appearance of friendship, ordered 41,280 pounds of cinnamon to be delivered to a Dutch ship off Chilaw.

In 1661, Governor vander Meyden was instructed to take care that the collection of cinnamon amounted to 500,000lbs. and above all to prevent its exportation to foreign places. In 1663, Governor van Hustaert was recommended to try hides for the packing of cinnamon, as the Portuguese had been known to use them for that purpose at Cochin; but he preferred the gunnies made at Tutucoryn. In 1664, 6675 bales, weighing 534,000 pounds, were exported from Ceylon; and in answer to an observation made in a letter from home, respecting the superior quality of one particular bale which had been sent, the Governor remarks that the Vidahn of the peelers informed him that 20 or 30 bales of a far better quality might be collected each year, but that the Chalias would lose so much time in seeking for it separately, that they would be prevented from bringing in the required quantity. The quantity which each peeler was supposed to be able to bring in was 30lbs. a day, and the enmity of the Kandyan king obliged the Portuguese as well as the Dutch to frequently guard the workmen by detachments of militia sent out from the small forts of Negombo, Caltura, Hangwelle, &c., and to have a troop of European soldiers in the neighbourhood where the principal gathering took place. This expense must have greatly lessened the amount of profit derived by the Dutch Company from this chief staple of commerce in Ceylon.

In April 1707, Governor Simons issued instructions to the chief of the cinnamon department, consisting of 57 articles, but as these chiefly contain regulations for the registering of the

peelers, and fixing their liabilities, we shall merely extract such rules as bear upon the collection and trade of cinnamon:—Art. 26 lays down “that the young Chalias are to leave school between their twelfth and thirteenth year, and immediately to be registered as bound to deliver that year 56 pounds of cinnamon; and an additional *pingo* of the same weight is to be assigned to them for a task, until the amount reaches eleven, beyond which it is not to go, but the number is to remain at that standard as long as they are able to furnish so much, after which it is to be diminished in the same manner as it was increased, namely, by a *pingo* yearly. This tax on the Chalias is called *Angebade*, and reckons with them for head-money. If the amount of this *Angebade* does not happen to be enough to meet the demand from home, the peelers are bound further to deliver from one to eight *pingos* each, but they are paid for this additional supply at the rate of 6 stuivers for every *pingo*.” Art. 27 declares that “Every peeler must be compelled to furnish his full *Angebade*, and failing to do so, he must pay to his overseer twelve stuivers for every 65 pounds deficient, and the overseer will make up the required quantity.” In 1706, the total number of peelers was 1365.

In 1740, the demand appears to have increased enormously. Baron van Imhoff says that 1,500 bales were required for the Company's stores in India, 200 for Persia, 400 for Coromandel, and 8,000 for Europe—which, calculating the bale at 88lbs. will give us a total demand of nearly 900,000lbs. Cinnamon sold that year in Amsterdam at 45 stuivers the pound, which is about the lowest price it ever fetched during the Dutch government of Ceylon. The highest prices appear to have prevailed between the years 1753 and 1787, during which time the quantities supplied to the home-market averaged 400,000lbs. annually, and the rates of sale varied from 100 stuivers (8s. 4d.) to 212 (17s. 8d.) per pound.

It was about thirty years before the English took Ceylon, that Baron Falck, finding that the demand for cinnamon increased in Europe, and that the supply obtained from the Kandyan territories was growing precarious, resolved on rendering the trade independent of all contingencies by planting the Marandahn gardens, which cover a space of ground extending nearly three miles in every direction, and covering about 4,000 acres. His successor, M. van de Graaf, encouraged this plantation, in spite of the opposition of the high government at Batavia, and it is to him we are chiefly indebted for the flourishing condition in

which the lands producing this staple of Ceylon trade were transferred to our hands.

In commenting on "the extraordinary degree of rigour" with which the Dutch enforced the monopoly of the cinnamon trade, Mr. Bertolacci says "The selling or giving away the smallest quantity of Cinnamon (even were it but a single stick,) the exporting of it, the peeling of the bark, extracting the oil either from that or the leaves, or the camphor from the roots, except by the servants of government and by their order, as well as the wilful injuring of a cinnamon plant, were all made crimes punishable with death, both on the persons committing them and upon every servant of government who should connive at it." The absurd severity of such a law would have the natural effect of preventing its being carried out; and yet it stood on the colonial statute book until the end of the monopoly, in 1832.

I annex a table which I compiled from the records in the Chamber of Colonial Archives in Amsterdam, to which office I was allowed the most liberal access in 1840, by order of the Colonial Minister of his Netherland Majesty, and in which our Record-keepers generally might learn a lesson how to arrange and readily find documents on every separate subject, when required. This table may be interesting to the general reader, as well as to our mercantile community.

QUANTITIES and PRICES of CINNAMON sold in AMSTERDAM, in the
years 1691—1805.

Year.	Quantity sold.	Average Price.	Year.	Quantity sold.	Average Price.	Year.	Quantity sold.	Average Price.
	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>Stuivers or Pence.</i>		<i>lbs.</i>	<i>Stuivers or Pence.</i>		<i>lbs.</i>	<i>Stuivers or Pence.</i>
1691	375,000	56	1735	350,000	48 $\frac{5}{8}$	1780	250,000	150
—2	375,000	49 $\frac{3}{4}$	—6	450,000	51 $\frac{1}{10}$	—1	200,000	156
—3	375,000	47 $\frac{1}{4}$	—7	600,000	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	—2	200,000	208
—4	375,000	48	—8	600,000	47 $\frac{7}{10}$	—3	300,000	200
—5	350,000	55 $\frac{1}{2}$	—9	600,000	42 $\frac{3}{8}$	—4	250,060	212
—6	190,000	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	1740	400,000	44 $\frac{15}{10}$	—5	450,000	195
—7	—	—	—1	400,000	42 $\frac{1}{4}$	—6	400,000	160
—8	388,000	59 $\frac{3}{4}$	—2	350,000	45 $\frac{1}{5}$	—	5590 bro.	111
—9	375,000	58	—3	450,000	49 $\frac{1}{4}$	—7	300,000	180
1700	375,000	54	—4	500,000	50 $\frac{15}{10}$	—8	80,000	150
—1	375,000	50 $\frac{7}{10}$	—5	600,000	51 $\frac{5}{8}$	—9	300,800	150
—2	300,000	44 $\frac{7}{8}$	—6	600,000	51 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	2500 bro.	90
—3	225,000	44 $\frac{1}{8}$	—7	500,000	54 $\frac{1}{10}$	1790	420,000	166
—4	200,000	46	—8	450,000	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	—1	350,000	140
—5	300,000	56 $\frac{1}{8}$	—9	550,000	51 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	1400 bro.	99
—6	375,000	54	1750	500,000	55 $\frac{1}{4}$	—2	250,000	175
—7	375,000	56 $\frac{3}{4}$	—1	550,000	57 $\frac{3}{4}$	—3	400,000	122
—8	375,000	55 $\frac{5}{8}$	—2	550,000	78 $\frac{1}{8}$	—4	250,000	128
—9	350,000	51 $\frac{3}{8}$	—3	500,000	121	—	4000 bro.	90
—10	350,000	51 $\frac{3}{10}$	—4	500,000	95	—5	140,000	134
—11	375,000	43 $\frac{15}{10}$	—5	350,000	111 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	2600 bro.	70
—12	327,740	44 $\frac{1}{4}$	—6	400,000	118	—6	110,520	160
	47,260	33	—7	250,000	125	—	800,000	80
—13	375,000	49 $\frac{2}{3}$	—8	300,000	123 $\frac{1}{8}$	—7	159,308	162
—14	375,000	49 $\frac{9}{10}$	—9	500,000	130	—	13,000 bro.	80
—15	375,000	52 $\frac{7}{10}$	1760	500,000	101	—8	43,000 bro.	
—16	300,000	50	—1	450,000	100	—	7,000 bro.	
—17	425,000	53 $\frac{3}{5}$	—2	350,000	118	—9	—	
—18	450,000	51 $\frac{7}{8}$	—3	400,000	115	1800	9,300	125
—19	500,000	49 $\frac{17}{20}$	—4	460,000	124 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	15000 bro.	55
—20	500,000	51 $\frac{1}{5}$	—5	320,000	133	—1	—	
—21	425,000	47 $\frac{3}{4}$	—6	400,000	152	—2	43,000	
—22	425,000	51 $\frac{3}{10}$	—7	400,000	144	—3	—	
—23	525,000	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	—8	400,000	138 $\frac{1}{2}$	—4	—	
—24	550,000	53 $\frac{1}{2}$	—9	350,000	137 $\frac{1}{2}$	—5	25,500	
—25	600,000	54 $\frac{5}{8}$	1770	350,000	144	—	28,000	
—26	500,000	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	—1	400,000	150	—	—	
—27	380,000	50	—2	450,000	162	—	—	
—28	500,000	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	—3	350,000	128	—	—	
—29	450,000	51 $\frac{15}{10}$	—4	450,000	124	—	—	
—30	500,000	49 $\frac{5}{8}$	—5	400,000	161	—	—	
—31	500,000	50 $\frac{1}{4}$	—6	400,000	132	—	—	
—32	500,000	50 $\frac{1}{4}$	—7	400,000	141	—	—	
—33	500,000	49 $\frac{3}{10}$	—8	350,000	140	—	—	
—34	400,000	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	—9	300,000	140	—	—	

In the 6th Article of the Capitulation of Colombo, the Dutch valued the fine cinamon which had become the property of the captors at three rupees the pound, at a low estimate.

The very rigorous monopoly established by the Dutch with regard to cinnamon was in some degree modified by a proclamation of Mr. North in December 1801. The inconvenience arising from the total prohibition of the sale of cinnamon in the colony was removed, proper persons being licensed to retail it in quantities not exceeding one pound within any one month to any single individual, but persons not duly licensed were still to continue liable to confiscation of the cinnamon and a fine of ten rixdollars for every pound found in their possession. Commanders of vessels were also permitted to take ten pounds from the warehouse-keeper at Colombo or Galle for their use at sea.

