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Dutch and British colonial intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780 - 1815: expansion and reform

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NOTES

Notes to Introduction

[1] In the thesis I will use the name Ceylon only when referring to the island in its historic, colonial setting. When referring to island in modern times or mainly its geographic designation, I will use the current name Sri Lanka.

[2] Lieberman, ed., *Beyond Binary Histories*; Reid, ed., *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies.* Blussé and Gaastra, eds, *On the Eighteenth Century as a Category of Asian History.* For an overview of recent publications on India on this period: Barrow and Haynes, "The Colonial Transition: South Asia 1770-1840".

[3] Sophia Pieters and R.G. Anthonisz translated and published the memoirs of Rijklof van Goens jr. (1675-1680); Thomas van Rhee (1693-1697); Cornelis Jan Simons (1703-1707); Hendrick Becker (1707-1716); Jacob Christiaan Pielat (1732-1734); and Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff (1736-1739).

[4] P.E. Pieris, *Tri Sinhala: The Last Phase*; Turner, *Collected Papers on the History of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, 1795-1802;* Anthonisz, *The Dutch in Ceylon;* Perera, *The Douglas Papers;* P.E. Pieris, *Ceylon and the Hollanders*.

[5] Wickremasinghe, *Ethnic Politics in Colonial Sri Lanka,* 56-99.

[6] See Chapter Eight.

[7] G.C. Mendis, *The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers*. Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687*. Goonewardena, *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon*. Kannangara, *The History of the Ceylon Civil Service, 1802-1833*. Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation 1795-1833,* Vols 1-2.

[8] Kanapathypillai, *Dutch rule in Maritime Ceylon 1766-1796* (PhD thesis University of London 1969), Wickremeratne, *The Conservative Nature of British Rule of Sri Lanka*.

[9] The Commission of Enquiry to the eastern colonies was installed in 1823 by Parliament to investigate in the Crown colonies (The Cape Colony, Ceylon, and Mauritius) the general state of government and revenue, with particular emphasis on the question of slavery. The commission arrived in Ceylon in 1829. G.C. Mendis, *The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers,* Vol. 1, xxxi- xxxvii.

[10] Van Goor, "Continuity and Change in the Dutch Position in Asia between 1750-1850", 185-200.

[11] Kwee, *The Political Economy of Java's Northeast Coast*. Van Niel, *Java's Northeast Coast 1740-1840.* Ota, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java.* Carey, "Waiting for the 'Just' King". Hoadly, "Periodisation and Institutional Change in Eighteenth Century Java".

[12] Van Goor, "Continuity and Change in the Dutch position in Asia between 1750-1850", 185-200. Hoadly, "Periodisation, Institutional Change and Eighteenth-Century Java", 96-103.

[13] Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780-1830,* 248-254.

[14] Bayly, *Imperial Meridian,* 209-214.

[15] Rasanayagam, "Tamil Documents in the Government Archives".

[16] The *Cūlavamsa* basically stops with the death of King Kirti Sri Raja Sinha in 1782. Later in the nineteenth century, a few pages were added concerning the rule of the last two kings.

[17] Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon.* For a collection of his essays and articles see: Arasaratnam, *Ceylon and the Dutch, 1600-1800*; Goonewardene, *The Foundation of Dutch Power*; Goonewardena, "Calculating Merchant Rulers and Cultivating Colonial Subjects"; Kotelawele, "Agrarian Policies of the Dutch in South-west Ceylon, 1743-1767"; Wagenaar, *Galle, VOC vestiging in Ceylon*. See also the contributions of Arasaratnam and Kotelawele, in K.M. de Silva, ed., *University of Peradeniya History of Sri Lanka,* Vol. II (hereafter *UPHS)*.

[18] Kanapathypillai, *Dutch Rule in Maritime Ceylon 1766-1796*.
[19] In particular: Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Administration,* Vol. 1-2*,* praiseworthy because of its detailed descriptions.
[20] The six chambers were: Amsterdam, Zeeland, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, 20.
[21] Meilink-Roelofsz, Raben, and Spijkerman, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*.
[22] See Chapter Eight.
[23] G.C. Mendis, *The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers,* Vol. 1, xxxiv.
[24] SLNA, 1/2159-2163: resolutions of the inland department.
[25] He sent his letters and reports to men of influence like Governor General Alting, Commissioner General Sebastian Nederburgh and Admiral Van Braam.
[26] This feud is dealt with in Chapters Three and Six.
[27] Meilink-Roelofsz, Raben, and Spijkerman, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie.* Jurriaanse, *Catalogue of the archives of the Dutch central government of coastal Ceylon 1640-1796*. Gommans, Bes, and Kruijtzer, *Dutch sources on South Asia c. 1600-1825,* Vol. 1. "Index to the Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren" in the reading room of the Nationaal Archief in the Hague, now accessible on internet via www.TANAP.net. The catalogues of the archives of the British government on Sri Lanka are unpublished but found in typescript in the reading room of the SLNA. Also in typescript in the reading room of the Sri Lanka National Archives: Mottau, *Index to the Despatches of the Governors*. & *Summary of Despatches 1798-1822.* In Jakarta, I picked the fruits of TANAP-archival labour by using the new (unpublished) catalogue of the archives of the High Government of Batavia (see www.TANAP.net). For the National Archives in Kew and the British Library and India Office collection: G.P.S.H. de Silva, *A Survey of Archives and Manuscripts Relating to Sri Lanka and Located in Major London Repositories*.
[28] Perera, *The Douglas Papers*.
[29] Bertolacci, *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon.*

Notes to Chapter One

[30] Tennent, *Ceylon, an Account of the Island,* Vol. 1 & 2, 3.
[31] Siriweera, "Agriculture in Mediaeval Sri Lanka", 34-35.
[32] C.R. de Silva, "Sri Lanka in the Early 16th Century: Economic and Social Conditions", 54-56.
[33] Marco Polo, *The Travels*, 258.
[34] For an overview of the major sites on the island vide: *The Cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka*. For a recent discussion of the Pali chronicles of Sri Lanka see: G.C. Mendis, *The Pali Chronicles of Sri Lanka*.
[35] Paranavitana, "Civilisation of the Period: Religion, Literature and Art", in S. Paranavitana, ed., *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon.* Vol. 1: *From the Earlierst Times to 1505.* Part 1: *Up to the End of the Anurādhapura,* 386-387. Hereafter *UCHC.* K.M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, 50-51; 73-77.
[36] A lot remains uncertain about this period in Ceylon's history, although it has always received a lot of attention from scholars and is still very much the focus of Ceylonese historical and archaeological research. Most accounts relate to its political history, which is generally deduced from the chronicles and rock inscriptions. Increasing interest in the field of socio-economic history has resulted in some interesting debates regarding the economic organization of the Kingdoms and their demise.
[37] See Chapter Four and Sections 8.4-8.5.
[38] Siriweera, "Agriculture in Mediaeval Sri Lanka", 48-50. He argues that land was never fully in use and that the scale of the irrigation system was probably smaller than hitherto assumed because not all tanks and canals were functioning at the same time. Also, there were various records of famine in the Pali chronicles that raise questions about the likelihood of the *Rājarata* kingdoms producing such enormous surpluses. He therefore concludes that at the most it could be assumed that the island was self-sufficient in its rice

production in the days of the ancient civilizations. Although there are still historians who reject Siriweera's suggestions, his account of the economic history of the ancient civilization is now more or less commonplace. On the limited use of the tanks: see also K.M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka,* 69; and Wimalaratana, *Changes in Consumption Pattern and Economic Underdevelopment in British Ceylon*, 157. He accepts the argument of limited production, but argues that rice was always the island's staple food.

[39] K.M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka,* 63, 81-84.

[40] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, 23-25, 121.

[41] C.R. de Silva, "Sri Lanka in the Early 16th Century: Political Conditions", 35.

[42] Arasaratnam, "The Vanniar of North Ceylon", 101-112. On the early history of the *vanniyars*: K. Indrapala, "The Origin of the Tamil Vanni Chieftaincies of Ceylon", 111-140.

[43] Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, 54-55.

[44] C.R. de Silva, "Sri Lanka in the Early 16th Century: Economic and Social Conditions", 50-60.

[45] Wimalaratana, *Changes in Consumption Pattern and Economic Underdevelopment in British Ceylon,* 155-164. C.R. de Silva, "Sri Lanka in the Early 16th Century: Economic and Social Conditions", 37-60. The rest of this section is based on this article by De Silva.

[46] Idem; Wickremeratne, *The Conservative Nature of British Rule in Sri Lanka*, 29.

[47] The standard work on the Sinhalese caste system is still Bryce Ryan, *Caste in Modern Ceylon: The Sinhalese System in Transition*.

[48] For a discussion on this subject see Chapter Two, below. Take for example the following title: Lorna Dewaraja, *The Muslims of Sri Lanka. One Thousand Years of Ethnic Harmony, 900-1915*.

[49] Paranavitana, "Civilisation of the Period: Religion", in Paranavitana, ed., *UCHC,* Vol. 1, Part 2, 754-769.

[50] These estimates may be too high even. In comparison, Portugal had a population of 1.25 million people, about double the size. The Netherlands 1.5 million.

[51] Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, 120-121.

[52] C.R. de Silva, "Trade in Ceylon Cinnamon in the Sixteenth Century", 14-27.

[53] P.E. Pieris, *Ceylon and the Portuguese, 1505-1658*; Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon 1594-1612*; Winius, *The Fatal History of Portuguese Ceylon: Transition to Dutch Rule*; C.R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-1638*.

[54] C.R. de Silva, "The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Sitavaka (1521-1593)", 61-104.

[55] C.R. de Silva and Pathamanathan, "The Kingdom of Jaffna up to 1620", 105-121.

[56] Abeyasinghe, "Portuguese Rule in Kotte, 1594-1638", 123-137.

[57] C.R. de Silva, "Expulsion of the Portuguese from Sri Lanka", 163-181.

[58] Lieberman, *Strange Parallels,* 21-66.

[59] Winius, *The Fatal History*, 36-170.

[60] According to Goonawardena, the Dutch manipulated the Dutch translation of the treaty to deceive the king by omitting the essential sentence "if the king so desired" thereby taking away his sovereignty over the coast. Goonewardena, *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon 1638-1658*, 32-33. Winius questioned Goonewardena's interpretation. According to him, it was not the coastal possessions they were after in the first place but rather the remuneration for the war expenses and the security of the cinnamon monopoly. Only when Raja Sinha did not live up his promise of payments did they start to insist on the coastal possessions. Winius, *The Fatal History,* 37-43. In any case, the outcome was the unclear status of Dutch sovereignty in Ceylon, which was to have further consequences for Dutch-Kandyan relations in the eighteenth century.

[61] Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, 37-57.

[62] Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658-1687*, 77-97.

[63] Turner, ed., *A Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom by Sir John D'Oyly and Other Relevant Papers;* Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of its Inhabitants with Travels in That Island*.

[64] Upham, *The Mahāvansi the Rājā-Ratnācari and the Rājā-vali*. Vol. 2. A Sinhalese version of this document was found in the cave monastery of Mulkirigala.

[65] Duncan, *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan*

Kingdom, 34; Bandarage, *Colonialism in Sri Lanka: The Political Economy of the Kandyan Highlands, 1833-1886,* 17-46.

[66] R. Pieris, *Sinhalese Social Organisation: The Kandyan Period*, 5-13.

[67] Ibid., 11.

[68] Henley, "Conflict, Justice and the Stranger King: Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in Indonesia and Elsewhere", 112-128.

[69] R. Pieris, *Sinhalese Social Organisation*, 14-18.

[70] Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka 1707-1782*, 206-212.

[71] R. Pieris, *Sinhalese Social Organisation*, 20-21.

[72] Wagenaar, "Knielen of buigen?", 441-466.

[73] R. Pieris, *Sinhalese Social Organisation*, 306.

[74] They had a large retinue when they travelled around. Most remarkable must have been the whipcrackers who walked behind them to scare-off the audience. Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom,* 202-205; R. Pieris, *Sinhalese Social Organisation,* 19-24.

[75] Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom*, 218.

[76] Ibid., 219-221.

[77] Ibid., 224-226.

[78] Ibid., 228-229.

[79] Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society 1750-1900: A Study of Religious Revival and Change*; Gombrich and Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka*; Seneviratne, *Rituals of the Kandyan State.*

[80] Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 50-52.

[81] Raymond, "Étude des realtions religieuses entre le Sri Lanka et l'Arakan du XIIe au XVIII Siècle: Documentation historique et Évidences Archéologiques", 479-487. Wagenaar, "Looking for Monks from Arakan", 91-111.

[82] Seneviratne, *Rituals of the Kandyan State*, 89-115.

[83] Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 82-87. Ferguson, "Mulgiri-Gala", 197-235.

[84] Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom*, 241-249.

Notes to Chapter Two

[85] Kotelawele, "The VOC in Sri Lanka, 1658-1796: Social and Economic Change in the Maritime Regions", 417-451.[86] Kotelawele, "Some Aspects of Social Change in the South West of Sri Lanka, c. 1700-1833", 65-83; Arasaratnam, "Elements of Social and Economic Change in Dutch Maritime Ceylon (Sri Lanka) 1658-1796", 35-54.

[87] Arasaratnam, "Dutch Commercial Policy in Ceylon and its Effects on Indo-Ceylon Trade 1790-1750", 109-130. See also Raben, *Batavia and Colombo*, 48-49. On the tax farmers in Jaffna: Arasaratnam, "The Historical Foundation of the Economy of the Tamils of North Sri Lanka", 20.

[88] Wagenaar, *Galle. VOC Vestiging in Ceylon*, 61-64.

[89] Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687*, 130.

[90] Ibid., 120-144. The first tombo registration campaign in Jaffna turned out a failure at first when the inhabitants rebelled against the government: Ibid., 137-139. See also: Kotelawela, "The VOC in Sri Lanka, 1658-1796: Social and Economic Change in the Maritime Regions", 417-451.

[91] Arasaratnam, "Baron van Imhoff and the Dutch Policy in Ceylon", 454-568, and Kotelawele, "Agrarian Policies", 3-34.

[92] Ibid. Goonewardena, "Calculating Merchant Rulers and Cultivating Subjects", 1-76.

[93] UB Leiden, manuscript collections. Pamphlet of Casparus de Jongh, *Noodzakelijke verdediging, wederleggeuing en ophelderinge, voor het belang van de Ned oost ind, comp* [….] (1769), 64: "*lof der pepertuinen*".

[94] Arasaratnam, "Baron van Imhoff and the Dutch Policy in Ceylon", 454-568, and Kotelawele, "Agrarian Policies", 3-34.

[95] Burnand, 'Fragments on Ceylon', 442.

[96] Abeyasinghe, "Princes and Merchants: Relations between the Kings of Kandy and the Dutch East India Company in Sri Lanka (1688-1740)", 35-60.

[97] Seneviratne, "The Alien King: The Nayakkers on the Throne of Kandy", 60. Wagenaar, "Looking for Monks from Arakan", 91-111.

[98] Arasaratnam, "The Kingdom of Kandy: Aspects of its External Relations and Commerce", 109-127.

[99] More on diplomatic instruments in this period: Wagenaar, "'Met eer en respect': Diplomatieke contacten tussen de VOC-gouverneur in Colombo en het Hof van het Koninkrijk Kandy, 1703-1707", 227-251.

[100] Kotelawele, "The VOC in Sri Lanka 1688-1766: Problems and Policies", 281-320.

[101] Wagenaar, "Knielen of buigen?", 441-466. Schrikker, "Een ongelijke strijd? De oorlog tussen de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de koning van Kandy, 1760-1766". Wickremasekera, *Kandy at War: Indigenous Military Resistance to European Expansion in Sri Lanka, 1594-1818*, 195-200.

[102] The cinnamon plantations are dealt with more extensively in Section 3.2.

[103] Burnand, "Fragments on Ceylon", 443. Falck gained the reputation of a gentle, disinterested governor. In fact, not much was written about him, except in relation to Kandy. However, a fragment of a private letter written by Arnoldus de Lij, commander of Galle in the beginning of the 1770s gives us another impression of Falck *"*[...] *wat de Ceilonsche zaaken aanbelangt, bemoei mij met niets anders als het aanvertrouwd commandement aanbelangt, ben met de gouverneur, schoon de hoogmoet en de waan wijt loop[end] met de rijkdom accresteert, in redelijke terme* [...]", SLNA, 1/3425.

[104] Abeyasekera, *Romantic Muturajawela, an Eyeful of Bounteous Nature*, 17-37.

[105] Paranavitana and R.K. de Silva, *Maps and Plans of Dutch Ceylon*, 93.

[106] ANRI, HR 3858 *"De gehouden correspondentie met de Gaalse bedienden over en aan den heer kommandeur Sluijsken door hunne Hoog Edelheeden opgedragen kommissie omtrent Diwitoere."* (Correspondence with the servants from Galle about the commission regarding Diviture assigned to the commandor Sluijsken). f. 25: Extract from a despatch written on 23 April 1791 from Colombo to Galle.

[107] Newbury, *Clients Patrons and Empire: Chieftaincy and Over-rule in Asia, Africa and the Pacific,* 265-285.

[108] On the organization of the Company, see Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, 66-81.

[109] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. I, lxxxii-lxxxvii.

[110] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. I, lxxxviii-lxxxix.

[111] NA (NL), VOC 3571, 26 January 1781, f. 74, secrete resolutie van Ceilon, despatch to Batavia.

[112] At Tuticorin, on the Madura coast of India, which also fell under the authority of the Ceylon government, a civil servant held the post of chief.

[113] ANRI, HR, 3855, Copia berichten weegens de inkomsten der dienaaren op Ceilon 1790.

[114] Raben, *Batavia and Colombo,* 70. Raben states that from 1680 the *dispens dorpen* were no longer issued to company officials. However, in the list of incomes of the Company officials on the island of 1790, *dispens dorpen* are mentioned: ANRI, HR, 3855.

[115] Jurriaanse, *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon*, 5-20.

[116] Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon,* 127: Arasaratnam points out that both Van Goens the elder and the younger, turned rich in the East through moneylending.

[117] SLNA, 25.1/36, correspondence of Alexander Johnstone, letter of the principal Dutch inhabitants to Alexander Johnstone. No date, no folio no, the letter in question was bound between letters written in 1811.

[118] Wagenaar, *Galle*, 45-51.

[119] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, lxxxvii.

[120] On race and status hierarchy in Colombo: Raben, *Batavia and Colombo,* 264-271.

[121] Raben, *Batavia and Colombo*, 66-72.

[122] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. I, xcviii-civ.

[123] Arasaratnam, "The Administrative Organisation of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon", 6.

[124] Unless stated otherwise, this section is based on Arasaratnam, "The Administrative

Organisation of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon", 1-13, and Arasaratnam, "The Dutch administration", 341-356.

[125] On the *paresses* of the cinnamon peelers as example of local influence on the Dutch Colonial political culture: Wagenaar, "'Eerst eenigen tijd versleeten met hunne dansers zien danssen en springen.' Ceylonese compagniesdienaren schrijven over Kaneel en kaneelschillers in 1786", 19-34.

[126] Van Goor, *Jan Kompenie as schoolmaster*, 30-37. For the experience of the Catholics: Perniola, *The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka: The Dutch Period*, Vols. 1-4.

[127] Van Goor, *Jan Kompenie as schoolmaster,* 109-121.

[128] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. I, civ-cx; Kotelawele, "The Administration of Justice under the VOC", 356-374.

[129] Kotelawele, "The VOC in Sri Lanka, 1658-1796: Social and Economic Change in the Maritime Regions", 419-422; Paranavitana, *Land for Money: Dutch Landregistration in Sri Lanka*. Land registration was taken up already in 1676 in Jaffna, but stopped after the inhabitants of Jaffna rebelled against the registrations. Van Imhoff was responsible for the revitilization of this practice.

[130] Arasaratnam, "The Indigenous Ruling Class under Colonial Rule in Dutch Maritime Ceylon", 65.

Notes to Chapter Three

[131] Paranavitana and R.K. de Silva, *Maps and Plans of Dutch Ceylon*.

[132] Ibid., 56, 79-80, 87, 93, 120, 130, 136-137, 141, and 142.

[133] Ibid., 65 (Original: NA (NL) Leupe 4.VEL 927).

[134] Ibid., 22-23.

[135] Steur, "Activities of S.C. Nederburgh as Commissioner General (1791-1799)". Van de Graaff was to become director general in Batavia. However, after his arrival in Batavia in 1795, the ruling clique refused to accept him as director general, which resulted in a big row in Batavia. Many letters and other documents still survive, and it is difficult to establish who was right. In any case, after Van de Graaff's return to the Netherlands, all charges against him were cleared. His historic reputation was tarnished by the writings of Nederburgh. In an effort to clear his reputation, the historian Lauts published an article entitled "Willem Jacob van de Graaff" in the *Utrechtse Volksalmanak* of 1846.

[136] *Den illustere broeder die thans het roer van Ceilonsch scheepje bestierd.* Quoted from: SLNA, 1/2792, *"Dagregister gehouden gedurende de ronde in het Koetjaarsche, Tamblegamsche en Kattoekolompattoesche door den onderkoopman D.E. Jacques Fabrice van Senden in 1786"*, f. 31.

[137] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 440, "Schriftuur Sluijsken 1792". No page numbers. Some examples: *"Van de Graaff hoogmoedig genoeg om een grote rol te willen spelen"* and *"Van de Graaff daarentegen, trots in den dienst, hoogmoed, gedwongen en meesterachtig"*.

[138] Thunberg, *Voyages de C.P. Thunberg,* 413.

[139] Ibid.

[140] NA (NL), VOC 3689, 29 December 1785, despatch governor and council to governor-general and council in Batavia, ff. 117-119.

[141] NA (NL), VOC 3692, 14 April 1785, resolution in council to pay out the premiums.

[142] NA (NL), VOC 3843, 20 May 1790, appendix to despatch to Batavia: overview of expenses made in the cinnamon plantations and list of expenses made for the sustenance of the labourers and their tools for the years 1784-1788, ff. 2477-2480.

[143] NA (NL), VOC 3878, 28 January 1793, copia despatch to Batavia, ff. 1948-1949. See also for a reference to the resolution in council and example of such a title deed: NA (NL) Com. tot OI handel 128, 31 July 1794, despatch to Batavia: resolution *Inlandsch departement* 20 September 1793, f. 1080.

[144] It was certainly not only headmen who applied for land to be cultivated. In the resolutions of the *Inlandsch departement* we come across such requests from servants of the Company, Dutch and Portuguese burghers, Moors and other inhabitants of the coast. To

give but some examples: a laskorin who planted 1500 cinnamon trees: NA (NL), VOC 3692, 19 March 1785, resolutions in council; NA (NL), VOC 3726, 9 and 24 May 1786: resolution regarding the request for a piece of land to cultivate with cinnamon by the Moorish woman Slijma Naatje; NA (NL), VOC 3799, 17 August 1788, resolution *Inlandsch departement*, overview of all high grounds given out in the Colombo dessavonie between 9 October 1787 and the end of February 1788.

[145] NA (NL), VOC 3689, 28 January 1786, despatch to Batavia, ff. 299-300.

[146] NA (UK), CO 416/24, "Burnand's papers", 5 February 1809, original of his fragments on Ceylon in French, f. 12.

[147] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 440; on the cover is written: pieces belonging to the memorandum to the governor-general, 1 July 1795. The memorandum in question written by Nederburgh, is found in Collectie Nederburgh 832, complaints about Van de Graaff are expressed from f. 18 onwards in relation to this, Nederburgh makes explicit references to Sluijsken's writings.

[148] Kanapathypillai, "Helen or Costly Bride", 133-145; Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië,* 50; and Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 2, 415.

[149] Kanapathypillai, "Helen or Costly Bride", 133-145. NA (NL), VOC 3799, 14 February 1788, resolution *Inlandsch departement*, comments of Fretz on Sluijsken's criticism. He emphasized that the *Heren Zeventien* were content with the quality of Garden cinnamon. NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 442, memorandum of Van de Graaff for his successor, 14 July 1794, §50 and 51, Van de Graaff refers in these sections to old samples of the preferred cinnamon in the Netherlands and suggests that such samples could be made once more, to make sure that the best quality was peeled and send home.

[150] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 2, 414.

[151] For example: OIOC G/11/54, memoir of Davy Robertson, f. 158.

[152] NA (NL), HR 586, notes of the High Government in the margins of Van de Graaff's memorandum, made in Spring 1797. See the comments in margins of §38.

[153] Steur, "Activities of S.C. Nederburgh as commissioner general (1791-1799)", and Schutte, "De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën", 150-163. The mission failed to set reforms as they intended, but later in 1802 and 1803, Nederburgh influenced the formulation of new colonial policies; his advice was based on his experiences on Java in this period.

[154] SLNA, 1/4959, 5 May 1794, Letter from the commissioners general (Nederburgh and Frijkenius) and Governor Alting and Director general Siberg to Governor Van de Graaff; 21 April 1795, answer from Governor J.G. van Angelbeek.