On the 1st of January 1802, Ceylon was transferred from the administration of the East India Company to the King's Government,* but it was thought advisable to secure the profits arising from the trade in cinnamon by entrusting it to the commercial experience of the Company's servants. It was therefore arranged that the Ceylon Government should deliver annually 400,000lbs. of cinnamon for which it should receive a credit of £60,000 and all clear profits exceeding five per cent were also to be made over to Ceylon. In 1810, the Company complained that the market was so unfavourable that they were losers by their bargain, and they obtained the assent of the King's Government to have 450,000lbs. of cinnamon for the same amount of payment; but in 1813 the Ceylon authorities discovered that cinnamon was selling so well in the English market that the Company must certainly be making far more than their stipulated profit of five per cent, and proof of this being the case appears to have been so easy of production that the Company made a compensation of £200,000 for past surplus profits and increased their annual allowance to £101,000 for 400,000lbs. weight. The contract to the above effect lasted from 1814 to 1821.

It was a great object with Mr. North to extend and improve the large government plantations of Marendahn and Morotto in the vicinity of Colombo and to form others at Ekelle and Kaderani, about eighteen miles distant, in order that the monopoly might be more effectually maintained, and that the natives might not be restrained in the cultivation of grain and the rearing of cattle by the stringent rules which were necessary to prevent injury to the gardens and to hinder the rooting out of the plant in private lands. It appears, however, that these be-

* See BERTOLACCI, page 245.

nevolent intentions were frustrated by the fact that in 1802 only 3679 bales were collected for shipment, in 1803 only 2680, in 1804, 2678 bales and in 1805, 2469 bales, instead of the stipulated number of 4324; and Sir Thomas Maitland therefore found himself obliged to enforce all the regulations which would enable his government to furnish the required quantity from our own territory, the Kandyan disturbances naturally impeding our collections in the interior provinces. From 1806 to 1812 the quantity delivered to the Company's agent averaged 4300 bales yearly; besides which from thirty to forty thousand pounds, of a quality rejected by the agent, were exported annually from Ceylon to countries east of the Cape, or chiefly to Manilla, where it entered into the list of articles exported to Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain, in return for the 500,000 pesos permitted by the Spanish government to be taken thence every year to the Philippine islands.*

I may remark here that it is a very singular circumstance, that the principal consumption of this spice, produced in the East Indies, should take place in South America, a country having its own *Canelas*, or land of cinnamon. In 1540, Pizarro assigned the territory of Quito to his brother Gonzalo, "with instructions to explore the unknown country towards the east, where, as report said, grew the cinnamon."—"After some months of toilsome travel, in which they had to cross many a morass and mountain-stream * * * they saw the trees bearing the precious bark, spreading out into broad forests; yet however valuable an article for commerce it might have proved in accessible situations, in these remote regions it was of little use to them.†"

Sir R. Schomburgh says, in his "Description of British Guiana:"—"The cinnamon tree was introduced into Guiana in 1772, and there are a few planters who have several specimens of that aromatic tree in their gardens: however, it has never become an object of export. The healthy state of the trees and their luxuriant growth would ensure its becoming an article of commerce. The surface of the land where it is cultivated in Ceylon, is a pure white sand, under which is a deep stratum of rich mould. The extensive tracts south of the sandy ridges present the same soil in British Guiana. * * * A wild kind of cinnamon is indigenous in Guiana, the bark of which is used as a simple by the natives."

In 1821 the contract between the Ceylon Government and the East India Company expired and I am not aware that it was

* See ROBERTSON'S AMERICA, Vol. iii. Book viii.

† PRESCOTT'S CONQUEST OF PERU, Vol. ii. p. p. 138 & 142.

attempted to renew it. The subjection of the Kandyan country, which had taken place in 1815, placed a far greater quantity of cinnamon at the easy command of the former, but they continued to give much attention to their own plantations at Marendahn, Morotto, Kaderani and Ekelle, and the energy of the gentlemen of the cinnamon department was efficiently seconded by the liberal supplies which Sir Edward Barnes allowed to carry out the plans of the chief superintendent, Mr. Walbeoff. The gardens were drained, weeded, freed from forest trees and greatly extended; but in 1828, the force employed for these purposes was ordered to be reduced and the neglect of this valuable property went on gradually increasing till a transfer of it to private purchasers took place under orders from home, when the prices it realized were low beyond conception. The preserved gardens had given, between 1822 and 1831, an average harvest of 3500 bales or 322,000lbs. yearly. This quantity, with the amount procured from other government property, was sent to England, consigned to an official and intelligent agent (Mr. Howard) by whom it was introduced into the market as the demand called for it, and I think this seldom went beyond 500,000lbs. a-year. The agent was allowed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, on the gross proceeds, which were reckoned at £139,905 in 1830. The total expence of the preparation, transport, and sale was £42,300, leaving to government an annual average income of £97,605. Commissioner Colebrooke advised that the sales should take place in Ceylon only, and calculated that the yearly income would be reduced to £50,000, leaving a deficiency of about an equal amount to be made good from other sources.

In March 1833, this almost *natural* monopoly of Ceylon received its final warrant in the following notification from Government:

NOTICE is hereby given, in direct pursuance of Instructions received from the Secretary of State, that from and after the tenth of July next, the general Export of Cinnamon, from the Ports of Colombo and Point de Galle exclusively, in the Island of Ceylon, will be allowed, on payment of an export-duty of three shillings per pound, without distinction of quality.

From the same period all restrictions and prohibitions against the cultivation, possession, or sale of Cinnamon by private individuals will cease, and such quantities of Cinnamon as Government now have in its possession, or may hereafter be obliged to receive in payment of rent or from the Government Plantations, (until they can be otherwise disposed of) will be sold at periodical sales, subject always to the payment of the said export-duty, and under conditions, as to the completion of the purchase and the actual payment of the purchase money in cash or Government bills on delivery of the Cinnamon, similar to those heretofore stipulated at the sales held in London, and which will be fully notified and explained hereafter.

No collections will for the future be made in the forests on account of Government.

The first sale will be held on the tenth day of July next, at the office of the Commissioner of Revenue, when one thousand bales of Cinnamon will be put up to sale in lots, at the undermentioned prices, and will be sold to the highest bidder above the reserved price:

1st sort per lb.....	£0	3	6
2d do. do. „	0	2	0
3d do. do. „	0	0	9

the proportion of each sort to be put up will be notified hereafter.

The stock of Cinnamon in the hands of the Agent in London in September 1832, and which was to be sold at the four usual quarterly sales in October 1832 and January, April and July, 1833, amounted to 4688 bales; two consignments amounting to 826 bales have since been sent to England, viz.

500 bales in July 1832.
326 „ Oct. 1832.

since which no shipments have been made, and none will be made hereafter.

The sales for the two years, ending with that of July 1832, somewhat exceeded 5,500 bales per annum.

By His Excellency's Command,

Chief Secretary's Office,
Colombo, 9th March 1833.

(Signed) P. ANSTRUTHER,
Dep. Sec. to Govt.

The impulse given to the trade by these *free* measures was at first very great, and persons of all grades in the Colony availed themselves of the opportunity to make advantageous remittances home. The quality of the government stock put up for sale was of course as good as it had previously been, and the *préstitige* attached to it made it a privilege to private exporters to have their own produce assorted in the establishment of government. At the same time the restriction on rooting up cinnamon on private grounds was considerably modified. In April 1835, the duty on the lowest quality was reduced to two shillings a pound whilst that on the first and second sorts still remained at three shillings. In 1837 the duty on the better sorts was reduced to 2s. 6d., and in 1841 to two shillings; and in 1843 a common export duty of one shilling only was ordered to be levied on all kinds indiscriminately. Even under this modification the trade has languished most sensibly, and I am of opinion that it will become a matter of necessary relief to our commerce in a short time to remove entirely all duty whatever on cinnamon exported. The following table exhibits the quantity exported from Ceylon during the last twelve years and the prices realized in London:

*Memorandum of Cinnamon exported from Ceylon from the year
1835 to 1846.**

YEARS.	QUANTITY.	AVERAGE PRICES AT HOME.									
		lbs.	1st sort.		2d sort.		3d sort.				
			s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.			
1835	380,321 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	8	0	..	7	0	..	6	0
1836	724,364	...	8	6	..	7	6	..	5	6	
1837	558,110	...	7	0	..	5	9	..	4	6	
1838	398,176	...	8	3	..	6	6	..	5	0	
1839	596,592 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	6	9	..	5	9	..	4	6
1840	389,373 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	7	0	..	5	6	..	4	0
1841	317,919 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	6	9	..	5	6	..	3	8
1842	121,145 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	7	3	..	6	6	..	4	6
1843	662,704	...	4	6	..	4	0	..	3	6	
1844	1,057,841	...	4	6	..	4	0	..	3	6	
1845	405,669	...	4	0	..	3	0	..	2	6	
1846	401,656	...	4	2	..	2	9	..	1	10	
TOTAL...		5,963,871 $\frac{3}{4}$									
Yearly average..		496,989lbs.									

It is thus seen that the yearly average export since 1835 has not exceeded the quantity which, under the Government monopoly, was brought into the London market; and the important question arises hence, "What has been and is the cause of the immense depreciation in price?" I am aware that a ready answer to this enquiry is "the export-duty on cinnamon has been so high that cassia has in a great measure taken the place of cinnamon, being procurable at one-third of the price;" and that there is no other remedy for this depreciation but an abolition of the duty altogether. I have heard this repeatedly urged, but am not disposed to assent to its accuracy. Ribeyro tells us (Book III. chap. 1. *note.*) that cassia fistula, which came from Quilon and all the Malabar coast, was substituted in his time for cinnamon, and that the English sold one for the other. And Lord Bacon, half a century earlier than Ribeyro, also alludes to cassia "which is now the substitute for cinnamon.† I am ra-

* I am indebted to my friend the Collector of Customs, Mr Saunders, for the quantities given in this Memorandum and to Messrs. Ackland Boyd and Co. for the prices.—L.

† 620—The ancient Cinnamon was, of all other plants, while it grew, the driest; and those things which are known to comfort other plants, did make that more sterile; for in showers it prospered worst; it grew also amongst bushes of other kinds, where commonly plants do not thrive; neither did it love the sun. There might be one cause of all these effects; namely, the sparing nourishment which that plant required. *Query*, how far Cassia, which is now the substitute of Cinnamon, doth participate of these things?

621—It is reported by one of the ancients, that Cassia, when it is gathered, is put into the skins of beasts newly flayed; and that the skins corrupting and breeding worms, the worms do devour the pith and marrow of it, and so make it hollow; but meddle not with the bark, because to them it is bitter. BACON'S *Natural History*.

ther inclined to argue that neither Java nor any other country has hitherto entered into competition with Ceylon for the best qualities of cinnamon, of which this island appears to have a *natural monopoly*; but that they can supply the inferior qualities in great abundance; that since the cessation of the Government monopoly, and the abandonment of the system of assorting private cinnamon at the government stores and issuing certificates as to its qualities, the best sorts have been very sparingly collected, the government gardens having been too much neglected to furnish a proper supply; that until Kaderani and some parts of Marendahn fell into judicious hands, private parties were more anxious to export a large number of bales than particular about the quality; and that some were even so unprincipled, and so reckless of the mischief they were causing, as to pay the higher rates of duty on mere rubbish made up into the shape of bales in order to raise more money in the colony on the bills of lading, by way of loan, than the commodity (being of the worst description) could ever realize in London. This practice having been even once resorted to, would account for the ruin or depreciation of any article of trade, and there requires hardly to be assigned a more evident cause why a preference has ceased to be given to the cinnamon of this island. It is well known that when, some years ago, a French ship took an investment of the spice direct to Marseilles it met but little favour, parties not being accustomed to receive it from any other source than from the London market. I am not aware what success attended a shipment of 1000 bales made by one of the principal commercial houses of Colombo direct to Cadiz in 1844, but I believe it was not such as to encourage a repetition.

After the abandonment of the monopoly, Government commenced by selling the tracts of cinnamon ground which had never been the object of their particular care, reserving the best gardens to collect their crop from for the monthly sales in Colombo. In 1840 they began to dispose of these gardens also, and Ekelle, Kaderani and Morotto were sold. They now retain only Marendahn in the immediate neighbourhood of Colombo, and this is in a very neglected condition; parts of the garden are parcelled out in lots adapted for building and have been sold for that purpose, realizing very fair prices. The portion which still belongs to government is leased out yearly by competition to parties who collect the cinnamon crop under certain conditions laid down by the Government Agent, which limit the number of men to be employed and the duration of the time for cutting. It will be readily understood that these

leaseholders will not be tender with trees which may not fall into their hands in the following season; and at present those portions of the Marendahn gardens which belong to government are easily distinguished, by their comparatively wretched appearance, from those which belong to private persons.

The following tables and information, with which a commercial friend has obliged me, may aptly conclude this essay:

IMPORTS and SALES of JAVA CINNAMON in HOLLAND; and comparative prices of CEYLON CINNAMON of the 3d sort in LONDON.

Years.	Imported.	Sales per lb.	Price of 3d sort in London.
1837....	3,951lbs.....	6½d. to 5s. 6½d.	.... 3s. 8d. to 4s. 10d.
1838....	5,990	.... 9d. to 5s. 5d.	.... 4s. to 5s. 6d.
1839....	16,352	.... 7½d. to 5s. 10d.	.... 3s. 6d. to 5s. 1d.
1840....	31,170	.... 10½d. to 2s. 6d.	.... 3s. 4d. to 4s. 7d.
1841....	76,664	.... 9d. to 3s. 6d.	.... 3s. 2d. to 4s. 4d.
1842....	124,696	.... 8d. to 3s. 2d.	.... 3s. to 5s. 3d.
1843....	90,858	.... 8½d. to 3s. 11½d.	.... 3s. 9d. to 4s. 8d.
1844....	134,374	.... 10½d. to 5s. 8d.	.... 2s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.
1845....	180,992	.... 3d. to 4s. 1d.	.... 1s. 8d. to 2s. 10d.

NOTES.—The first Java Cinnamon was brought to Holland in 1837. The export-duty from Java is *f*4 (6s. 8d.) per pecul (133½lbs.) in foreign ships. and *f*2 (3s. 4d.) ————— in Dutch ships.

The Java Cinnamon is far superior to the Malabar both in quality and appearance. but it is not so handsome in the bale as that of Telli-cherry, which is always well packed and with clean joints, whilst that from Java is mixed with many false packed canes and ragged joints, and has a stronger drug flavor. Ceylon is superior in every point of view (color excepted) to every other description of Cinnamon. It is perfect in its fine aromatic flavor, in the thinness and regularity of its bark, the length and cleanness of the joints in each cane &c. &c. Java Cinnamon has made the nearest approach to the qualifications of Ceylon Cinnamon, although it is still a very inferior substitute; it is much weaker in flavor and lacks that fine aroma which is the leading feature in the quality of Ceylon Cinnamon; it is besides very inferior in the quilling.—(From the Report of Messrs. Kilby and Co. Brokers, London, October 1843.)

COMPARATIVE STATEMENTS of IMPORTS and EXPORTS of CINNAMON
and CASSIA into and from LONDON.

CINNAMON.				
Years.	Imports Packages of 100lbs.	Prices of fine 2d sorts.*	Exports.	Home Consumption.
1820-27	5,000	6s.	3,800	140 to 150
1827-32	5,000 (trade opened merchants cautious)	8s.	5,000 (†N. E. 3 to 500 S. E. 2,500 to 3,800 S. A. 700 to 1,500)	160
1833	1,000	7s. 6d.	4,400	100
1834	2,000	9s.	2,200	120
1835	4,500		4,000	160
to				to
1837	10,000	8s, 7s, 6s. 9d.	5,600 (N. E. 400 to 500 S. E. 3,000 to 3,600 S. A. 800 to 1,000)	170
1838	4,000		5,000	
to	5,000	6s.	4,500	160
1840	3,000		(900 sent on trial to Germany)	
1841	4,000		5,000 (N. E. 300	
to	2,000	7s.	3,600 S. E. 2,900	160
1843	4,000		4,000 S. A. 400)	
1844	9,500	5s. 6d.	(S. E. 5,000	
1845	9,000	3s. 9d.	6,600 S. A. 800 and 1,300)	185

* The prices of second sort Cinnamon are the fairest criterion of the value in every year.

† N. E. Northern Europe, S. E. Southern Europe, S. A. South America. Observe that the Exports to Southern Europe and South America increase with fall of price, whilst the consumption in Northern Europe is entirely superseded by Cassia.

The stocks on hand were reduced in 1846-47 to 3,000 bales which proves that the imports of 1844-45 had been got rid of.

From 1833 to 1839 France imported on an average 500 bales a year, direct from Ceylon.

CASSIA.

Years.	Imports. Packages of 100/lbs.	Price per cwt.	Exports.	Home Consumption.
1820	3,000	18s.	3,000	300
to	to	to	to	to
1827	5,000	106s.	5,000	500
to	4,000	65s.	8,000 (N. E. 3 to 5,000 S. E. 1 to 2,500)	650
1830	8,000			
1831	4,000	98s.	(N. E. 4,800 S. E. 1,800)	600
1832	10,000		7,000 (N. E. 9 to 10,000)	700
to	to	61s.	to	to
1835	20,000		16,000 S. E. 5 to 6,000)	1,000
to	8,000	61s.	6,000	1,000
1838	4,000	60s.	7,000 } <i>Markets</i> } <i>glutted.</i>	1,000
1839				1,000
	4,000	90s.	6,500 (N. E. 4,500 S. E. 1,800)	and 700
1840				
1841	12,000		12,000 (N. E. 8 to 12,000)	1,200
to	to	65s.	to	1,300
1843	25,000		19,000 S. E. 3 to 6,000)	
1844	13,000	70s.	14,000	

Observe how the Imports decrease when prices fall to 60s. and 68s. and how they increase when prices rise; but at each fluctuation an increased consumption follows.

The preference of low-priced cinnamon to cassia in the preparation of chocolate is accounted for by the fact that the smallest quantity of the spice, which will give the required flavor, is used. Coarse kinds make the chocolate gritty, which acts against the use of cassia. On the other hand, cassia is preferred to counteract the injurious effects of the atmosphere in the mines of Germany and Spain, the taste being stronger and more pungent.

THE PEARL-FISHERIES OF CEYLON.

IN addition to the almost exclusive possession of the finer qualities of cinnamon, Ceylon boasts, in common with a few other places, of a natural monopoly of pearls. The banks on which the oysters lie extend from Manaar down to Negombo, and have been a source of considerable revenue to our colonial government. From 1796 to 1837 the net amount of profit derived from them was £828,381 16 s, and in several years during that period adventurers cleared as much as government did, whilst in others they were considerable losers by their speculation. The venture however suited the gambling spirit of the Chitty and Moorish merchants, and it is a very favorite undertaking with them.

The account given by RIBEYRO in the preceding pages (Book I chap. XXII) is, we believe, generally correct. He omits to state, what probably occurred in his time as well as in ours, namely, that the examination of the bank preparatory to a fishery takes place towards the latter end of October, when the south-west monsoon has abated, and the samples then taken up are submitted to a committee to report on the average value and quantity, and that report guides government in the disposal, and native merchants in the purchase, of the whole fishery or of a number of boats.

The total absence from Ceylon of all Portuguese records prevents our ascertaining what profit their government obtained from the fishery. Valentyn, who wrote in 1707, says: "In former times Manaar was very celebrated for its pearl-banks, and was consequently a very rich island, as might be seen by the magnificent churches and monasteries which the Portuguese erected there, but for eleven or twelve years before Ceylon fell into our hands there had been no fisheries, or very trifling ones, so that Manaar is greatly reduced." I have obtained the two following extracts respecting the pearl-fishery from the Dutch records:

PEARL-FISHERY—29 MARCH 1697.

Extract from a Memoir of HENDRICK SWAARDE CROON, Commandant of Jaffna, left, on his departure from that government, for the instruction of the Political Council of Jaffnapatam.

THE pearl fishery is an extraordinary source of revenue, on which no certain reliance can be placed, as it depends on various contingencies which

may ruin the banks or spoil the oysters. It is held in the vicinity of Aripo, in the bay of Condatchy, and is of such a nature that, if no particular accident happen, it may take place for several years successively, as the whole bay is full of distinct banks, the oysters upon which become in turns fit to be taken up; but if they happen to be washed off the banks, or to be disturbed by storms, the banks may be totally ruined in a very short time.

The examination of the banks takes place every November; it is superintended by Commissioners expressly appointed, and is conducted in Jaffna, Manaar and Madura dhonies, by Pattangattyns and other native headmen, who understand the business. All the preparations for the fishery are made by the government of Jaffna, such as, providing lodgings for the Commissioners, cleaning out the tanks at Mantotte to provide drinking water for the crowds who assemble, caring for a due supply of provisions, forming an armed force of militia and native soldiery &c. &c

1740.