[155] Expenses:

1779/80	*f*1,197,210.9.4	1786/87	*f* 1,532,955.19.–
1780/81	*f* 1,363,332.15.8	1787/88	*f* 1,677,319.10.8
1781/82	*f* 1,400,787.17.8	1788/89	*f* 1,820,346.7.12
1782/83	*f* 1,641,204.–.–	1789/90	*f* 1,497,326.10.8
1783/84	*f* 1,667,008.17.8	1790/91	*f* 1,675,380.12.12
1784/85	*f* 1,503,564.8.8	1791/92	*f* 1,900,982.18.–
1785/86	*f* 1,607,378.19.4		

[156] Soon after the arrival of the Luxemburg regiment, colonel Hugonet and Van de Graaff started to fight over who controlled the army on the island. NA (NL), VOC 3720, 26 July 1786, f. 62 and onwards separate letter of Van de Graaff to Batavia; NA (NL) 3691, 18 March 1786, ff. 909-914, despatch to the chamber Zeeland (responsible for the military recruitment); NA (NL), 3692, resolution 30 June 1785 (among others) on all sorts of irregularities among the troops, reports of fights between Dutch soldiers and members of the Luxemburg regiment.

[157] NA (NL), VOC 3689, *extract patriaasche missiven* 18 November 1786, ff. 159-160. Just after the war, the *Heren Zeventien* urged the Ceylon government to cut expenses. However, they acknowledged that this was a difficult task, because the military establishment was now larger than ever. They expressed the hope that at least the income could be increased.

[158] SLNA, 1/4959, 21 April 1795, Governor Van Angelbeek to Batavia.

Income under Falck	1779/80	*f* 652,340.3.–
	1780/81	*f* 556,252.18.8

	1781/82	*f* 419,385.17.8
	1782/83	*f* 641,491.3.8
	1783/84	*f* 938,228.6.–
Income under Van de Graaff	1784/85	*f* 642,770.1.8
	1785/86	*f* 809,302.15.–
	1786/87	*f* 793,749.17.8
	1787/88	*f* 822,283.1.–
	1788/89	*f* 861712.13.4
	1789/90	*f* 895,959.8.8
	1790/91	*f* 981,979.5.–
	1791/92	*f* 954,575.2.–

Van Angelbeek pointed out that the year 1783/84 had to be considered as an exception, because over 300,000 guilders were earned by selling the goods of the stranded ship *De Overduin*, which had been bound for Malabar.

[159] Van Angelbeek must have been well aware that the government of Batavia was in possession of all documents regarding the finances up to this period, and thus it is not likely that he falsified the numbers. On the other hand, it is not entirely clear what they are based on. This is not of real importance here though, as it is clear enough that both expenses and income were increasing.

[160] Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië,* 209-223.

[161] On the Japanese copper trade and the British competition in India with copper from Europe, see Shimada, *Intra-Asian Trade in Japanese Copper,* 65-129.

[162] See for the papers of the military commission: NA (NL), VOC 10022-4; VOC 3843, NA (NL) Collection Ver Huell 21-32; SLNA, 1/4960-5965.

[163] NA (NL) Com. tot OI Handel 128, 31 July 1794 ff. 857-879, Governor and council to Batavia, answer to despatch from the Netherlands 26 November 1792, with criticism on military expenses.

[164] Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië*, 73-122 and 218-223. Unfortunately the exchanges between the Dutch factories in staple goods like arrack, rice and salt are missing from her analysis. Only the sugar trade receives attention. Perhaps it was impossible to include this in her research, but it is certainly a topic waiting to be explored.

[165] SLNA, 1/2159, 1 September 1791, f. 218: Jaffna to Colombo; SLNA, 1/1795, letter from Nagel in the Vanni about the elephant trade written 1792.; SLNA, 1/2710, 2 April 1793, memorandum commandeur of Jaffna Bartolomeus Raket for his successor, f. 13.

[166] NA (NL), VOC 3692, 3 March 1785, resolution in council regaring rice delivered by various traders: Tranchell, the Jew Hain Gabaij, "an Armenian merchant" and "a banker". Blume's proposal: NA (NL), VOC 3573, resolution 17 March 1780. On deliveries by Graaf van Bijland, chief of Sadraspatnam: NA (NL), VOC 3692, resolution 24 June 1785. Conradi was a regular provider of rice: NA (NL), VOC 3842, 7 May 1790, despatch to Batavia, ff. 2557-2558.

[167] The rice prices in 1780s in Madras were also exceptionally high because of droughts, bad harvests and warfare. Ajuha, "Labour Relations in an Early Colonial Context", 817-818.

[168] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*; between 1766 and 1784 Falck issued 100 *plakkaten*, while Van de Graaff issued the same amount in nine years.

[169] Wijnanaendts van Resandt, *De gezaghebbers der Oost-Indische Compagnie op haren buiten comptoiten in Azië*, 83-84.

[170] SLNA, 1/2707, 12 June 1784, memorandum of the commander of Galle Arnoldus de Lij for his successor Willem Jacob van de Graaff, ff. 1-16.

[171] SLNA, 1/3425 (Buultjens), letters written by Arnoldus de Lij in 1773 and SLNA, 1/2707, 12 June 1784, ff. 1-16.

[172] SLNA, 1/5083, 16 November 1784, minutes of the political council of Galle: *"miserabele en hulpeloose menschen, en daaronder verschijde met besmettelijke ziektens, die hier en daar langs de publike weegens leggen te beedelen, en veel al op een beklaagelijke wijze omkomen".*

[173] SLNA, 1/2707, De Lij speaks of the *Gaalse ziekte,* but from his description, a swollen

scrotum and thick legs, venereal disease seems more likely. Another possibility is that he was dealing with an outburst of elephantiasis, a disease that was still present in that area the nineteenth century. Perhaps Van de Graaff's measures against the prostitutes were inspired by Thunberg, who complained about the bad hygiene in the garrisons and towns and pointed at the negative influence of the prostitutes. Thunberg, *Voyages de C.P. Thunberg*, Vol. 2, 457.

[174] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. 2, plakkaat 575: hygienic regulation about the treatment and location of cattle for slaughtering.

[175] SLNA, 1/5082, 20 October 1784, minute of the Galle political council.

[176] SLNA, 1/1383, 23 June 1784, Van de Graaff from Galle to the political council in Colombo.

[177] SLNA, 1/5082, minutes of the Galle political council July-october 1784.

[178] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* plakkaat 578; see also NA (NL), VOC 3692, 10 February 1785, resolution: in this way the lack of expertise among the headmen could be checked.

[179] Ibid., plakkaat 611: this is a plakkaat for Colombo, but Hovy points out in a note that this proclamation was based on a *sannas* issued in Galle on 4 August 1784.

[180] See also Section 2.1 on the Dutch use of *oeliam* services.

[181] SLNA, 1/5082, 20 October 1784, minute of the council of Galle.

[182] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, plakkaat 608.

[183] Ibid., plakkaat 608: extensive regulation for the police 28 December 1786; plakkaat 609: improved instructions for the quarter, or neighbourhood, masters.

[184] Ibid., plakkaat 635 regarding the widows and orphans. NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 129, 18 February 1795, ff. 1229-1230 despatch to Batavia. On the small pox inoculation: Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, plakkaat 646, January 1791; first reference to inoculation: SLNA, 1/193, 22 June 1786, minute political council Ceylon, also refers to recent epidemic that killed 800.

[185] NA (NL), VOC 3689, 28 January 1786, f. 302, despatch to Batavia.

[186] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, plakkaat 586; the plakkaat counts 33 sections in total.

[187] Ibid., plakkaat 586: sections 1 and 2.

[188] Ibid., plakkaat 586.

[189] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, plakkaat 615.

[190] NA (NL), VOC 3799, 7 August 1788, ff. 44-62, resolution *Inlandsch departement*: report of Fretz on land and gardens given out to be cultivated between 9 October 1787 and February 1788.

[191] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 442, 15 July 1794, memorandum of Governor Van de Graaff for his successor. *"§53: In het geen van ouds de Kolombosche dessavonij heeft uitgemaakt, is de vordering daar in wel niet groote. Met de kanneel kulture is deeze dessavonij verscheide jaaren veel te doen geweest. Daar toe heeft heel veel volk moeten worden gebruikt, en heeft dus in dezelve ter bevordering der nelie kultuure wijnig buitengewoons kunnen worden gedaan."*

[192] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. 2, plakkaat 611.

[193] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. 2, plakkaat 628.

[194] NA (NL), VOC 3692, 10 February 1785, resolution in council regarding the native headmen. This resolution shows that this was the explicit intention of Van de Graaff.

[195] Van Niel, *Java's Northeast Coast*; Kwee, *Political Economy of Java's Northeast Coast*; and Ota, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java*.

[196] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, Vol. 2, plakkaat 563 on the taxation on transport of coconuts. The commander of Galle, the dessava of Colombo and the dessava of Matara all received considerable percentages on the arrack and coir taxes: ANRI, HR, 3855 "Statement of income of all company's officials 1790". See the statement of Kraijenhof for Galle, Fretz for Colombo and Christiaan van Angelbeek for Matara. Coir or coconut fibre was used to make ropes and sails for the Company's Ships.

[197] Roberts, *Caste, Conflict and Elite Formation,* 84-89.

[198] Kotelawele, "Some Aspects of Social Change", 97.

[199] This continued in the nineteenth century. Burnand, "Fragments on Ceylon", 560, states how the headmen started building houses in the European manner, and burned wax

candles in silver candlesticks in stead of the oil lamp. The headmen made a very rich impression on Robert Andrews, the first British commissioner for the revenues: NA (UK), CO 416/22/H10, 10/5 1796, Andrews to Madras.

[200] SLNA, 1/5082, 20 October 1784, minutes of the council of Galle, decision to go ahead with the plan; NA (NL), VOC 3689, 28 January 1786, f. 301, despatch to Batavia §244&245: positive remarks about the progress in Diviture.

[201] ANRI, HR, 3858, 23 April 1791, f. 25 extract from a despatch from Colombo to Galle; NA (NL), VOC 3840, 12 January 1789, ff. 1983-2073; NA (NL), VOC 3799, 21 October 1788, ff. 63-147 resolution *Inlandsch departement*: includes report of the committee, the angry response of Kraijenhof and the comments of the political council and decision to send out a second committee.

[202] These problems of credit would be a very interesting subject of study. It lasted to well in the twentieth century. For a literary impression on the problems of credit, see Woolf, *The Village in the Jungle.*

[203] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 448, unknown author, no date (1792?) ff. 7-8: *"Maar dat de §530 voorgestelde toe eijgening van de ingenieurs, smeeden, oeliassen en 18 famillies van kolenbranders gedurende den tijd van 10 jaren buijtensporig is."*

"Dat hoe loffelijk ook het gedrag van Abbesinge, daar bij deese menschen woonplaatsen aangeweesen en hun door zagte behandeling §533 van een swervend leeven afgetrokken, tot goede ingeseetenen hebbe gemaakt, ook zijn, of schijnen moogen, deese lieden egter niet aan de familie van Abbesinge overgegeven dienen te werden; maar beschout als waare ondersaten der Ed. Comp."

[204] NA (NL), VOC 3840, 12 January 1789, f. 2045.

[205] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, Vol. 2, plakkaat 595.

[206] ANRI, HR, 3855, statement of the income dessava of Colombo (Fretz).

[207] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 444, 21 March 1795, Van de Graaff to the Commissioners General. Among other things, he discusses his policy to have pepper and coffee produced by the natives: *"uit hoofde van hun verplichte landsdienst"* on the basis of their service-tenures. It goes rather slow, but is costless at the same time, the only thing needed is the installation of some *"opzienders"* (supervisors).

[208] NA (NL), VOC 3838, 24 April 1789, ff. 976-978.

[209] NA (NL), VOC 3689, 28 January 1786, ff. 203-205, despatch to Batavia, discussing the appointment of lieutenant Mitman as supervisor of the agriculture in the Colombo dessavony.

[210] Some references to the work of the civil engineers, Walhberg and Foenander in the periphery: NA (NL), VOC 3878, 28 January 1793, ff. 1936-1942; NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 128, 31 July 1794, ff. 883-884, on Foenander and the Giant's tank; Ibid., ff. 1122-1130, on Foenander and Walhberg, and Diviture. The projects in the periphery are discussed in Chapter Four.

[211] ANRI, HR 3852 (the description in the catalogue is incorrect, the contents of the bundle bearing this number concurs with the description of 3851), 19 April 1790, resolution in council of Galle. The first reports on the complaints of the rebels state that they talked *"over verscheide onrechtvaardigheeden die tans de ingezeetenen aangedaan worden, zeggende dat zij zelvs geen tijd hebben om aan zeegen die hun door het floreeren der velden is toegevallen, en het geen zij aan den goede order en bestelling van den tegenswoordigen Heer dessave verschuldigd zijn met rust te genieten, wijl zij geduurig moeten werken in de kaneel plantagies nu een svan den Wel Edelen Grootachtbaaren heer Gouverneur, dan van welgemelde heer dessave of ook wel van de modliaars en andere hoofden. Hier op gedagte drie perzoonenen zich stilhoudende kwam er een groot geroep als uijt eenen monde, Je verswijgt niet dat wij ook moeten werken in de kanneel thuijn van de arraatjes."*

[212] Ibid.