Extract from a Memoir left by His Excellency BARON VON IMHOFF, on his departure from the Government of CEYLON, for the instruction of his successor, His Excellency W. M. BRUYNINCK.

THE Aripo and Tutucoryn pearl-fisheries are rather to be reckoned among the sources of revenue to this island than of profit; as no actual profit is derived from the fisheries themselves, although there are many sources of advantage connected with them. For example, there are the different duties paid by renters, taxes on the divers' stones, contributions of oysters which are sold at the end of the fishery, duties on the exchange, and on cloths which are brought to the bazaar; but the Company does not obtain any pearls, nor have they any chance of purchasing any, as they are always sold at the fisheries at so high a price that the Moormen are in the habit of bleaching old pearls and bringing them for sale, with a certainty of deriving considerable profit from the speculation.

But it is also a matter of reflexion even whether the Company derives any real advantage whatever from the fishery, and whether the whole affair is not rather glitter than gold, as so many things are which belong to the Company; as we have to weigh against the profits from the fishery the expenses and risks of the Commissioners, the charges of the militia and soldiery, the dangers of our shipping, the loss of provisions &c. We may also add the mortality on these occasions, the sickness occasioned by the putrifying of the oysters, the increased price of provi-

sions, the smuggling which injures our cloth-trade, the contraband trade in pepper and areca-nuts. All these disadvantages suggest to me that no fishery should take place on account of government, but that the banks should be rented out to the highest bidder, as the chank-fisheries are, the number of boats and of renters being however limited.

It is now several years since the pearl-banks have fallen into a very bad state, both at Manaar and Tutucoryn; this is mere chance, and experience has shown that on former occasions the banks have been unproductive even for a longer period than has as yet occurred at present. It is useless to seek for the cause of this falling off, which is neither an unprecedented or new event; but it proves that an investigation of the banks should take place every two years at least. This investigation should be made with boats from Tutucoryn and the *dessave* of Jaffnapatam should be present at it, to prevent neglect, as the Company has been shamefully treated since the last Fishery in 1732.

The natives attribute the failures of the banks to the circumstances that so many divers are forced there against their will—that too much profit has been coveted by some of the parties employed—that the divers did not spare the oysters in 1732, which accounts for the present nakedness of the banks. All this is as probable as the assertion hazarded by other parties, namely, that the country is under a spell, from which it suffers losses not only in this respect but in many others.

As long as the Dutch government fished the pearl-banks in *aumany*, that is, on their own account, they were compelled to make large allowances to native princes on the Malabar coast for permission for the divers to come over from their several provinces. On the recommendation of M. van Imhoff, government commenced in 1746 to rent out the fisheries to parties who came over with their own boats and divers, and then endeavoured to stop the allowances in question. This attempt involved them in constant quarrels with the more influential of those princes, and led to several embassies to and from the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, which were unsuccessful on account of each party being anxious to exact more than the other was willing to concede. At the fishery of 1768 an agent of the Nabob of the Carnatic shewed signs of violent interference, and contributed, together with the bad weather, to put a premature end to the fishery. From that time to the period of our taking this island, no fishery took place, the Dutch governor being desirous to avoid an actual collision with the Ma-

labar chiefs, in whose territories he had a monopoly of the cloth trade, a large supply being stored up in the Dutch factories on the coast, which were in a very defenceless condition.

Although the king of Kandy repeatedly urged a claim to a portion of the pearl-fisheries, he never appears to have made them a subject of quarrel; he enumerated them among the possessions of which he styled himself "Grand-Duke", but the Dutch remained peaceable proprietors of them, asserting their right by conquest from the Portuguese to all what that nation had previously possessed here.

The following Table shews as accurately as I can obtain it, the Revenue derived from the Pearl-Banks of Ceylon from 1666 to 1837.

<i>Years.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1666 .. The banks were fished on account of government and the Aripo fishery gave a net profit of	4,913	15	11
1667	6,160	7	5
1694	5,254	16	1
1695	6,177	3	9
1696	6,331	18	4
1697	6,453	0	0
1708	8,848	0	0
1732 .. An unproductive fishery, stated to have been so mismanaged as to have ruined the banks for a time. I cannot find the amount realized			
1746 .. The fishery was rented out to adventurers for	12,000	0	0
1747	21,400	0	0
1748	38,580	0	0
1749	68,375	0	0
1750 .. A fishery of six days only	5,940	0	0
1753	6,360	0	0
1754	1,469	0	0
1768 .. Very unsuccessful on account of the bad weather, I cannot find the amount realized.			

1796 ..	Col. Robertson calculates the total amount of the fishery at £111,291. Government had rented it out for..	..	..	37,096	15	0
1797 ..	.. .. .. ..	£247,962	..	123,982	10	0
1798 ..	.. .. .. ..	£223,094	..	142,780	10	0
1799 ..	The fishery took place on government account—the net proceeds were	..	23,319	7	6	
1801 ..	The Condatchy banks were fished	..	12,020	5	0	
1803 ..	.. Chilaw .. .. .	..	12,191	8	0	
1804 ..	.. Aripo .. .. .	..	55,304	8	0	
1806 ..	.. .. .. .	..	28,086	2	0	
1808 ..	.. .. .. .	..	57,863	9	0	
1809 ..	.. .. .. .	..	18,696	12	11	
1814 ..	.. .. .. .	..	87,045	10	6	
1815 ..	.. Chilaw .. .. .	..	364	7	1	
1816 ..	.. Aripo .. .. .	..	306	8	9	
1820 ..	.. .. .. .	..	2,192	10	3	
1828 ..	.. .. .. .	..	31,195	12	3	
1829 ..	.. .. .. .	..	39,726	11	6	
1830 ..	.. .. .. .	..	24,369	1	0	
1831 ..	.. .. .. .	..	31,746	8	1	
1832 ..	.. .. .. .	..	3,869	18	4	
1833 ..	.. .. .. .	..	25,043	10	0	
1835 ..	.. .. .. .	..	38,247	0	9	
1836 ..	.. .. .. .	..	23,535	15	9	
1837 ..	.. .. .. .	..	9,397	15	5	
	Total revenue derived by government from the pearl-fisheries, since 1796 ..	£828,381	16	1		

It will be seen from the above table that whenever there has been an over-abundant income for four successive years, a great diminution or entire cessation of the fishery has instantly followed. However welcome to the colonial government the accession of revenue hence derived may be, it is so precarious an income as to require to be considered rather as a God's-send when it happens than as an actual defalcation when it is wanting; and the cause of its failure for the last ten years may not perhaps be better accounted for than in the words of the old Dutch governor, "the country is under a spell from which it suffers losses not only in this but in many other respects."

An illiberal and unjust attempt has been made, both in Ceylon and in England, to cast on the reputation of the late Sir R. Wilmot Horton the aspersion that he "*caused the pearl-banks to be overfished, scraped and ruined, for the purpose of swell-*

"ing the revenue during his administration," and that this has been the origin of their subsequent failure. If such a charge could affect the character of the warm-hearted and liberal governor against whom it was directed, it has been generously and fully refuted by Mr. Steuart, late Inspector of the banks, in his valuable account of the pearl-fisheries, published in this island in 1843. But that there are some causes for the failure cannot, in my opinion, be a matter of doubt; and among the foremost of those causes I should be disposed to reckon the retrenchment of guard-ships and the removal of an experienced director of the fisheries from the office of Inspector.

There still stands on our statute-book a Regulation dated 9th March 1811, "For the protection of His Majesty's pearl-banks of Ceylon;" which has been allowed to become nearly obsolete. It states that "whereas there is reason to suspect that depredations are committed on the pearl-banks of this island, by boats and other vessels frequenting those places in the calm season, without any necessity or lawful cause for being in that situation," His Excellency in council enacts and declares that any boat or vessel found within the limits of the banks between 10th January and the end of April, or 1st October and end of November of each year, shall be liable to seizure by persons commissioned for that purpose, and to forfeiture by the sentence of any court having revenue-jurisdiction of sufficient amount, two-thirds of the value of such seizures going to the king and one-third to the captor; and the proof of being forced on the banks by stress of weather was to be on the party alleging such defence. I do not imagine that so acute and provident a man as Sir T. Maitland would have issued such a Regulation without due knowledge of its being warranted by the circumstances of the case.

An equally able governor, one greatly resembling Sir T. Maitland in energy of character and self-reliance, the late Sir Edward Barnes, "to prevent plunder, kept a government vessel on the banks during the season of the year that boats could visit them; and in the south-west monsoon, when the wind is too strong and the sea too high to remain on the banks, the guard-vessel took shelter in Kodremalee bay, and the crew watched the approach of vessels from the neighbouring hills." (*Steuart*, p. 20). Commissioner Colebrooke recommended that the vessels employed for this purpose should be sold. Mr. Steuart, after nine years' experience, calculates the expense of a vessel employed to guard the banks at £855 2 0 yearly. It seems therefore that the cost could scarcely justify the recommendation.

In October 1835, the Inspector of the pearl-fisheries was requested to induct Mr. Quintom into his situation of resident Supervisor of the banks, and to furnish him with an efficient establishment of boats for the use of his department. Bearings and soundings were taken by the two officers conjointly, and the new supervisor, to be more certain of his object, moored a buoy near the most valuable oyster-bed intended to be fished in the following March; but when the season came round, the buoy was missing, and the lesson which had been given was not remembered, so that a wrong bed was operated on, young oysters were disturbed, and the older ones died, from not being taken up when mature. The inspection of October 1836 discovered this error and the subsequent fishery in 1837 was on a very diminished scale. This mistake appears to have been fatal to the fisheries, at least for a time, and I attribute the success which had for so many years attended them to the moderation shown by government in availing itself of this fortuitous income. It will be seen by the foregoing table that in no year of Sir R. W. Horton's administration did the net proceeds amount to £40,000, and only in one year (1835) did they approach that sum, whereas in 1797 £124,000 were realized, in 1798, 143,000*l.*; in 1804, 55,000*l.*; in 1808, 58,000*l.*; and in 1814, 87,000*l.* This certainly does not bear a semblance of the avidity which has so improperly been imputed to him.

In 1839, the resident supervisor resigned his situation on account of ill-health, doubtless brought on by the hot and arid locality to which, at an advanced season of his life, he had removed himself. A small steamer, the *Seaforth*, had been built at Bombay, and its commander who was to be the new Inspector of the pearl-banks proceeded to Aripo, in company with his brother, the late Inspector, to make his first examination. This was evidently so unpromising that it was considered useless to retain the new steamer there; she was consequently paid off and recommissioned as a mail-packet.

In March 1842, at the request of government, Mr. Steuart again inspected the banks lying off Aripo, but was forced to report "that no deposits or beds of oysters were found on them, and but very few oysters of various ages under five years." The examination of the banks off Calpentyn was attended "with no better success"; and on the 1st of April, on account of the violence of the south-west wind, Mr. Steuart "considered it advisable to close the most unsuccessful inspection of the pearl-banks," he had ever been engaged on.

In April 1844, Mr. Steuart reported to government that he had, in the previous month, examined the banks off Negombo, Chilaw, Calpentyn and Aripo; the last-mentioned alone indicated any prospect of future fisheries, but even this at "too distant periods to admit of any calculation in regard to their extent."

In March of the present year (1847), the acting Master Attendant of Colombo, Mr. de Waas, in the absence of the late Inspector, examined the banks, but with equally ill success. A large quantity of oyster-spawn was found on the bank called Chivel-paar, which he calculated would afford a fishery in 1852, if the banks were properly protected. On the Periepaarkare, a small quantity of oyster-brood was also found, of a promising nature. The Periepaar (the largest bank, lying about eighteen miles out to sea) was found to be in so bare a state as to give no hopes of produce for several years. The other banks off Aripo were equally unpromising.

I have thus brought my account of the pearl-banks, with their previous success, present failure, and future prospects, down to the latest period; and to such of my readers as may desire more full details of the mode of diving, the manner of ascertaining the age of the pearl-oysters, the assessing of the value of the pearls, and other interesting information on the subject of the fisheries of Ceylon, I recommend a perusal of the work of my friend Captain Steuart, to which I have previously alluded.

There is one recommendation of Commissioner Colebrooke, which would be well deserving of attention. I refer to his suggestion that "under the superintendence of a resident officer, the pearl-banks might become a constant, rather than an occasional, source of revenue. When the oysters on a bank are found to be mature," says he, "a fishery might be carried on without delay, if the season be favorable, by which means the loss of the pearls might sometimes be avoided. The renewal of small fisheries at intervals might render fewer preparations necessary, &c."

It is worthy of the consideration of government how far this suggestion is practicable. Previous to 1839, no such small fishery could take place, as, from the commencement of our government till the failure of the banks, an impudent claim of certain heathen priests in the Madras territory had been admitted, by which they, without incurring any expense, obtained for their temples ten boats in every fishery, which yielded them a sum

of about £2,700: this large diminution from the net proceeds prevented the government from undertaking a fishery of small extent; and it was not till 1839 that the home-government had sufficient evidence laid before them to permit them, with justice, to discontinue that allowance. That claim has now been set at rest, and has left the colonial government an opportunity of enquiring how far the recommendation to hold small and successive fisheries can be realized.

It would indeed be a grand subject of congratulation, if the pearl-banks of Ceylon could be rendered "a constant, rather than an occasional, source of revenue" to the island.

X.

AN ACCOUNT OF GOODS IMPORTED INTO THE ISLAND OF CEYLON IN THE YEAR 1846.

Description of Goods.	Quantity.	Value.			Total.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Arms & Ammunition							
Bayonets..	21	..	..	..	..	..	..
Flints & Caps	97 Boxes 3½ dozens & 8,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Guns & Pistols	45 Packages & 2,936	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gun powder	Cwt. 349 1 1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shots & Bullets	Cwt. 365 " 2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Spears	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Swords & Cutlasses	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
Apparel, Wearing							
Bones & Horns	280 Packages & 43 pieces	..	..	..	..	..	..
Books Printed	Cwt. 5,250 " 21	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bullion	408 Packages & 547	..	..	..	..	..	..
Carriages & Carts	755 do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Clocks & Watches	169 do.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coal	116 do. & 31	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cotton Goods	10,311 4-5 tons	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cotton Thread	8,072 Packages & 194,881 pieces	..	..	..	..	..	..
Confectionery & Preserves	87 do. cwt. 613½	..	..	..	..	..	..
Curry stuff	Quantity various	..	..	..	..	..	..
Earthenware	101 Packages & cwt. 17,574 1 8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fish of sorts	1,217 do. & 2,030,412 pieces	..	..	..	..	..	..
Furniture	137 do. & cwt. 34,133 2 "	..	..	..	..	..	..
Glassware	2,033 do. & 453 pieces	..	..	..	..	..	..
	1,069 do. & 2,445½ dozens	..	..	..	..	..	..
		5,143	18	7	5,143	18	7
		3,080	12	10	3,080	12	10
		1,082	8	2	1,082	8	2
		5,466	15	11	5,466	15	11
		381,842	5	6	381,842	5	6
		1,420	5	1	1,420	5	1
		1,359	13	1	1,359	13	1
		17,668	4	2	17,668	4	2
		185,602	7	11	185,602	7	11
		3,338	1	5	3,338	1	5
		2,251	19	5	2,251	19	5
		7,058	17	8	7,058	17	8
		9,873	6	11	9,873	6	11
		17,479	"	1	17,479	"	1
		3,508	14	9	3,508	14	9
		4,196	14	11	4,196	14	11

Description of Goods.	Quantity.	Value.			Total.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Umbrellas	710 Packages & 2,722	..	..	..	3,147	6	9
Wine, Cape	1,418½ Gallons	..	354	12	6	6	
French	2,623¾ Dozens & 417 gallons	..	6,370	7	6	6	
Madeira	151 1-3 Dozens & 7,254½ gallons	..	3,777	16	4	4	
Marsala	179 Gallons	..	179	..	..	..
Portugal	1,323 5-6 Dozens & 2,123 1-3 gallons	..	3,092	..	..	..
Rhenish	253½ Dozens & 89 gallons	..	595	5	..	..
Spanish	4,012 1-12 Dozens & 41,710½ gallons	..	18,583	5	1	1	
Teneriff	1,633 Gallons	..	408	7	6	6	
Wood, Timber	33,151 Pieces	..	..	..	33,360	13	11
Woollens ..	770 Packages & 2,108 pieces	..	..	..	8,602	17	5
					13,979	7	8
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	1,342,175	4	..
					30,526	12	10
					TOTAL £.. 1,372,701	16	10*

* It will be remarked that this amount includes £381,842 5 6 of specie imported L.

AN ACCOUNT OF GOODS EXPORTED FROM THE ISLAND OF CEYLON IN THE YEAR 1846.

Description of Goods.	Quantity.	Value.		Total.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Attack ..	118,898 Gallons	..	..	6,473	11 1
Areanuts ..	Cwt. 61,700 1 27 & No. 420 ..	..	..	34,209	17 2
Bones & Horns ..	" 2,922 " 16 ..	..	..	2,459	19 9
Chanks ..	No. 1,594,888 ..	..	..	1,510	12 1
Cinnamon ..	401,656 lbs. ..	..	..	40,165	12 "
Cocoanuts ..	No. 4,796,403 ..	..	..	7,121	12 10
Cocoanut kernel ..	Cwt. 13,829 3 14 ..	..	..	5,507	7 7
Coffee ..	" 173,892 1 5 ..	..	..	328,791	3 "
Coir Rope ..	" 23,197 2 19 ..	..	..	8,724	13 10
Oil, Citronella ..	" 1,053 oz. ..	..	30 10 6		
Clove ..	3,490 $\frac{3}{4}$ " ..	..	170 15 10		
Cinnamon ..	4,052 $\frac{1}{4}$ " ..	..	405 4 6		
Cinnamon leaf ..	480 ..	..	12 "		
Cocoanut ..	123,981 1 3 Gallons ..	..	7,939 6 7		
E-sential ..	4,267 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. ..	..	136 5 "		
Lemon Grass ..	1,412 " ..	..	55 10 6		
Nardis ..	30 " ..	..	4 10 "		
Margose ..	24 Gallons ..	..	2 "		
Plumbago ..	Cwt. 25,036 3 7 ..	..	..	8,756	2 11
Salt ..	430 Tons & 47,812 bushels ..	..	..	3,036	2 5
Spirits, Rum ..	16,926 Gallons ..	..	..	1,011	17 7
Sugar ..	Cwt. 10,187 " 23 ..	..	..	1,422	17 6
Tobacco & Cigars ..	" 17,736 $\frac{1}{4}$ & No. 20,000 ..	..	..	11,326	19 6
		..	..	16,561	1 10

Description of Goods.	Quantity.			Value.			Total.		
Wood, Dye	..	Cwt. 881	9	£	217	3	£	11	d.
Ebony	..	" 7,585	2	16 & 10 logs	1,004	5	12,049	11	11
Timber	..	" 1,615	3	20 & 91,740 pieces	10,898	3	489,129	3	"
Miscellaneous	28,650	6	11
Add Imports re-exported & ex the Warehouse	161,506	17	3
TOTAL £...					£...	517,779	679,286	7	1

VALUE of IMPORTS and EXPORTS of the ISLAND of CEYLON from the
Year 1836 to 1846, inclusive.

IMPORTS.

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Great Britain.</i>	<i>British Colonies.</i>	<i>Foreign States.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1836	93,257	293,473	24,437	411,167
1837	168,586	379,036	48,266	595,888
1838	101,359	401,232	44,911	547,502
1839	152,894	446,198	62,828	661,920
1840	126,794	538,713	68,006	733,513
1841	183,161	432,893	63,616	679,670
1842	206,366	518,076	70,317	794,759
1843	259,981	705,046	69,503	1,034,580
1844	242,308	1,058,467	65,262	1,366,037
1845	310,480	1,106,006	77,741	1,495,127
1846	302,192	961,813	108,696	1,872,701

EXPORTS.

1836	228,502	66,123	14,078	308,703
1837	191,583	93,223	42,054	326,860
1838	177,075	105,299	9,942	292,316
1839	228,391	136,225	10,992	375,608
1840	297,146	105,506	7,296	409,948
1841	253,871	107,682	6,830	368,383
1842	339,707	113,205	10,533	463,445
1843	330,603	85,542	4,938	421,083
1844	417,055	109,499	5,032	531,586
1845	440,328	132,819	9,953	583,100
1846	399,156	245,724	34,406	679,286

MEMORANDUM OF BULLION IMPORTED INTO THE ISLAND OF CEYLON.