[213] SLNA, 1/2159, 1791 correspondences Inlandsch departement; NA (NL), VOC 3842, 1790 ff 2514-2565, various reports and letters; NA (NL), Collectie Alting 82-83, letters from Sluijsken, mostly relating to the rebellion; NA (NL), HR 596-597, 1790-1791, 2 reports on the rebellion: one by Sluijsken and one by Fretz and Samlant; ANRI, HR 3852 (confused in catalogue with 3851).

[214] An example of Sluijsken's patronage in Galle: SLNA, 1/2161, 28 March 1793, ff. 18-

19. Case of Andries Fernando Jajewardene vidahn arrachi, headman of the barber caste in the Galle *corle*. He had been a loyal caste-headman since the commandership of de Lij. But when Sluijsken took office he brought his own confidant, named Gabidja from Colombo and discharged Fernando Jayawardene and appointed this Gabidja as headman. Furthermore, Gabidja accused him of witchcraft, which he was supposed to have employed to get rid of Gabidja.

[215] NA (UK), CO 54/31, despatch Governor Maitland to London 1809, f. 141.

[216] ANRI, HR 3855, no folio, statement of Fretz on the income of the dessava of Colombo, 1790.

[217] De Bruijn and Raben, eds, *The World of Jan Brandes, 1743-1808,* 239-241.

[218] On the endeavours of Von Ranzow: SLNA, 1/2708, memorandum of chief of Kalpetty Von Ranzow for his successor: remarks on his cotton plantations f. 34; NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 442, 15 July 1794, memorandum Van de Graaff for his successor, §133. Other examples NA (NL), VOC 3841, 27 January 1790, f. 2174 on the sale of the plantation of dessava De Cock. NA (NL), VOC 3689, 28 January 1786, f. 304, on the sales of the plantation of Lieutenant Rudolf.

[219] Bertolacci, *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon,* 32.

[220] NA (NL), Collectie Alting 93, writing of Sluijsken 1796. *"Op het aller onverwagts wierden de hier voorengem. Bartolomeus de Zilva, Don Daniel Perera, Simon De Silva, Don Gregorius, gearresteerd en beschuldigd dat eenige pasquillen tegens den Heer Gouverneur zoude hebben gemaakt en op de weegen verstrooijt: zonder verhoord gecondemneerd verzonden te worde NB naderhand sijn even gelijk libellen op de algemeene weegen nog verstrooijt gevonden geworden. De Mohotiaar na Jaffenapatnam en d'drie anderen na Trinkonomale als suspecte perzoonen: en waardoor men dus de commandeur Sluijsken de geleegenheijd meende afgesneeden te hebben, van eenig vertrouweling meer te hebben, ider was zeeker verschrokken over deeze wreede handelinge en nog te meer daar men verspreijde commandeurs voorspraak: die zig egter alleen bepaald hadde tot zijne dinaar den gem: mohandiram der wilsdschutters Simon de Zilva welke commandeurs partikuliere zaaken behandelde en met wien hij commandeur bijna een reekening van 40 duijzend rds hadde: geen het minste gehoor in deezen hadden gevonden."*

[221] Neild-Basu, "The Dubashes of Madras", 4-9; and Arasaratnam, "Trade and Political Dominion in South India, 1750-1790", 19-40.

[222] Bertolacci, *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon,* 32-33.

[223] Roberts, *Caste Conflict and Elite Formation,* 83.

[224] NA (NL), Collectie Alting 93, writings of Sluijsken 1796. *"Bij desselfd afsterven hadde Abesinge den Mahamodliaar de Saram, den attepattoe Modliaar te Gale* [...] *den vrijkoopman Philip Simon de Waas, zijne twee nagelaatene zoon Balthazar en* [...] *neffens de modliaar der vissers Renaldus de Anderado, tot executeurs sijne uijterste wille aangestelt, en benoemt, en die dan ook immediant, tot sekerheid van alles te kunnen opneemen en nagaan, eene generaal beseegeling van alles hebben gedaan."*

[225] SLNA, 1/5082, 20 October 1784, minutes council Galle; SLNA, 1/5084, 30 December 1784, minutes council Galle; NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 442, §120-123.

[226] NA (NL), VOC 3692, resolution 4 June 1785, yearly memorandum on debtors: this lists *mudaliyār*s, Moors, *Chetti*es, Dutch and Portuguese Burghers, and people bearing Portuguese names (Karāva or other coastal inhabitants). About frauds of company officials with the tax farms: Bartolomeus Raket was a major example in this period, his case is discussed below. NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 129, 18 February 1795, ff. 1303-1321, despatch to Batavia.

[227] SLNA, 1/5082 & 5083, 16 November 1784, minutes political council Galle.

[228] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. 2, plakkaat 622.

[229] See Chapter Four.

[230] On the landtombo: NA (NL), VOC 3571, 26 January 1781, f. 387, despatch to Batavia; SLNA, 1/179, 29 July 1779, minutes of the political council Colombo.

[231] This committee was composed of Nagel, Ebell, Williamsz, and Mooijaart. About the reasons for the instalment of the committee and the consequent devepments: NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 129, 18 February 1795, ff. 1303-1321, despatch to Batavia. For the

report drawn up by the committee see SLNA, 1/6816, 30 June 1794.

[232] NA (NL), VOC 3693, resolution 2 August 1785: about Waitelinge as renter; Ibid., resolution 3 September 1785 about Ritna Singa as renter.

[233] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. 2, plakkaat 589. His doubts about the low rate of the tax farms in Jaffna: NA (NL), 3693, resolution 3 September 1785.

[234] NA (NL), VOC 3693, resolution 2 August 1785. More on the developments in the Vanni in Section 5.5.

[235] NA (NL), Collectie Alting 72, fragments of letters and private correspondence between Bartolomeusz Raket and Adriaan Moens. He complains often about Van de Graaff's policies.

[236] SLNA, 1/6816, 30 June 1794, report of the Nagel, Ebell, Williamsz, and Mooijaart committee.

[237] NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 129, 18 February 1795, ff. 1303-1321.

[238] SLNA, 1/2887, 26 December 1794: Raket's defence. NA (NL), Collectie Alting 72, see the many bitter letters written in 1794 and 1795 by Raket regarding his impeachment and answers from Moens of an equally bitter tone.

[239] The investigation report of Burnand and Mekern: SLNA, 1/2932, 1 December 1795; the advice of Mekern: SLNA, 1/2875; Van Angelbeek's comments on Mekern's recommendations and ideas on improvement: SLNA, 1/2796.

[240] SLNA, 1/2875 and 1/2796.

[241] Kotelawele, "Agrarian Policies of the Dutch in South-West Ceylon". Governor Van Imhoff installed *landraden* (landcourts) and started with a large land and people registration campaign in the southwest and in Jaffna.

[242] The ruins of ancient water tanks and irrigation systems were spread around these peripheral regions. For the Dutch and later the British this proved that these regions could successfully be brought into cultivation.

Notes to Chapter Four

[243] NA (NL),VOC 3689, 29 December 1785, ff. 117-119, despatch to Batavia: the lack of rice has forced the governor to decrease the amount of labourers on the cinnamon plantations from 1,100 to 300. NA (NL), VOC 3689, 28 January 1786, ff. 203-205. There is still not enough rice to continue the work in the plantations at full force.

[244] NA (NL), VOC 3689, 28 January 1786, f. 225, despatch to Batavia: overview of the revenue of rice in: Colombo dessāvony, Muturajawela, Gale, Matara, Jaffnapatnam, manar Kalpettij and Chilaw. Ibid., f. 303, on the amount of rice coming from Batticaloa.

[245] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek*, Vol. 2, plakkaat 586 § 6.

[246] SLNA, 1/2159, Galle to Colombo 4 November 1793, f. 81: "The Manioc was planted in various gardens in the Galle *corle* and in Matara and is growing well. However the natives were at first not charmed by the root, and the reason thereof was that in the description of the preparation of the root the dangers of wrong preparation were also discussed and scared them. They have made a new description, and now some of the natives have planted the root in their garden, which is a good sign"; SLNA, 1/1795, 1791-1792: letters from the Vanni: Nagel writes to Van de Graaff how his attempts to plant the manioc failed. Moreover, he writes that the inhabitants were not particularly interested in the root, for in cases of rice shortage, they already used roots they found in the forests. (Nagel also remarked that he particularly liked the taste of "Allekanlenga" and "Kawelie" that remind him of the taste of potatoes. The bears also have a liking for these roots.)

[247] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 442, §81.

[248] SLNA, 1/2813-2816, papers referring to the restorations of tanks in the Vanni and plans for the repair of the Giant's tank by Foenander. NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 128, 31 July 1794, ff. 1132: reporting that the tank of Kantelai has been mapped out by the land surveyor Struis.

[249] See Sections 3.9 and 4.1 on the rebellion.

[250] This part is largely based on my previous article, "Grenzen aan de beschavingen: de reis van Jacques Fabrice van Senden door het achterland van Trincomale in 1786".

[251] SLNA, 1/2792, *Dagregister gehouden geduurende de ronde, in het Koetjaarsche, Tamblegamsche en Kattoekolompattoesch, door den onderkoopman D.E. Jacques Fabrice van Senden, waarneemende het gezach te Trinkonomale in den jaere 1786.* (Diary kept by the *onderkoopman* Jacques Fabrice van Senden during his tour in Kottiyar, Tamblegam and Katukolompattu in the year 1786), f. 30. There are two other copies in the National Archives in The Hague: NA (NL), HR 537 and NA (NL), Collectie Van Braam 199.

[252] I used the literal transcription of the names of these headmen. The same goes for the place names in the text. The title *vanniyār* refers to the time when the area fell under the Kingdom of Kandy. The king of Kandy appointed the *vanniyārs* as provincial headmen at the outskirts his Kingdom, therefore they enjoyed relatively great autonomous power.

[253] The village Moedoer is probably the contemporary town Muttur, but for sake of clarity I use Van Senden's naming of villages and settlements.

[254] SLNA, 1/2792, Wednesday 24 May, f. 8 *"tot het beeter gebruik maaken van het geen de natuur hem en zijn volk zo mildelijk schonk"*.

[255] Another example is found in his description of Oemenagere, a settlement with fourteen adult men. He decided to explain to these men how to make a simple harrow. If they used the harrow, ploughing the fields would require fewer buffalos and less time and manpower. In that way the village would create a surplus, the profit of which after sales would benefit the local population. SLNA, 1/2792, f. 5.

[256] *"hier is een kleijne pagood die niets bijzonders heeft dan de Bramineeschen priester die een liefhebber van pooten en planten zijnde, eene gedeelten van de leedige plaats welke gewoonlijk bij de pagooden is, met limoenboomen en andere vrugtboomen beplant heefd"*, SLNA, 1/2792, f. 22.

[257] SLNA, 1/2792, Sunday 11 June, f. 23: *"voor niemand dan boschmensen gemaakt."*

[258] SLNA, 1/2792, f. 23: *"mijne laskorijns op het gezigt van den eersten oliphant zig reeds regts en links zoodanig in 't bosch geworpen hadden, dat zij alle, door de doornen gekwetst er uijtkwamen."*

[259] For example on 18 May: SLNA, 1/2792, f. 3: *"*[...] *Schoon mijn onpasselijkheijd voortduurede en mij voornamelijk door swakheijd in de beenen en een volkoomene verdooving in de toppen der vingeren zeer sterk kwelde* [...]."

[260] SLNA, 1/2792, f. 19: *"en de schakering van het ligtgroen der velden die niet afgemaaijd zijn, het hooij geel dier geenen die hunnen bewerken reeds voldaan hebben, en het donkergroen der boomen, roemd een dier vertooningen, die ons, gelijk in alles, de meerderheijd der natuur boven de kunst vertoond."*

[261] SLNA, 1/2792, f. 2: *"door de voor eenige jaaren geheerste buikloop en kinderziekte het land ontvolkt was* [...] *en elk der weijnig overgebleevene niet meer bebouwen dan hij in een jaar noodig had."*

[262] Van Senden speaks about *buikloop* (diarrhoea) and *kinderziekten* (childrens diseases). The first could refer to dysentery, the second is more problematic. Considering the fact that the region is now known to be malaria-prone, it is possible that this children's disease was actually endemic malaria: the death rate among children during a malaria epidemic can mount to fifty percent, those who survive built up a resistance against malaria, provided they are stung by the malaria mosquito regularly. This also explains why Van Senden perceived the adult population as healthy. Henley, *Fertility, Food, Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 261-264. See also: Van der Burg, *Malaria en malaise. De VOC in Batavia in de achttiende eeuw,* 74.

[263] SLNA, 1/2792, f. 7: *"Na lang prevelen trad een stok oud man die weinig hoop had van de vrugten te eeten, voor en zeijde met een laggend gezicht: waarom zouden wij die moeijte doen, onze grootvaders en vaders hebben het nooijt gedaan. Het geen door allen beaamd wierd."*

[264] SLNA, 1/2792, f. 23. See also other stories regarding the washerwoman, Ibid., f. 21. Van Senden intended to collect the stories: "*van deese wassersvrouw worden zoo veel wonderlijke dingen verhaald, dat ik gelast heb er een verzameling van te maeken, te meer ik reeds verscheijde wonderstukken gezien heb, die haar toegschreeven worden."* Van Senden not only collected the stories about the washerwoman, he also received a transcript of all the information regarding the Kantelai tank, and sent the pieces to Jaffna to have them translated. Ibid., f. 22.

[265] SLNA, 1/2792, Thursday 8 June, f. 20: *"smorgens 10 minuten over half 5 uuren vertrok ik van Kooij Koedieroeppoe na het berugte en door geen Mallabaren zonder schrik genoemd wordende Kandelaaij. Alles was aangewend om het mij te beletten; waerschouwingen, vermaeningen en het geen het ergste was; aanhaalingen van een meenigte voorbeelden, die ik wist maar al te waarachtig te zijn, van nieuwsgierigen, die kort na de bezoeking gestorven of nimmer van kweijnende ziektens hersteld waaren, dog niets hielp; het nut van de Kandalaaijsche tank, voor den landbouw van de provintsie Tamblegammo was te gewigtig, dan dat ik dit beroemde werk niet met eijgen oogen zoude gaan zien.-Voor den berugten duijvel Poedem, die als dienaar van den koning Kollekooten de beschoeijing van den tank in zes dagen gemaakt heefd en de zelve als nog moet bewaeren, was ik niet bang, dog wel voor de papjes en kookzeltjjes der bij geloovigen* [...]."

[266] SLNA, 1/2972, f. 21 *"gelijk ik dagt, door menschen gemaekt, schoon zij het de geesten toeschreeven."*

[267] SLNA, 1/2972, f. 22.

[268] SLNA, 1/2972, f. 24, Wednesday 14 June. Because this man had a wife and children, he proposed that they would have the right to the fields on which his body parts were to fall down. His fellow country men accepted his offer and the bravery of the victim. He was crushed against the cliffs by the strong force of the water and parts of his body stranded at various places and were returned to his wife and children. Though because for practical reasons they preferred to have one piece of land joined together, they chose the field on which his right arm landed (because that hand had worked to open the tank) and as many fields surrounding it as they had found parts of his body. *"Zijn lands lieden namen het beding aan en den braven Tamblegammer wierd, zijn vaderland gered hebbende, het slagtoffer zijner grootmoedigheijd; hij wierd doord en sterken drang van water tusschen de klippen vermorseld en de deelen van zijn lichaam kwamen op verscheijde plaatsen aandrijven, die ook werkelijk aan zijn vrouw en kinderen toegeweesen wierden, dog deze om het gemak wille, liever alles bij een willende hebben, verzogt en verkreegen het veld, waar op / zeeker, wijl die het werktuig der openening van de tang gevoerd had/ den regter arm aangedreeven was en zoo veel velden rondom dit, als er stukken van zijn lighaam gevonden wierden."* Van Senden emphasized that he was not sure whether the story was true, but it seemed that some of the elderly had been acquainted with the washerman's children, though in Van Senden's time of his descendants was still alive. Quote in text: *"Om de eer van het menschdom wenschte ik het geval als waaragtig te kunnen boekstaven, het op een steen te laaten uijtsnijden in verschillende taalen en er onder aan te schrijven met Gulde letteren <u>Welk een man! Welk een vader! doch voor al welk een meede burger!</u>"*

[269] NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 128, 31 July 1794, despatch to Batavia, f. 1132.

[270] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 442, §52 and 53.

[271] This point is made by Arasaratnam in his article "The Vanniar of North Ceylon".

[272] NA (NL), VOC 3571, despatch to Batavia, 26 January 26, ff. 390-393; NA (NL), 3573, resolution 7 March 1780. More extensively about this operation SLNA, 1/1296, minutes of the policital council of Jaffna, March-August 1780.

[273] NA (NL), VOC 3692, resolution 26 April 1785 and NA (NL) VOC 3693, resolution 2 August 1785.

[274] NA (NL), HR 585, *"Memorie over den staat der Wannijsche landen [...]",* 23/5 1793.

[275] One parrah of paddy equals twenty-eight pounds. Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. 2, appendix 1.

[276] NA (UK), 55/1, 2 August 1796, f. 137: "List of Company servants in the Vanni in need of subsistence". Next to their names and functions their background is mentioned. Most are called "of Portuguese native descent", but bear typical Dutch names like Jan Anthony Twekkerts or Johan Carel de Hoed.

[277] The Jaffanese laws and customs, called *Thesalavamai,* were codified by Governor Simons in 1706. Nadaraja, *The Legal System of Ceylon in its Historical Setting* , 13.

[278] NA (NL), HR 585, *"Memorie over den staat der Wannijsche landen [...]"*, 23/5 1793. 16-17. (No folio-numbers are given in the document. In my transcription I numbered the pages myself, these are the page-numbers referred to.)

[279] NA (NL), HR 585, 31. Blom, *Verhandelingen van den Landbouw in de colonie Suriname*, a popular title in the Netherlands at the time. See Sens, *"Mensaap, heiden,*

slaaf", 28, 100, 122.

[280] Slaves would have been expensive and there was great risk that they would flee to the Kandyan Kingdom. That is why he had to use salaried labourers from the area. NA (NL), HR 585, 31-33.

[281] Arasaratnam, "The Vanniar of North Ceylon". He uses the term feudal to define the relationship of the *vanniyārs* with their subjects.

[282] NA (UK), CO 54/42, 26 February - 29 March 1812, f. 74 no date. The circumstances were: war with England, no ships to Holland, disastrous events in Switzerland, bankruptcy of his agent Ritmeyer in Amsterdam, and finally, the French occupation of the Netherlands rendered his investments in public funds worthless. See also the introduction to Burnand's "Fragments on Ceylon", 440. He was looked at with "utmost respect by the Europeans and native inhabitants".

[283] NA (UK), CO 54/125, f. 655. Unlike Nagel's memorandum, Burnand's memorandum was not supposed to be sent to Colombo, Batavia or elsewhere, nor was it written to sell a plan or to secure a career. It was meant only to inform his successor. In comparison with Nagel, Burnand gives more detailed descriptions of his policies and goes into the practical aspects of ruling the district in depth. It is a long and extensive document covering of about three hundred pages.

[284] NA (UK) CO 416/24, f. 131. Although the memorandum is divided in five paragraphs, the composition of the document is not that different from the one written by Nagel: Burnand starts with an introduction on the ancient history of the island and the state of the district under the Kandyan government until 1766. Next he discusses the changes which the government undertook during Francke's term of office. He then goes on to explain the measures he took during his own administration, followed by an overview of the civil service in the district. Finally he discusses the plans he made for improvement of the district in the future.

[285] Burnand speaks even of 2,000 *lasten* in his fragments (= 150,000 *parras*).

[286] NA (UK) CO 416/24, f. 168.

[287] Ibidem, ff. 139-140.

[288] Ibidem, f. 147.

[289] Idem and Ibidem, f. 203. James Cordiner, *A Description of Ceylon*, 350: one of the descriptions of a journey made by Thomas Christie from Batticaloa to Matara gives evidence of Burnand's irrigation works.

[290] Such categorization of people is a subject of research in itself, for which this memoir could serve well as a practical example.

[291] NA (UK), CO 416/24, f. 177.

[292] Ibid., ff. 155-157 and 189.

[293] Ibid., f. 175. In fact, he states that the native servants wish to be treated that way and that they are "being respectfull and obedient *pro rato* the severity with which they are treated when found guilty of an offence for they are regardless to a more gentle and indulgent treatment".

[294] Ibid., f. 177.

[295] Ibid., ff. 167, 217 and 218 (praise); Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. 2, plakkaat 595 and 596, and NA (NL), VOC 3692, resolutions 27 February 1785 and 26 April 1785.

[296] NA (UK), CO 416/24, ff. 184-186.

[297] Ibid., ff. 197-199.

Notes to Chapter Five

[298] For a recent and extensive discussion of this period in Dutch history, see Van Sas, *De Metamorfose van Nederland,* 67-399.

[299] Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914,* 286. He emphasizes the continuity of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment with seventeenth-century intellectual developments with leading philosophers and scholars like Locke and Grotius.

[300] Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind,* 214.

[301] Pitts, *A Turn to Empire,* 25-58, on Adam Smith on development; Pagden, *Lords of All the World,* 113; on Quesnay and his ideal of the agrarian nation.

[302] Sens, *"Mensaap, heiden, slaaf".* See also her recent article, "Dutch Debates on Overseas Man and his World, 1770-1820". Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind,* 214-221. Schutte, "De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën", 1-6.

[303] Sens, *"Mensaap, heiden, slaaf"*, 129-135, and Marshall and Williams, *Great Map of Mankind*, 128-155, 299-305.

[304] Schutte, "De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën", 103. For a discussion of the plans for the organizational and financial improvement see: Steur, *Herstel of ondergang.*

[305] Oostindie, "Same Old Song?", 179-193.

[306] Van Zonneveld, "Een échte antikoloniaal", 19-29. This may be explained by the fact that Haafner published these accounts between 1806 and 1810, when the Batavian Republic was at war with the British. The work of Haafner is curious, in particular his stories of Ceylon; they read more like adventure novels than as real travel accounts. Van Zonneveld also emphasizes the influence of early Romanticism on his work. Between 1992 and 1997 the Linschoten Vereniging published all Haafner's writings in De Moor and Van der Velde, *De werken van Jacob Haafner*.

[307] Drescher, "The Long Goodbye", 25-67, and Oostindie, "Introduction", 1-25.

[308] Sens, "Dutch Antislavery Attitudes in a Decline-Ridden Society, 1750-1815", 89-105.

[309] Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschap, a detailed study of which is in Groot, V*an de Grote Rivier naar het Koningsplein*.

[310] Schutte, "De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën", 214-216.

[311] Ibid. Studies on early nineteenth-century ideology: Schutte, "Winds of Change", 154-163; Van Goor, "Continuity and Change"; Schrieke, "The Native Rulers", 185-186. About the plans and policies of Dirk van Hogendorp: Van Niel, "Dutch Views and Uses of British Policy in India around 1800", and Paasman, "Het onvolmaakte paradijs", 30-51.

[312] NA (NL), Collectie Van Braam 115, 30 December 1785: *"Den grooten Venalon, in zijne Telemachus, den cardinaal Alberonie, in zijn testament politique en d'abt Reijnaal, in zijne histoire politique en Philospique bewijsen ons alle, dat het de pligt is van alle regenten, om hunne ondergeschikte aan te moedigen, tot de commercie en den landbouw zij pretendeeren, dat deese twee takken, de bron des overvloeds in een land zijn zij zeggen al verder, door deese in vleur (bloei) te brengen, 't eenigste middel is, om een land magtig en bloeijend te maken, en wijsen al verder aan hoe noodsakelijk 't is, het volk door beloning daar toe te animeeren. Men pretendeert dat alle regerende vorsten in Europa dit politique systeme reeds hebben aangenomen. Het eijland Ceijlon, is algemeen bekend, seer vrugtbaar te weesen, 't legdonder een seer gelukkiglijk climaat, d'inwoonders zoude niet soo als tegenwoordig aan alles gebrek hebben indien men d'handen aan 't werk wilden slaan, om van dit eiland haar vrugtbaarheid gebruik te maaken."*

[313] Among the rest of the letters in this bundle we find his curriculum vitae and direct demand for promotion, descriptions of the islands government and ideas for improvement.

[314] The book was not only of his hand, but in fact a compilation of texts by various authors, of whom Diderot was the most important contributor; see Wolpe, *Raynal et sa machine de guerre*, and Pagden, *Lords of All the World,* 163-177. For an analysis of Diderot's contributions see Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire,* 72-122.

[315] On the various editions and additions by other authors: Wolpe, *Raynal et sa machine de guerre,* and Feugère, *Bibliography critique de l'abbé Raynal*.

[316] Irvine, "The Abbe Raynal and British Humanitarianism", 564-577.

[317] Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens & du commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes.* 7 vols. (The Hague, 1774), Vol. 1, Book 2, 257: *"A Ceylon, beaucoup plus encore que dans le reste de l'Inde, les terres appartiennent en propriété au souverain. Ce systême destructeur a eu, dans cette isle, les suites funestes qui en sont inséperables. Les peoples y vivent dans l'inaction la plus entière. Ils sont logés dans les cabanes; ils n'ont point des meubles; et ils vivent des fruits; et les plus aisés n'ont pout vêtement, qu'une piece de grosse toile, qui leur ceint le milieu du corps. Que les Hollandois fassent ce qu'on peut reprocher à toutes les*

nations, qui ont établi les colonies en Asie, de n'avoir jamais tenté: qu'ils distribuent des terreins proper aux familles. Elles oublieront, détesteront peut être leur ancien souverain; elles s'attacheront au gouvernement, qui s'occupera de leur bonheur; elle travailleront, elles consommeront. Alors, l'isle de Ceylon jouira de l'opulence, à laquelle la nature l'a destinée. Elle sera à l'abri des revolutions, et en état de soutenir les établissemens de Malabar et de Coromandel, qu'elle est chargée de protéger."

[318] Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire.* 102, 108-109, and Pagden, *Lords of all the World,* 163-165. Raynal is often described as relatively moderate, in particular regarding the anti-slavery debate. The more radical contributions came from Diderot. This explains some of the ambiguities in the text. For example, Raynal did not directly support the abolition of slavery on San Domingo. In his piece about Ceylon in the 1776 edition of his *Histoire* he even suggested fetching slaves from the Moluccas to cultivate waste land in Ceylon and to serve as good example for the inhabitants of Ceylon.

[319] Raynal, *Histoire* (English edition 1798 / reprint New York 1969), Vol. 1, Book 2, 276.

[320] The inventory of the estate of warehousemaster Cellarius, gives us an overview of an extremely rich collection of books, old and contemporary, including a copy of Raynal's *Histoire*. TSA/DR/1557: *"Papieren betreffende de boedel en nalaatenschap van de heer Johan Adam Cellarius tot den 31 december 1803."* (With the courtesy of Ms. Anjana Singh.) Cellarius had good connections with Van Angelbeek, who wrote about him to Nederburgh: *"Hij is twintig jaar onderkoopman, een bekwaam dienaar, een geleerd en beleezen, en het geen meer bij mij geacht word, een eerlijk deugdzaam man, weshalven ik hem mijn favorabel getuignis niet durve weigeren."* NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 141, no date (c. 1791).

[321] Schutte, "De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën", 150-175.

[322] SLNA, 1/5083, defense of the *mudaliyār*: *"De s. heeft nooit iemand van zijne onderhoorige niets met geweld afgenoomen doch hij heeft en wil dit niet verbergen eenige paressen van hen ontvangen, die ze naar 'slandsgewoonte aan hem gebracht hebben. Dit is in de Matureesche dessavonij voor geen verboode zaak gehouden en van alle de inlandsche hoofden in dezelve dessavonij zal er vermoedelijk geen een gevonden worden die wanneer daar na behoorlijk onderzoek gedaan wierd, niet zal blijken het zelfde te hebben gedaan ten aanzien van hunne ondergeschikten, tot dat het neemen van geschenken door UwelEdele gestrenge grootagtbare onlangs strengelijk verbooden is. De suppliant zoo wel als de andere hoofden in de Matureesche dessavonij hebben dit te minder voor een misdaad gehouden, wijl ook zij alle wanneer ze een dienst verkrijgen de gebruijken ten hunne opzigte in agt neemen."* It was decided that he had to pay a fine and would be reinstated in office, for the proclamation had been implemented only very recently. The case would however be used as an example to others.

[323] Raynal often refers to Van Imhoff and to Mossel in his piece about the VOC establishments in Asia.

[324] SLNA, 1/2792, Tuesday 25 May, f. 9: *"Dat zoo lang hij* [de *vanniyār*] *als regent en vader van zijn volk niet voor de opvoeding der kinderen zorge, hij nimmer hoopen konden gezag over de menschen te voeren, dog dat het slegts menschen in gedaente en domme botte gediertens in der daed zouden blijven, aan wien nimmer enige lust tot het verbeeteren hunner staat en gevolgelijk die van het land hunner inwooning zoude kunnen inboezemen."*

[325] He repeatedly made remarks like *"De aard der ingezeetenen is die, welke het naast aan dien der woestheijd komt"* (the character of the inhabitant resembles most closely that of savageness): SLNA, 1/2792, f.14; or he talks about inhabitants who *"buijten de gedaente en spraek niets menschelijks vertoonden"* (apart from looks and speach do not appear human), SLNA, 1/2792, f. 23.

[326] SLNA, 1/2792, f. 15.

[327] SLNA, 1/2792, f. 15. *"Den inlander eens bij ondervinding hebbende, hoe een grootere werkzaamheijd hem niet alleen aanzien maar ook een aangename overvloed bezorgde zoude zich van alle moogelijke middelen bedienen om beijde te vermeerderen en dus zijn zoonen niet meer tot hun vijftiende of sestiende jaar te laaten loopen, zonder ander werk te verrigten dan 'savonds de geesten van den vader vast te binden en 'smorgens weder los te maken."*

[328] SLNA, 1/2792, Van Senden refers to Sonnerat when he discusses the resemblance

between the tripod of Shiva and that of Neputunus. About Sonnerat and his interest in Indian religions and iconography, see Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 82.

[329] SLNA, 1/2792, 21 June, f. 31.

[330] NA (UK), CO 55/1, 10 July 1796 General Stuart to Barbut, officer commanding at Jaffenapatnam.

[331] Oostindie, "Same Old Song?", 153.

[332] NA (NL), HR 585, for example: 4, 12, 13, 16, 19.

[333] NA (NL), HR 585, 12, 13.

[334] Ibid., 5: about migration to the district: *"Dog deese ingeseetenen weten er niets bij overlevering van, nog in geschrift nog bij monde, zij weeten dus van hunne afkomst niets te brengen."*

[335] Not surprisingly, this is the "Parable of the Tenants", which is concerned with the behaviour of husbandmen towards their landowner.

[336] NA (NL), HR 585, 7-9; quotation: 6.

[337] Ibid., 10: *"De wanniasse wetten waaren dus zeer kort, want zij hadden gene, nog van ouds, nog van den landsheer in geschrift."*

[338] Ibid., 10-12. He writes literally that they ruled: *"dispolisch en strijdig met de wetten der natuur".*

[339] Ibid., 19. Literally: "[...] *om hun tot meerder trap van menschelijkheid te brengen* [...]"; other examples of similar expression are "inspire the nation with human feelings" (*de natie menschelijke gevoelens inboesemen*) and "the reform of a wild nation" (*hervorming eener woeste natie*).

[340] Ibid., 4: *"hunne begrippen, hun caracter, hunne neijgingen kunnen ongetwijfeld verbeeterd worden onder den invloed eens geschikten mentors."* Nagel draws the father-child parallel literally, further on in the memorandum, at page 27.

[341] I have checked the following works whose authors wrote about the Vanni either because of their administrative connection with the district, or because they travelled there: Wolf, *Reyze naar Ceylon benevens een berigt van de Hollandse regeering te Jafanapatnam* (Den Haag, 1783); Pieters, *Memoir of Hendrick Zwaardecroon*; Pieters, "Memoir left by Anthony Paviljoen"; Cordiner, *A Description of Ceylon* (London 1807); and Lewis, *A Manual of the Vanni districts, Ceylon* (1895).

[342] Colonel Stuart mentioned his great wealth NA (UK), CO 55/1, Stuart to Barbut, 10 July 1796. How he gathered this wealth remains unclear. In an anonymous document, written around 1793, Nagel's administration is called obscure. Moreover, this person claimed that it was common knowledge that Nagel made large profits from the trade in timber from the region. NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 448. Perhaps he also made some profits on his plantations: he mentions one large coconut tree plantation in his memorandum. According to Wolf, *Reyze naar Ceylon,* 186, his place of residence on the east coast, Mullaitivu, was a well-known smuggling port.

[343] See Section 4.5.

[344] *Vedahs* were people living a nomadic live in the woods. They were said to have been the first inhabitants of the island.

[345] NA (UK), CO 54/125, ff. 659-663.

[346] Idem.

[347] Ibid., f. 161.

[348] NA (UK), CO 54/125, f. 687.

[349] NA (UK), CO 416/24, f. 164.

[350] He makes this point in his "Fragments on Ceylon" (1809).

[351] Van Goor, *Kooplieden, predikanten en bestuurders overzee. Beeldvorming en plaatsbepaling in een andere wereld,* 135-195.

[352] NA (UK), CO 416/24, ff. 145 and 182.

[353] Emmer, "The Ideology of Free Labour and Dutch Colonial Policy, 1830-1870", 207-223. According to Emmer, Dutch colonial policy-making was characterized by the limited impact of the free-labour ideology in comparison to that of the British. In fact the successes of the cultuurstelsel in Java reinforced the Dutch reliance on unfree (slave) labour in the West.

Notes to Chapter Six

[354] Arasaratnam, "Dutch Sovereignty in Ceylon", 105-121.

[355] NA (NL), VOC 3571, 16 August 1780, ff. 94, 96, 119-200: references to princesses for the king of Kandy. NA (NL) VOC 3842, 7 May 1790: references to contact with the Nabob of Karnataka.

[356] This had to do with a disagreement on the measurement of the distances between the shore and the border. The Kandyan measurements did not concur with the Dutch: obviously the Dutch measured a wider strip of land than the Kandyans.

[357] Rasanayagam, "Tamil Documents", 18-22; he refers on these pages to Tamil letters in the Sri Lanka National archives nos. K45, K24, K38, K43 and K 64. The French, at that point allied with the Dutch, kindly declined the king's offer.

[358] Tammita-Delgoda, "The English East India Company and Sri Lanka, 1760-1796", 531-552. V.L.B. Mendis, *The Advent of the British to Ceylon*, 52-79.

[359] See also Section 11.1 on this issue.

[360] Wagenaar, "Knielen of buigen?", 441-446.

[361] NA (NL), VOC 3664, 20 March 1784, Governor Falck to the Kandyan *dessava* of the Three and Four *korales*.

[362] NA (NL), VOC 3665, January 1785, ff. 1032-1034 notes of the dealings with the Kandyan envoys.

[363] NA (NL), VOC 3692, resolution 6 February 1785.

[364] Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC,* 66.

[365] Kanapathypillai, *Dutch Rule in Maritime Ceylon,* 156-164.

[366] Perhaps the strict attitude towards possession of the coast had to do with the fact that following the peace negotiations of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, the Dutch had been obliged to admit foreign traders

[367] NA (NL), VOC 3692, resolution in council, 10 February 1785.

[368] NA (NL), VOC 3841, 27 January 1790.

[369] Kanapathypillai, *Dutch Rule in Maritime Ceylon,* 156-170.

[370] SLNA, 1/3317, 24 March 1790, report of the embassy to Kandy by Van Vollenhove.

[371] NA (NL), HR 532, secret resolutions, 7 May - 17 June 1791.

[372] Colonel de Meuron from Switzerland was in charge of the Regiment de Meuron, which was placed on Ceylon in 1788 for its defense. NA (NL), HR 532, ff. 98-99. The colonel was instructed to judge for himself the feasibility of Eknelligoda's plans. Ibid., f. 43.

[373] NA (NL), VOC 3975, 18 March 1792, correspondence between Colombo and Pondicherry; Ibid., 8 January 1793, Colombo to Batavia with a recapitulation of the whole affair. Some of the letters are to be found among the Tamil letters in the Sri Lanka National archives Rasanayagam, "Tamil Documents in Government Archives", 23-28.

[374] NA (NL), VOC 3975, despatches to Batavia 24 May 1792 and 31 December 1792. The king in question was Narendra Singha (1707-1739).

[375] NA (NL), Com. tot de O/I handel 128, 31 July 1794: *generale beschrijvingen* with extracts of the *Patriasche missive*, ff. 880-881.

[376] SLNA, 1/3350, letters relating to Kandy 1791-1795. Many letters between 1793 and 1795 concern the question of the embassies. From September 1795 the letters of Van Angelbeek concern the English. NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 442, memorie van Overgave Governor Van de Graaff to his successor Johan Gerard van Angelbeek, 15 July 1794, §260-261. NA (NL), VOC 3975, 11 January 1793, Colombo to Batavia, ff. 644-645.

[377] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 442, paragraphs 4 and 8.

[378] Pieter Sluijsken was commander of Galle 1788-1792 and commander of Suratte from 1792 until 1796. The documents in question are the following: NA (NL), Collectie Alting 93, NA (NL) Collectie Nederburgh 440. The first is dated 17 February 1796, just after the British take over of the Dutch possessions on the island. The second was written in the autumn of 1792, just after the borders with the Kingdom were reopened.

[379] "Governor's gate" is a translation of the Portuguese porta, referring to the palace and therefore the importance of this function, as the first advisor of the governor.

[380] NA (NL), Collectie Alting 93. NA (NL) Collectie Nederburgh 440.

[381] Kanapathypillai, *Dutch Rule in Maritime Ceylon,* 156-216.

[382] NA (UK), CO 416/24, 5 February 1809. Jacob Burnand refers here to the argument between Sluijsken and the governor, concerning the production of cinnamon in plantations, but it shows how important the status of a position was to Sluijsken: *"cette question dans laquelle le premier ne peut être pas trop de bonne fois parceque la culture dimminnoit l'importance de son employ."*

[383] First mention of Sri Sanka Sarie and decision to inform the court about him: NA (NL), VOC 3837, 10 November 1789, ff. 745-749, despatch to Batavia. NA (NL), VOC 3975, 24 May 1792, despatch to Batavia, ff. 295-300. Van de Graaff suggest here that it would be a good idea if Sri Sanka Sarie was sent back from Batavia to Colombo.