Years.	Great Britain.			British India.			Foreign States.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1837	12,117	5	"	26,909	12	"	30	"	"	39,056	17	"
1838	1,220	"	"	46,210	"	"	1,410	"	"	48,840	"	"
1839	19,118	"	"	111,373	11	9	"	"	"	130,491	11	9
1840	10,708	"	"	164,240	"	"	"	"	"	174,948	"	"
1841	19,955	"	"	90,841	12	9	"	"	"	110,796	12	9
1842	1,380	"	"	170,931	4	"	"	"	"	172,311	4	"
1843	25,389	10	"	288,996	18	6	"	"	"	314,386	8	6
1844	1,173	10	"	516,021	15	1½	600	"	"	517,795	5	1½
1845	2,946	3	"	435,090	16	6	3,120	"	"	441,156	19	6
1846	4,300	"	"	329,884	15	6	47,657	10	"	381,842	5	6

In addition to the above sums, much money of course comes into the island in the shape of bills on the Presidencies of India, of the amount of which no report can be given.

All the above tables relating to the Trade of Ceylon have been obligingly furnished by the Collector of Customs, F. Saunders Esq. from the records of his department.

RETURN of SHIPPING of the ISLAND of CEYLON from the Year
1836 to 1846.

INWARDS.

Year.	Great Britain.		British Colonies.		Foreign States.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1836 ..	20	6,659	1,163	55,010	148	9,563	1,331	71,232
1837 ..	20	7,343	1,290	60,257	185	13,745	1,495	81,345
1838 ..	13	4,013	1,436	83,679	145	8,600	1,594	96,292
1839 ..	17	6,162	1,496	81,367	291	18,309	1,804	105,838
1840 ..	14	5,142	1,578	82,567	257	15,296	1,849	103,005
1841 ..	25	8,243	1,574	84,901	284	16,462	1,883	109,606
1842 ..	41	12,941	1,736	100,250	300	17,136	2,077	130,327
1843 ..	43	14,553	1,955	103,712	281	22,588	2,279	140,853
1844 ..	39	13,275	2,551	128,446	244	23,608	2,834	165,329
1845 ..	49	18,882	2,974	157,024	258	20,458	3,281	196,364
1846 ..	68	24,976	2,709	173,316	192	13,654	2,969	211,946

OUTWARDS,

1836 ..	26	7,856	1,100	56,238	74	4,369	1,200	68,463
1837 ..	35	12,413	1,250	61,737	195	9,413	1,480	83,563
1838 ..	24	7,721	1,572	82,374	96	5,572	1,692	95,667
1839 ..	21	8,537	1,616	85,353	106	6,276	1,743	100,166
1840 ..	26	8,761	1,700	87,913	145	7,341	1,871	104,015
1841 ..	28	10,382	1,827	90,452	143	8,353	1,998	109,187
1842 ..	44	13,850	1,777	100,839	154	10,003	1,975	124,692
1843 ..	43	13,366	2,184	119,206	107	7,050	2,334	139,622
1844 ..	48	16,288	2,567	130,390	148	8,676	2,763	155,354
1845 ..	47	18,061	2,982	161,175	178	10,579	3,207	189,815
1846 ..	50	17,980	2,759	183,768	157	9,676	2,966	211,424

XI.

NOTES ON BUDDHISM

BY

THE REV. D. J. GGERLY.

“Ewan achintiya Buddhá; Buddadhammá achintiyá: achintiyésu pasannánan wipako hoti achintiyó.”—(*From the MAHAWANSO. chap. XVII.*)

The Buddhas are incomprehensible; their doctrines are incomprehensible; and the fruits of faith to those who have faith in these incomprehensibles are also incomprehensible.

THE origin of BUDDHISM is lost in remote antiquity, for although the era of Goutama, the last Budha, has been ascertained with considerable accuracy, yet the whole of the sacred books declare that he merely revived a system which had previously existed, the doctrines of which had ceased to be known. Goutama mentions the names of some of his predecessors, especially Wipassi, Sikhi, Wessabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgama and Kāssapa. It is true that he declares that, at the time he assumed the title of Budha, no trace of the doctrines taught by his predecessors could be found, and that he, by his own unaided mental powers had re-discovered the whole: and that he placed the periods of their existence in incredibly remote ages; yet the fact that under any circumstances he adverts to preceding Budhas indicates that Goutama only revived an extinct, or nearly extinct, school of philosophy. That the doctrines of that school had not altogether become extinct may be concluded from the circumstance, that other sects affirmed that their doctrines and those of Goutama were identical. He de-

nies indeed the correctness of their assertion, and points out the difference, especially in reference to the mode in which deliverance from existence may be obtained, but the explanations of these differences turn on such minute metaphysical distinctions as to shew that a general resemblance existed.

Budhism is not so much a religion as a school of philosophy. Budha acknowledged no Supreme Being, no one who can justly claim adoration and obedience from all. The only supremacy acknowledged or taught by him is, the supremacy of virtue and wisdom: for, according to his doctrine, these are inseparably united, so that no truly wise man can be vicious; if he be so, his professed wisdom can only be respecting subjects of little importance, and in reference to the higher paths of knowledge his vice proves his ignorance: and, on the same principle, although a man may be ignorant of many things, yet if his conduct be virtuous his virtue proves him to be possessed of the highest style of wisdom. He taught that the virtuous man should be honored, especially by those who had not made equal progress in excellency: and as he affirmed himself to have attained to the perfection of virtue, and to be possessed of universal and unerring knowledge, he claimed homage from all, and had to render it to none. Those among his disciples who had become *Rahats*, i. e. had subdued their passions and extinguished all their desires, he acknowledged to be equal to himself in virtue, and equally with himself freed from the bonds of existence; yet, even in this respect he had supremacy; for, being their instructor, he had taught them the way by which they had obtained this liberty, while he was altogether self-taught. In wisdom he was always regarded as supreme; his disciples knew much, and that correctly; but the field of their mental vision was limited; but he knew all things, and therefore was called *Sarmagnya*, the omniscient. The homage claimed is mental reverence, indicated by the external gesture of bowing the body, and by the presenting such gifts or offerings as might minister to the comfort of the superior, who received them not from a desire of gratification, all his desires having become extinct, but that the individuals who presented them might obtain the rewards of virtue. In all offerings, therefore, a formula was either expressed or understood: "Lord, compassionate me, and receive this my offering."

Although Budha, as the highest, is entitled to receive this homage from all, yet each being, in proportion to his virtue, is entitled to respect and homage, similar in kind to that offered

to Budha, from those who are inferior to him in these qualities. As the supreme excellence is, by subjection of the passions to attain to the extinguishment of desire, and as the continuing in secular employment and married life shews that the sensual principle is powerful and that the desires of pleasure, gain, and ambition are in active operation, laymen are not the proper objects of this respect. But he who has forsaken secular life, and devoted himself to meditation and self-control for the purpose of purifying his own heart, and who instructs others in the paths of virtue, is the proper object of this religious reverence; and as the priests of Budha profess to be influenced by these objects and withdraw from the world expressly for these purposes, and as the formation of such a determination indicates a virtuous principle, and as they have the paths of knowledge opened to them in the discourses of their founder and are constantly drawing truth from those fountains, each Buddhist priest has a legitimate claim upon all laymen for respectful salutation and pious oblations. When a man assumes the yellow robe and becomes a priest, he solemnly declares that it is for the purpose of entirely subduing the principle of concupiscence and of obtaining *Nirwana*, or freedom from continued existence; and as all the gods of the six heavens are still under the influence of concupiscence, and are not endeavouring to be freed from it, therefore the gods are inferior in virtue, and in the wisdom which leads to virtue, to the priest, and must bow down before him and reverence him. The Buddhist priest, accordingly, can acknowledge no superior in heaven or on earth, no one to whom he ought to bow with reverence, excepting individuals of his own order. Among themselves they are governed by seniority: he who has been longest priest must be revered by all who have entered the priesthood more recently, although the younger priest may be by many years the older man.

The supremacy of wisdom and virtue being the governing principle of Buddhism, the adherents to that faith regard with reverence the teachers of other religions, especially if their ceremonial does not require the taking of life. This will account for there being so much apathy among the Singhalese on the subject of Christianity, and for the facility with which they unite the worship of God with the adoration of Budha and his priests. This does not appear to them to be a great violation of their system, if it be a violation of any kind. They acknowledge the founder of Christianity to have been possessed of extensive wisdom and great benevolence: they consider him to have abstained from secular pursuits and to have devoted himself to the instruction of men in wisdom and virtue, and that by his

self-denial and labors for the good of others he exemplified his own operations. He is, therefore, a legitimate object of reverential adoration; but not to such an extent as Budha, whom they regard as having been both wiser and holier than HE was, Budha having discovered and taught the perfection of knowledge, especially that by which men may obtain *Nirwana*.

The Singhalese have united demon-worship with Budhism, and that frequently with bloody rites; but this is in direct opposition to the system. The demons are malignant and therefore ought not to be worshipped, and if they have any power over men it is only in consequence of mens' vices. The virtuous man may bid them defiance. But the tendency to this worship is so strong that the priests cannot check it, and they submit to that which they cannot control, lest the people should withdraw from them. In the society of the intelligent they may speak of it as being incorrect, and endeavour to oppose it by recommending the ceremony called *Pirit*, or protection, which consists in reading a series of Budha's discourses for a certain number of days, without intermission, a sufficient number of priests being in attendance to continue it by day and night. They regard the reading of religious discourses as eminently virtuous; the cherishing of kind and benevolent feelings as that which tends most to disarm malignity or to render it powerless; and as the discourses included in the *Pirit* enforce these virtues, they consider it as most influential in removing or abating evils. The people acknowledge the correctness of this doctrine, but under the influence of terror they still have recourse to demon-ceremonies.

It is scarcely necessary to add that although the preceding exhibits the views of the learned and reflecting part of the Buddhist community, the great body of the people think little on the subject, and merely tread in the footsteps of their forefathers. The practical working of Budhism is essentially different from its system. The system requires a rigid course of virtue, and the consequences of evil conduct are represented as dreadful and ultimately certain. Budha denounces in all their forms *rago* or concupiscence, *doso* or malignity, and *moho* ignorance, or folly. He affirms that the sinner is miserable in this world and will be so in that which is to come, and that there is no place on the earth, in the sky, or in a cave of a rock, even to the extent of a hair's breadth where the sinner can hide himself from the consequences of his crimes. The Budhists of the present day do not deny this, but they avail themselves of other doctrines to render these practically useless. It is laid down that, during the time the Buddhist religion remains in the world, acts of piety

performed to Budha or to his priests will be the first to produce their fruits in the next state of being; so that, although sin will produce ultimately its appropriate suffering, that suffering will be, in such instances, put off to a far distant period. The next doctrine bearing on the subject is, that the merit attending religious oblations and acts of worship, becomes valuable in proportion to the merit of the person who is the object of them. Sincerity, it is true, is required in the worshipper, but if the person reverently saluted, and to whom gifts are offered, is not pre-eminently holy, the reward will be proportionably scanty. But Budha was perfect in holiness; and when gifts were presented to him in conjunction with his associated priests, the highest merit was attained. But the image of Budha represents him, and they are taught that if they make their oblations, in presence of that image, to the priests, it is equivalent to their offering them to the living Budha seated in the midst of his *Sango*, or associated priesthood. Even an affectionate thought of Budha is sufficient to ward off punishment for a time, and produce happiness in the next birth. Thus, however flagitious may be the conduct of a man, he is instructed that if, with faith in the doctrines of Budha, taking refuge in him, in his doctrines, and in his priesthood, he make oblations and worship the image and the priest, he will be saved from the consequences of his crimes for one or more births.

The metaphor used is that of a boat loaded with stones, which may safely convey its cargo over a rapid river. The stones are mens' sins: the river the course of transmigration. Naturally the stones thrown into the river would sink, and the sinner left to the consequences of his crimes would fall into one of the four *Apaya*, or hells; but the merit of Budha and his priests is the boat; by oblations and acts of piety the sinner enters therein, and he is safely ferried over to a land of peace beyond the flood. No crime (excepting the five mortal sins, viz. the murder of a father, of a mother, of a *Rahat*, the shedding the blood of a Budha, and forming a schism in the priesthood), however great, will lead to immediate punishment in the world to come, if the sinner makes his oblations or manifests his reverence for Budha and his priests. This will solve the problem why the punishment of death for crime is so little regarded by the Budhists: transportation to a foreign land appears to them far more dreadful. The moral precepts of Budha therefore are rendered inefficacious, not only by the general depravity of mankind, but by these doctrines which remove, to an incalculably distant period, the dread of punishment for crimes committed.

There can be no absolute certainty respecting the doctrines taught by Goutama, although we may presume that the general outline has come down to us. All his teachings were oral, neither did his immediate disciples commit any thing to writing. Upon his death, about B. C. 543, the discourses attributed to him were recited in full convocation at Rajagaha. A century afterwards, discipline was relaxed among the priests so far that they solicited money-oblations in direct violation of the rules of their founder. Another convocation therefore assembled at Wesali, and the whole of the discourses were again recited, as they were also B. C. 309 in a convocation at Patilapura. It was not, however, till about B. C. 104 that they were committed to writing. It cannot be believed that the multitude of discourses contained in the three *Patakas* has been correctly handed down by tradition through a period of more than 400 years, and internal evidence is not wanting to shew that errors have been admitted. Allowing the outline to be correct, it appears that the school of Goutama differed from those of the other Indian philosophers principally on two points, namely, the nature of transmigration, and *Nirvana*, or the extinction of being. Besides which he may be regarded as a local reformer, steadily opposing the undue influence of caste, and affirming that the true Bramin is not the man born of any peculiar family, but the individual who lives virtuously. Caste, accordingly, is not recognized in his code for the priesthood. The highest and the lowest stand there on an equality, and the only dignity is connected with seniority; so that if a man born of low caste, and with very inferior talents, should be the senior priest, his high-caste and talented juniors must salute him with the utmost reverence as their superior.

The general mass of the Budhists in Ceylon are not orthodox in their views of transmigration, as they believe that the same soul migrates into different bodies; but this is contrary to the teachings of Budha, and of this the learned priests are fully aware, but they do not attempt to correct the error, regarding the subject as too difficult to be understood by the unlearned. His doctrine is that of a series of existences, which he illustrates by the metaphors of a tree and a lamp. A tree produces fruit, from which fruit another tree is produced, and so the series continues: the last tree is not the identical tree with the first, but it is a result, so that if the first tree had not been the last tree could not have existed. Man is the tree, his conduct the fruit; the vivifying energy of the fruit is desire, while this continues the series will proceed; the good or evil actions performed give the quality of the fruit, so that the

existence springing from those actions will be happy or miserable, as the quality of the fruit affects the tree produced from it. When desire is extinguished, the vivifying power of the fruit ceases, and no tree springs from it; existence terminates. According to this doctrine, the present body and soul of man never had a previous existence; but a previously existent being under the influence of desire performed virtuous or vicious actions, and in consequence of this, upon the death of that individual, a new body and soul is produced. The metaphor of the lamp is similar; one lamp is lighted from another; the two lamps are distinct, but the one would not have been lighted had the other not existed. The nature of *Nirwana*, or cessation of being, is obvious from this; it is not the destruction of an existent being, but a cessation of existence. The lamp burns out, and in consequence of the extinction of desire, there is no lamp, neither wick nor oil for the kindling a new one; the series therefore terminates. It is not an absorption into a superior being, as the Bramins teach; it is not a retreat to a place of eternal repose free from transmigration called the "Hall of Glory" or any other name; it is not a violent destruction of being, but it is a complete and final cessation of existence. According to this, Budha is no more; he is unexistent.. His doctrines remain and the remembrance of his virtues and excellences; the belief of the one and the reverence of the other are virtuous acts, but Budha himself has ceased to be. The correctness of this statement is indubitable: every Buddhist priest will confirm it, and the errors into which some authors have fallen on the subject can only have resulted from their imperfect knowledge of the native language, and the nature of some of the metaphors used in explaining the doctrine of *Nirwana*, which might lead a superficial enquirer to suppose that *Nirwana* is a place of undisturbed repose.

Goutama did not profess to be a lawgiver, except with respect to his priests. To the general body of mankind he was only a teacher. In this character he represents himself as standing at the entrance of various paths, and seeing distinctly every thing connected with them; he warns men, saying "O man! enter not into that path; if you do, such and such evils will befall you." The evils against which he guards men are principally five, but these being principles he enlarges on them in his discourses, tracing them to the threefold root of concupiscence, malignancy and ignorance. The evils are, the destroying animal life; the drinking intoxicating liquors; the taking property belonging to others without their consent; adultery or defiling a fe-

male under guardianship; and speaking untruths. These are called *Pan sil*. The eight precepts which are taken on sacred days, and in many instances to be binding only during the day, are similar: to abstain from destroying animal life; to avoid theft; to abstain from sexual intercourse; to abstain from lying; to abstain from intoxicating liquor; to abstain from solid food after high noon; to abstain from singing, dancing, theatrical exhibitions, and the using cosmetics or wearing garlands of flowers; and to abstain from sitting on high seats or reclining on elevated couches. The ten precepts which the priests are bound to observe are to abstain from destroying animal life; from theft; from sexual intercourse; from lying; from drinking intoxicating liquors; from taking food after noon; from singing, dancing, and theatrical amusements; from the use of garlands, flowers, perfumes and cosmetics; from high and spacious couches or beds; and from receiving gold or silver, coined or uncoined; this last is understood to be a prohibition of receiving money of any kind. It is doubtful whether simple fornication with a woman who is her own mistress, being neither affianced in any way to a man nor under guardianship of any kind, is a crime according to the teaching of Budha; it is disreputable, especially as proving the individual to be powerfully under the influence of *Rago*, or concupiscence, but does not appear to be classed as a crime. With this exception, the teachings of Budha do not sanction acts of immorality, but enforce justice, benevolence and the social virtues.

The priests are divided into two classes, those in their noviciate, and those who are ordained, the ordination being called *Upasampada*, from a verb signifying to attain to. *Upasampada* may be conferred upon the candidate by a chapter (or *sango*) of five priests; but if afterwards the individual be guilty of a high crime, yet not one causing expulsiou, he can only be absolved by a chapter of not less than twenty priests. The novices are not members of these chapters. During the severe persecutions experienced by the Budhists under the Malabar dynasty, the priesthood was so diminished by death or by emigration that the order of *Upasampada* was nearly extinct, and there was not a sufficient number left to ordain new priests. Under these circumstances some individuals went to Siam and there received ordination, and were ever after supported by the Kandian Kings: these priests are called the *Siam Samagama*, or the Siam community. They however refused, in opposition to the rule of their founder, to admit men of inferior caste into the priesthood, and would ordain only Vellalas. This was regarded by the people as a grievance, and some time after the English had taken

possession of Ceylon a number of persons went to Burmah, and there received ordination, and upon their return ordained others without respect of caste; these are known as the Amrapoora *Samagama*, or community of Amrapoora. The two parties are much opposed to each other, but their general tenets are the same, and their differences are only on some unimportant rites and ceremonies, such as the mode of wearing the robes, whether one shoulder may be left bare, or both shoulders should be covered, &c. The Amrapoora priests appear to adhere more rigidly to the text of the books of discipline than the others do.

The proper designations of a priest are *Pabbaja*, one separated from secular life, and *Bikhu*, a mendicant. The common Singhalese term is *Mahana*, which is represented as being only a different pronunciation of *Samana*, one devoted to religious meditations for the purifying of his own heart. Out of compassion to others they may teach the doctrines of Budha, but this is not a duty incumbent on them: they become priests for the purpose of relinquishing their own desires and escaping from the evils of existence. The four rules of the Order were originally very strict. 1. They were to eat nothing but what they obtained by begging: i. e. not by soliciting alms, but passing along with their bowls, pausing a short time before each house, and receiving such articles of food as might be given to them, however coarse. 2. By living without a residence, at the foot of a tree. 3. Having cow's urine as their only medicine. 4. Wearing no other robes than those made of cast-off pieces of cloth. Goutama, with much good sense, modified his laws when he saw it necessary, and he made so many additions to these that priests may now live in the greatest comfort. The first schism recorded in the body was during Budha's life-time, when Dewadalta insisted that these original rules should be strictly adhered to. But Budha affirmed that the priests were not able to conform to them, and he refused to continue to lay a burden upon the weak which they could not bear, but would permit abatements to be made in their rigor, only not opposing thereby the principle of the rule. Upon this Dewadalta and his friends seceded, and formed a separate community. The priests, however, still remain a mendicant body, bound by vows of poverty and celibacy. The rules for the guidance of the priests are very numerous, but there are only four crimes which lead to expulsion, namely, incontinence, theft, murder or being accessory to murder, and assuming falsely the character of a *Rahat*. The moral rules for the priesthood are collected in the book called

Pratimoksha, which ought to be read twice each month on the sacred days of the new and full moon, when the conduct of the priests is investigated. A chapter of four priests is sufficient for this purpose, although an unlimited number may attend. No layman is allowed to be present on the occasion.