[384] In fact there were rumours going around in 1792 that Sluijsken corresponded with the dessava of Sabaragamuwa, Leeuke, who was an enemy of Pilime Talawe: NA (NL), VOC 3975, 31 December 1792, despatch to Batavia, ff. 302 and 304. In his own writings Sluijsken stresses that he was highly appreciated by the Kandyan courtiers, NA (NL) Collectie Alting 93.

[385] NA (NL), VOC 3975, f. 309 about a letter received from Pilime Talawe, in which he asks the Dutch to help him depose the king: *"Dat de waare meening daarvan ons scheen te zijn, om aan te duijden dat men het hof door active middelen moest doen buijgen, daarmeede kan een man van gematigde gevoelens, niet wel geagt worden iets anders te hebben bedoeld, dan zijn land en landgenooten van de overheersching der Naijkers te bevrijden, en de goede harmonie tusschen hof en komp. Als de eerste grondslag van de welvaart en zelfs het voortduren van het Kandiasche rijk te herstellen, en we denken daarom zeer needrig, dat hij, zoo wel als wij, overtuijgd zijnde dat dit door zagte middelen nimmer op eene toerijkende wijze zoud bereijkt worden, door het geeven van dien raad, zoo min verdiend ene landverraader genoemd te worden, als een heelmeester, die geen kans ziet een wonde te geneezen als met het snijmes, daarom verdiend een moordenaar genoemd te worden."*

[386] NA (NL), VOC 3975, 31 December 1792, despatch to Batavia, f. 281.

[387] Gunawardana, "Colonialism, Ethnicity and the Construction of the Past", 199. The poem in question is called *Asadisadâ Kava*. On temple restorations and land grants see Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, 13, 56, 131, 188, 206, and 277.

[388] K.M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka,* 222.

[389] OIOC G/11/1, ff. 469-470.

[390] NA (NL), VOC 3842, 7 May 1790, seperate despatch to Batavia, ff. 2620-2622: *"een tijd lang geleeden deed mij den eersten hofsgrooten die ik reeden heb te gelooven dat de komp. Zeer is toegedaan in vrij onbewimpelde termen weeten, dat de koning anders een goed man, zig wat veel begon over te geeven aan zijne plaisieren, en om zoo te spreeken daar van zijne voornaamste bezigheijd maakte."*

[391] R. Pieris, *Sinhalese Social Organisation,* 207.

[392] NA (NL), VOC 3842, 7 May 1790, seperate despatch to Batavia, ff. 2620-2622 *"*[...] *Dat deeze Naikers zig hier door [presenten van de kust aan de koning] diep begonnen door te dringen in 'skonings gunst zoo dat hij hun tegens de gewoonte nu en dan begon te gebruiken tot bestellingen in het land, het geen niet alleen strekte tot merkelijk ongenoegen van de hofsgrooten, maar ook doorgaans uitliep op verschijde knevelarijen op den gemeenen man."*

[393] NA (NL), VOC 3975, 31 December 1792, appendix to despatch to Batavia, ff. 350-356: *"*[...] *Ten eenenmaal in genoomen met de verderflijke projekten der Naikers, die hem omringen, ziet de koning gerust zijnen onderdaanen lijden, zonder de middelen te zoeken om de dingen te herstellen volgens den inhoud van het vredens en alliantie traktaat, het welk tusschen de Ed. Komp. en de Singaleesche natie subsisteerd. Eindelijk is het hatelijk projekt, waartoe de koning zig heeft laaten overhaalen, en waer bij hij volstandig schijnt te blijven, ten duidelijksten voor den dag gekomen. God die 't eiland Ceilon en de Singaleesche natie beschermt, heeft in handen van den heer Gouverneur doen vallen den brief van de koning, welke aantoond dat hij de zwakheid gehad heeft, gehoor te geeven aan de schaadelijke raadgeevingen van de ontrouwe Naikers die bij hem zijn, en dat hij niet alleen heeft toegestaan, maar zelfs verzogt om troupes van eene vreemde mogentheid op dit eiland te doen koomen. Deeze ontrouwe Naikers, die bij den koning zijn, afgunstig dat ze niet ook over de Singaleesche natie kunnen oeffenen, die verdrukkingen die de Mallabaaren gewoon zijn te oefenen tegens een elk die ze*

kunnen vertrappen, hadden zig niets minder voorgesteld dan dat ze door vreemde troupen op dit eiland te doen koomen, gemakkelijk de grote des rijks en alle verdere aanzienlijke Singaleeschen zouden kunnen vernielen. 'Door den een na den anderen op te offeren aan hunne wraakzugt en misdadige uitzigten, zouden ze spoedig de eenigste raadsluiden van de koning geworden zijn, en niets zouden ze ontzien hebben om den totalen on dergang der Grooten te berokkenen, en het volk onder zwaare juk te brengen [….]*"*

[394] See for example NA (NL), VOC 3691, 26 and 30 November 1785, ff. 637-640.

[395] NA (NL), VOC 3837, 9 February 1789, despatch to Batavia.

[396] Vimaladharma*, Directory of the Office Holders of the Kandyan Kingdom*.

[397] NA (NL), VOC 3975, 31 December 1792, f. 262: "[…] *en aan hem uit naam van den opperpriester Karetotte Oenanse is koomen verzoeken, om aan de Maha Modliaar bekent te maaken, dat wijl er tans over en weer boodschappen gingen, er midsdien door het geheele land faam was, dat de vreede zoude getroffen worden, dit een zeer goede zaak was, dog dat schoon het ook tot een oorlog mogte komen de ingezetenen van de Saffregam de comp. Niet zouden tegenvallen."*

[398] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 149-150.

Notes to Part Three, Introduction

[399] NA (UK), CO 416/24, Burnand's papers. *"Fragments sur l'état ancien et moderne de l'isle de Ceylon sur son agriculture, les servitudes de ses habitants et les revenues."* 6 January 1809, Colombo. The essay was translated into English and published in 1821: Burnand, "Fragments on Ceylon". Bertolacci makes a remark on Burnand as informant of Maitland in *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon,* 36. See more on Burnand's "fragments" in the introduction and conclusion of Chapter Five and in Chapter Eleven.

[400] Burnand, "Fragments on Ceylon", 444.

[401] Ibid., 447.

[402] De Haan, *Politieke reconstructie,* 16.

Notes To Chapter Seven

[403] V.L.B. Mendis, *The Advent of the British to Ceylon 1762-1803*, 52-106.

[404] Ibid., 139-141; Nypels, *Hoe Nederland Ceilon verloor*, 5-37.

[405] V.L.B. Mendis, *The Advent of the British to Ceylon,* 145. Ceylon was not the only Dutch possession in the east that was captured in this manner. Others were Malacca, the Moluccas, the Cape Colony and Cochin.

[406] NA (UK), WO 1/361, Cleghorn to Dundas, 14 February 1795 (my italics).

[407] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to Stuart, 5 April 1796, in response to a letter from Stuart dating 10 October 1795.

[408] SLNA, 1/2932, 1 December 1795, report of the committee of Burnand and Mekern on Jaffna.

[409] NA (UK), CO 55/1, 30 September 1795, Stuart to Major Dalrymple in Jaffna. See also SLNA, 1/2932, 1 December 1795, report of Mekern and Burnand on Jaffna; they could not finish their research because of the British arrival. Many people had fled to the interiors on the moment the British arrived.

[410] NA (UK), WO 1/361, 24 October 1795, Cleghorn to Dundas.

[411] NA (NL) Com. tot OI handel 130, 13 February 1795. There are quite a few copies around of this daily register of the council of Colombo written between July 1795 and 15 February 1796: BL add 40737 "Transcripts of Duch East India records 1796"; UB Leiden, Westerse Handschriften, LTK 732.

[412] The British thought that he would surrender because of his attachment to the stadtholder. For further allegations against Van Angelbeek, see for example the report of Carel Fanken on the British take over NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 446, Batavia 20 February 1797. NA (NL), Collectie Alting 93, Sluijsken's writings of 17 February

1796, Sluijsken argues that if Van Angelbeek had managed to appease the Kandyans he could have stood a chance against the British. For further discussion of the allegations against Van Angelbeek see Nypels, *Hoe Nederland Ceylon verloor,* 59-95; Fyres, "A Collection of Notes on the Attack and Defence of Colombo"; Thomé, "Governor van Angelbeek and the Capitulation of the Dutch Settlements in Ceylon".

[413] UB Leiden, LTK 732, 16 September 1796, Van Angelbeek to Van de Graaff: *"Dat Colombo zig, zonder slag of stoot, bij capitulatie heeft overgegeeven, zal Uw: zeeker bevreemden, vooral wijl ik niet twijffele, of eenige menschen van hier zullen na Mauritius geschreeven hebben, dat de plaats zig had kunnen defendeeren, een uitstrooizel, het welk zig overal, zoo hier als te Coromandel, verspreid heeft, zal blijken, dat ik van den beginne af aan tot den laatsten dag toe, tot behoud van Colombo gedaan hebbe, wat in zulke omstandigheeden, van een wakker Gouverneur verwacht kan worden, dog dat alle mijne poogingen en te werk gestelde middelen, door een zaamenloop van weederwaardigheeden veriedeld zijn, en dat ik door de capitulatie, die ons aangebooden werd, af te wijzen, en de defensie van de vesting op mij te neemen, de colonie ongelukkig en mij verantwoordelijk gemaakt zoude hebben."*

[414] See in NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh: various letters sent privately by men like Sluijsken (no. 757) and Fretz (no. 727: Fretz applying for the function of governor after the Death of Van Angelbeek 1799) to Nederburgh. NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 130, preparations are made for 1797; NA (HR), 586: comments of the *Hoge Regering* in the margins of the memorandum of Van de Graaff, dated 31 March 1797. NA (NL), Collectie Brugmans 118, letter of Louis Monneron on the importance of Ceylon and the need to hold on to it in the Paris and Lille peace negotiations.

[415] OIOC p/245/13, 2 January 1797, Col. de Meuron to Fort St George. He feared that Van de Graaff and Pierre Monneron could count on the support of over least 2,000 men, if they proceed to Ceylon, "for the inhabitants of every class will fly to him".

[416] NA (NL), HR 586, "marginale dispositien op de memorie over Ceylon van Willem Jacob van de Graaff genomen in Rade van Indien March 31, 1797."

[417] Nypels, *Hoe Nederland Ceylon verloor*, 96-112.

[418] Of course there were exceptions. Captain F.T. von Meybrink, who bred horses on the island of Delft, offered his services to the British government on 3 November 1795. Brohier, "Chronological Catalogue of Letters and Reports on Ceylon Affairs", 29. In most cases the Dutch who expected the island to return to the Company refused to work for the British government: NA (UK), CO 55/1, fall 1796, ff. 151-164, various letters and proclamations on the oath of allegiance to be taken when entering the British service and the the Dutch refusal to take the oath.

[419] On the early relations of the British with Kandy, see Chapter Eleven.

[420] NA (UK), CO 55/1, copies of all Stuart's correspondences with Hobart in Madras are collected in this bundle. A copy is found in SLNA, 7/47.

[421] See Chapter Eleven.

[422] OIOC, p/275/8, Proceedings of the Madras Revenue Board, 12 February 1796, f. 343: decision to appoint Andrews as ambassador to Kandy and head of the revenue department.

[423] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 2, 502. However it did not yield as much in the following years due to problems with the organization of the fishery, frauds and finally the exhaustion of the pearl banks. Ibid., 502-510.

[424] NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel, 128, 31 July 1794, despatch to Batavia, ff. 931-933.

[425] This cinnamon had laid waste for three years, since 1793 no ship was sent to the Netherlands anymore. Presumably this was the cinnamon load for 1793 and 1794. It is likely that no cinnamon was collected in 1795; there are rumours that Van Angelbeek neglected the plantations, but perhaps he consciously did not have the cinnamon peeled in the last year, since there was still so much in stock. See NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 446, 20 February 1797, evidence of Franken, f. 12. Amsterdam warehouses still had cinnamon in stock, and they brought it on the market at the same time as the cinnamon that the British had found on the ships; it was enough to considerably devaluate the price. Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 2, 414.

[426] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 2, 417. The British government had three good investments from the plantations between 1796 and 1799, but

this was followed by a steady decrease because the plantations were not well maintained. See also BL, add 13866, North to Wellesley, 27 October 1798, in which he explains to the governor-general in Calcutta that 5,000 bales of cinnamon is enough for the yearly world consumption and that "their quantity is nearly supplied from the government gardens planted by Governor van der Grave, by the trees found in our woods and by those in the gardens of individuals".

[427] See introduction to Part Three.

[428] Neild-Basu, "The Dubashes of Madras", 1-31.

[429] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 201: Andrews was appointed superintendent of revenues on October 15, right after the conquest of Jaffna. After his return from Kandy on 7 November he rushed to Jaffna to take up his office. The position was later extended to all possessions on the island, OIOC p/275/8, proceedings of the Revenue Board, 2 February 1796.

[430] See Section 3.12.

[431] Brohier, "Chronological Catalogue of Letters and Reports on Ceylon Affairs", 41-43. References are made here to contact with Thomas Nagel and Raket. A nice view of the early private contacts between the Dutch and the British is found in the diary of Macquarie, a military commander who, when stationed in Galle was quartered in the house of Diererich Thomas Fretz the Dutch commander, and they appear to have been on a good footing. See the publications on Lachlan Macquarie & the 73rd regiment on Sri Lanka 1796-1821 by Macquarie University Library in New South Wales, Australia: www.lib.mq.edu.au/digital/under/index.html.

[432] NA (UK), CO 416 22/H10, Andrews to Josiah Webbe (secr. Fort St George), 10 May 1796, ff. 233-234; Ibid., 4 April 1797, ff. 257-262, Andrews to Major General Doyle explaining once more his motivation for the imposition of the new taxes.

[433] NA (UK), CO 416 22/H10, Andrews to Josiah Webbe (secr. Fort St George), 10 May 1796, f. 233

[434] NA (UK), CO 55/1, June 1796, f. 71, Stuart to Hobart.

[435] Brohier, "Chronological Catalogue of Letters and Reports on Ceylon Affairs", 51: extract of a letter from the Madras Revenue Board to Robert Andrews 30 July 1796.

[436] See letters of Van Angelbeek and the principal Dutch inhabitants in NA (UK), 416/22 H10, February 1797 and 22 June 1797.

[437] NA (UK), CO 416 22/H10, among others, Hobart to Andrews, 28 May 1796, f. 235. July/August 1796 Hobart to Andrews, ff. 241-243: Hobart forbids Andrews to lower the taxes on the coconut trees. Ibid., 22 June 1797 petition from Dutch inhabitants responding to Hobart's letter. Ibid., 4 April 1797, Andrews explained once more in a letter to Doyle that he instituted the taxes on purpose because he felt that the richest inhabitants, the Dutch, native headmen and merchants, paid the least in taxes.

[438] NA (UK), CO 416 22/H10, 4 April 1797, Andrews to Doyle, ff. 257-262. See also Brohier, "Chronological Catalogue of Letters and Reports on Ceylon Affairs", 65.

[439] Ibid., 65-66, extract of the letter ordering the inauguration of the committee of investigation, and 67, extract of the letters regarding the death of Major General Doyle and the appointment of Brigadier General de Meuron to assume the command of the Island of Ceylon.

[440] NA (UK) Co 416 22/H10, Hobart's minute 9 June 1797, ff. 269-281.

[441] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation*, Vol. 1, 214.

[442] Collins, "Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee of Investigation", 1-15.

[443] Andrews was replaced by Robert Alexander in May 1797 when he went for a visit to Madras "to the benefit of his health". Brohier, "Chronological Catalogue of Letters and Reports on Ceylon Affairs", 82. Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 223.

[444] OIOC, p/254/12 Madras military and political proceedings. 2 January 1798, ff. 11-12, Brigadier general De Meuron to the board: "In the present state of things it is to be supposed that messieurs Monneron and Van de Graaf are acting in concert against us and I think the only place they can have in view is Ceylon, the influence Mr van de Graaf has here would be worth than to 2000 men to them for the inhabitants of every class and condition will fly to him, mr. Monneron made the fortunes of several people when he was

French agent here in the war of 1780. – Together they will unite all voices whilst we have exasperated. All the good I have been able to do is not yet consolidated sufficiently to think that we have any for us, but our own forces, you know the state of them, and I have had the honour to write to you on the subject."

[445] Brohier, "Chronological Catalogue of Letters and Reports on Ceylon Affairs", 77; OIOC, p/254/13, Madras military and political proceedings 16/2 1798, "Lord Hobart's minute communicating information deriving from his journey to Ceylon", ff. 1086-1088: "I submitted to the board, previous to my journey to Ceylon the intelligence I had received from that island; and added my reasons for supposing that my presence there, even for a short period, might be attended with beneficial effects. The first object of my attention was the disposition of the king of Candia to our government, which, as had been represented to me previous to my leaving Madras, I found far from satisfactory. That confidence and cooperation which he had manifested on our first landing upon the island had been changed into disinterest and disaffection: but I could trace no substantial ground for this alteration of sentiment. He certainly had been disappointed in the concessions he had looked for upon taking possession of the Dutch settlements, but, as those concessions were expressly stated, and were to be made so soon as the treaty executed at Madras should be ratified by them, he can in fact have no real cause of complaint-It appears however that Dutch and French emissaries, availing themselves of the temper of the court of Candia, have taken infinite pains to misrepresent our national character, and to render that court discontented with it's alliance with our government having produced that impression they had persuaded the king of Candia to expect the disembarkation of a body of French and Dutch troops, and there was no reason to apprehend that he had been induced to prepare for cooperating with them in hostile measures against us. Under a supposition of a descent on Ceylon, the alliance or hostility of the King of Candia become subject of serious importance for such is the nature of the country that an European force, if unassisted by the natives would find it difficult, if not altogether impracticable, to procure supplies."

[446] OIOC, p/254/13, 16 February 1798. f. 1096. Lord Hobart's minute communicating information deriving from his journey to Ceylon.

[447] Ibid., ff. 1097-1099.

[448] OIOC, G/11/54, Factory records Ceylon 1799-1800, f. 186: Memorandum of Davy Robertson sent by Governor North to England to report on the situation on the island, 3 December 1799 (ff. 143-231).

[449] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 446, 20 February 1797, report of Carel Franken on the British take over addressed to Governor-General Van Overstraaten, f. 12: Franken mentions that districts were farmed out to Sinhalese headmen against the will of the peasants: *"Wat de ingezeetenen betreft, dezelve hebben zij in haare bezittingen gelaten, dog even voor mijn vertrek van Ceilon waaren zij bezig om de meeste pattoes en districten bij wijze van admodiatie aan de Singaleesen die maar het hoogste bood af te staan, waar door de gemene man, so als men vernam, gantsch niet te vreede scheen, en alzo daar uijt seer ligt opschuddingen konden resulteeren, voor al zo zij daar meede bleeven continueeren, wijl den inlander nimmer aan diergelijke dingen is onderworpen geweest, maar daar en tegens van onheugelijke tijden af, in de geruste beheering is gebleeven van het zijne."*

Notes to Chapter Eight

[450] Although he was also president of the board of control of the East India Company.

[451] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 224-225.

[452] Richard Wellesley also bore the name Lord Mornington, and he was the brother of Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington who was to play such an important role in the Napoleonic Wars. Richard Wellesley arrived in Calcutta at the beginning of 1798. Lawson, *The East India Company,* 134-135.

[453] Hullugalle, *British Governors of Ceylon,* 13-14. Various articles by Turner in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* 4-6 (1918/19-1920/21), and by Gratiaen regarding North's education system in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* 7-8 (1921/22) - 1922/23). Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 257-258: "[…]

North's easy-going optimism had induced him to bite off more than he could chew."

[454] BL add 13866, North to Wellesley, Bombay 5 and 28 June 1798.

[455] BL add 13866 North to Wellesley, Bombay 31 July 1798.

[456] BL add 13866 North to Wellesley, Bombay 28 June 1798.

[457] G.C. Mendis, *Colebrooke-Cameron Papers*, Vol. 2, 66-90.

[458] The fiscal examined the witnesses and at the same time wrote the report to advice the judges. Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 312-313.

[459] Ibid., 310-314.

[460] BL add 13867, North to Wellesley, 5 October 1799, ff. 64-65. Fretz was one of the first take the oath of allegiance to the British crown, however he had several irons in the fire. He had sent a letter at the same time to Nederburgh, requesting to be installed as the new governor of Ceylon after the death of Van Angelbeek on 3 September 1799. NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 727, letter from D.T. Fretz in Galle 1799.

[461] SLNA, 7/36, North's public diary, 17 September 1799.

[462] SLNA, 7/35, North's public diary, 29 November and 16 December 1798: letters from Catholic priests asking for improvement of their status.

[463] Cordiner, *A Description of Ceylon*; Gratiaen, "The First English Schools in Ceylon", 141-147; Gratiaen, "The Parish Schools under Governor North", 35-45.

[464] NA (UK), CO 54/2, despatch North to Dundas, 30 January 1800, ff. 31-32.

[465] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 229-231. In his letters to Wellelsy he writes positively about the native department: BL, add 13866, North to Wellesley 27 October 1798, ff. 99-100.

[466] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 232-233.

[467] BL add 13866, various letters of North to Wellesley, 1799, ff. 266-385. BL add 13867, 1799, Cleghorn's defence regarding North's accusations on frauds with the pearl fishery.

[468] BL add 13866, ff. 266-385 in these letters North almost continuously complains about the frauds of the Madras civilians, most often those of Hugh Cleghorn and John Macdowall. Quote: BL add 13866, North to Wellesley, 27 October 1798, f. 87.

[469] NA (UK), CO 54/2, despatch North to London, 30 January 1800, ff. 31-32.

[470] Lawson, *The East India Company,* 134-137. Brynn, "The Marquess Wellesley and Ceylon 1798-1803", 2-13. Wellesley fought Tipu Sultan of Mysore successfully and killed him in the famous Battle of Seringapatnam in 1799, but continued expanding the British territories violently without permission, causing a near bankruptcy of the Company. Wellesley was however extremely popular in England. In 1802, Dundas urged Wellesley to stop warfaring and send the troops home, which Wellelsy refused. Dundas was of the opinion that all danger was over now that Tipu Sultan was dead and Napoleon was defeated in Egypt, and that there was no danger of the French turning to India. On the divergent opinions of Wellesley and Dundas regarding policy in India, see Ingram, ed., *Two Views of British India*, and V.L.B. Mendis, *The Advent of the British to Ceylon,* 198-200.

[471] D.G.B. de Silva, "Hugh Neville's 'Notes on Military history of Trincomalie'", 70-71.

[472] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to the board of directors of the EIC, 30 December 1800, ff. 79-86.

[473] Idem.

[474] NA (UK), CO 55/61, 30 December 1800, Dundas to the board of directors of the EIC, f. 82

[475] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, 13 March 1801, §32-33.

[476] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, 13 March 1801, §1-10.

[477] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, March 1801, §131.

[478] OIOC, G/11/54, ff. 1-142 papers written by "by the right honourable Sylvester Douglas, now lord Glenbervie". These papers were published in the early twentieth century: Perera, "The Douglas Papers".

[479] NA (UK), CO 416/4/a17. The treatise was called "On the improvement of the agriculture and natural advantages of the country and the appointment of a civil engineer", and was added as an appendix to Dundas's dispatch to North of 13 March 1801.

[480] Glenbervie based himself on the "ancient" writings of Barros, Ribeiro, Baldeus, Knox, and the recent information given by Robertson, North, Joinville, De Meuron, and

Cleghorn. He argued that since none of the ancient authors point out that there was a shortage of rice, this shortage could only have become a problem at a later time, as the result of Dutch neglect of rice cultivation. They had started importing rice during the war with the Portuguese and continued the practice afterwards. He further argued that all the authors point out that the soil is so fertile and the rivers flow abundantly in many areas. According to Barros the eastern part, Batticaloa, was particularly fertile, and was also commonly referred to as "the kingdom of rice".

[481] NA (UK), CO 416. 4/a17, 13 March 1801 (Glenbervie's treatise on the improvement of agriculture).

[482] Idem.

[483] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, 13 March 1801, §93.

[484] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, 13 March 1801, §29-33.

[485] BL, Add 16867, 30 July 1800, North to Mornington, f. 297.

[486] OIOC, G/11/54, 3 December 1799, f. 180, memorandum written by Davy Robertson based on his own experiences and memory on the island and on his conversations with North (ff. 143-231).

[487] BL, add, 13867 North to Mornington, 20 June 1800, f. 255: "I am going to set out on my tour of the island tomorrow, which is fortunate, as my physician declares that repose and amusement are absolutely necessary for me. Indeed I have for this last fortnight been labouring under a most horrible nervous disorder, which has almost deprived me at times of the power of seeing, and hearing and I have had a quantity of business on my hands, which was quite insupportable."

[488] BL add 13867, North to Mornington, 1 July 1800, ff. 258-261.

[489] For Kandyan affairs, see Chapter Eleven.

[490] BL add 13867, North to Mornington, 19 March 1800.

[491] See Sections 11.1 and 11.2.

[492] D.G.B. de Silva "Hugh Neville's 'Notes on Military History of Trincomalie'", 73-74: "Memorandum by Col. Wellesley on Trincomalie".

[493] BL add 13867, North to Mornington, 7 September 1801, f. 501.

[494] Ibid., f. 503. On patronage system: R. Pieris, "Some Neglected Aspects of British Colonial