No man can become an ordained priest, unless he be at least 20 years of age and has the permission of his parents, if they be living ; but he may leave the priesthood whenever he pleases, without any impediment to his returning to it when he finds it convenient.

XII.

ON THE CORRUPTIONS OF BUDHISM AND THE DIFFERENT TENETS
 OPINIONS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE AMARAPOORA AND SIA-
 MESE SECTS—(BY A. DE SILVA, GOVERNMENT SCHOOLMASTER
 AT BENTOTTE.)

THE religion of Budha, which appears to be much intermixed with Hindooism, was introduced, by means of "oral preaching," into Ceylon from Dambediva in the reign of Devaneapatissa, 306 years before the Christian era; and about two hundred years after that introduction, its doctrines were collected into books at Aluwihare in Matale. After that period, Buddhism remained incorrupt and pure many hundred years, but by the order and caprice of the kings of Ceylon, (most of whom were Malabars) many innovations and changes were introduced. Thus we find that Prakramabahu, who reigned in Dambedenia, introduced the invocation of Hindoo gods at the recital of *Pirit* (Buddhist exorcism) and many gods and goddesses were worshipped and temples were built in their honor in the different districts of Ceylon. The Buddhist priests, in order to shew their loyalty to their despotic kings or to flatter their vanity, tacitly admitted these innovations, without any remonstrance or opposition; and the decay of the Singhalese literature having lessened the spirit of inquiry, the laity likewise regarded them with indifference. During the struggles of the Singhalese with their formidable enemies, the Portuguese, education and fine arts were in a manner lost and forgotten; the court was no longer the resort of learned men; poets and philosophers made way for the supporters of the liberties and rights of the state, and ministers spent their time in devising plans to defeat their enemies and by the superstitions of the age any post or fortification that had been wrested from the enemy was immediately turned into the sanctuary of a Hindoo god. Traditions say that the temple of Saffragam (Mahasaman) is an old Portuguese post, and this assertion is proved by a sculptured stone

affixed to the wall at the entrance to the temple with the representation of a European warrior of the 16th century giving a death-blow to a Singhalese headman.

Budhism appears to have become much intermixed with Hindoo ceremonies from the circumstance of the Singhalese having had recourse to Malabar princes, on the extinction of a royal dynasty, to fill up the vacant throne. It is probable that many persons of influence and rank must have come from the continent and settled in Ceylon, and these no doubt greatly countenanced their own superstitions, and consequently Budhism was incorporated with polytheism, caste, and other absurdities of the Siva creed. Literature dwindled into utter insignificance during the Solyan viceroyalty (1214 A. D.) at which period Budhism and the sciences appear to have reached the lowest point of corruption. It is said that one Magha, a Solyan, collected almost all the excellent works of native poets and learned men and burned them, so the people in their ignorance were forced in a manner to support the superstitions introduced by their rulers: the Malabar kings, who followed the Siva creed, raised persecutions against the Buddhist priests, and thus we find that at the accession of Kirti-Sree not one single priest of the Upasampatha ordination was to be found throughout the whole island. Soon after his ascending the throne, Kirti-Sree, in order to gain the affections of his subjects, sent an embassy to Siam (an account of which may be seen in a native work called *Churnesa-pota*) and brought a number of priests thence, and after restoring the Upasampatha ordination, placed a priest named Wellivitte at the head of the Buddhist priesthood with the title of Sangha Raja, but no reformation was made in the national creed.

Superstition and the worship of Hindoo gods prevailed as before, and Kirti-Sree Raja added a new corruption by confining the Upasampatha ordination to the Vellale caste, and making Kandy the only place where ordination could be obtained. Thus Budhism, which is an enemy to caste, was made an instrument to keep alive the pride of the patricians of the country. The priests who maintain the invocation of the Hindoo gods, and the innovations of the kings, and countenance polytheism and caste, have been lately called the Siamese sect (from the circumstance of their having renewed the ordination from Siam) in contradistinction to the more orthodox and recent sect called that of Amara-poorā.

The Chalias, who have been always rivals of the low-country Vellales, probably with an ambitious view, persuaded some of

their Samanare priests to go to Amarapoorā and bring ordination from that country, where Buddhism prevails in great purity; thus another society of priests was formed with Ambaghapittia at its head. The two parties thus formed are great antagonists and deny "*Nirvan*" the summum bonum of Budhists, to each other, and as much rivalry exists among them as is to be found in opposite sects of any religion: their animosity to each other is so great that they do not salute when they meet but call one another *Duk seelayas* (priests without sanctity.) The object of the Amarapoorā priests is to bring back the doctrines of Buddhism to their pristine purity, by disentangling them from caste, polytheism, and other corruptions to which they have been subject for ages, and these priests, how difficult soever the task may be, have made considerable progress in this reformation in the low countries, but especially in Saffragam which may at present be regarded as the chief seat of this reformation, and where the difference in the tenets and principles of the two sects is wider and greater than anywhere else, though the Amarapoorā sect originated with the Chalia priests of the districts of Amblangode and Galle, about 40 years ago.

The philosophy of Goutama Budha is a system of Atheism, placing human happiness in the final emancipation of the soul from the turmoils of existence, by annihilation or *Nirvan*. It borders on stoicism in some of its doctrines: and the transmigration of souls and a belief in "*Karma*" (fate) are also essential points of the Budhist faith. "Abstaining from all evil, doing all righteousness, and the subjugation of the will or passions, consitute the whole doctrine of Buddhism." The self-sufficient founder of this cold philosophy, being an atheist who denied the great original cause, has indeed fallen into many mischievous and unpardonable errors, but he was no supporter of the distinction of castes, astrology, necromancy, and other absurdities of the Gentoos.

The AMARAPOORA sect differs from the Siamese sect in the following points:

1st. They publicly preach against the doctrines of Hindooism and do not invoke the Hindoo gods at the recital of pirit; 2ndly. They give Upasampatha ordination to all castes, and associate with them without distinction, and preach against secular occupations of the Siamese priests, such as practising physic and astrology, and do not allow any of their fraternity to follow such practices on pain of excommunication; 3rdly. They do not acknowledge the

authority of the royal edicts to introduce novelties into their religion, neither do they acknowledge the Buddhist hierarchy or the sanctity of the Malwatta and Asgiriya Seemas (places where all the rites and ceremonies are performed); they ordain priests in every *seema* provided it can be set up according to the precepts of Budha; 4thly. They do not follow the observances of *Passe Budhas* (secondary Budhas) unless sanctioned by Goutama; thus we find that they do not recite *Uchchittan Gata* (Benediction) at the receiving of *Puja* (offering) and *dane* (food) from the laity; 5thly. They do not employ two pulpits nor two different priests to repeat the *Bana*, nor quiver the voice, as unauthorized by Budha; 6thly. The Amarapooora priests expound and preach the *Vinaya pittaka* to the laity, whilst the Siamese read only a few passages among the *Upasampatha* order of priests with closed doors; 7thly. In the *Upasampatha* ordination the Amarapooora sect perform the ceremony called *Daltha kerna* (a kind of confirmation) after a number of years, whilst the Siamese perform it immediately after the ordination; 8thly. There is a difference to be found in the *Paupinsoms* (lamp festivals) of the two sects. The Amarapooora sect lay great stress upon its merits, and perform the *pinsom* the whole night, without any kind of preaching or reading of *Bana*; whereas the Siamese only kindle a few lamps in the evening to burn for a few hours and repeat *Bana* till the morning. I have seen a wooden altar in the shape of a pyramid blazing with hundreds of lamps for whole nights in Saffiragam. An intelligent friend of mine happening to be present at a *Paupinsom*, observed that any one might be of opinion that Budha was a follower of Zoroaster, for the Buddhists of the present day seem to be fire-worshippers; and indeed I should have been greatly deceived at seeing the people gathered round the altar exclaiming "Sadu" at intervals, as if they worshipped the flames whilst they lifted up their hands, had I not been given to understand that it was done in honor of Budha, who however himself declaims against all fire-worshippers; 9thly. The Amarapooora priests differ from the Siamese in having both shoulders covered and wearing a peculiar roll of their robe under the armpit, and by leaving the eyebrows unshaven.

The above may be regarded as the only points of difference at present existing between the two parties. But as there is a great rivalry between the two sects, and as Pali literature is very attentively cultivated by the Amarapooora sect, with a view to expose the ignorance and corruptions of the Siamese, the breach will become wider as time advances. Tolangomua, a priest who

was originally of the Asgiria establishment in Kandy, may be regarded as the great champion of the Amarapooora sect at Saffragam and as the strictest reformer of corruptions. It is to be hoped that if Buddhism can be brought back to its early principles and doctrines, it will be simply a kind of abstruse and metaphysical philosophy much above the comprehension of the ignorant and unlearned Singhalese, who will thus be more open to instruction of a simpler nature from the Christian Missionaries who are settled among us.

NOTE—An error has been pointed out to me in my footnote to page 18, respecting the Talipot tree, which, I am informed, does bear a fruit—Knox, chap. IV. says: “It bears no kind of fruit until the last year of its life, and then it comes out on the top and spreads abroad in great branches, all full first of yellow blossoms most lovely and beautiful to behold, but smelling very strong, and then it comes to a fruit round and very hard as big as our largest cherries, but good only for seed to sow: and though this tree bears but once, it makes amend, bearing such great abundance that one tree will yield seed enough for a country.”

ERRATA—p. 13. note, for *distances*, read *places*.
 — 18. line 1. read, *may be taken*.
 — 92. — 13. —, *not long before*.
 — 101. — 31. —, *ordered*.
 — 138. — 34. —, *her to*.

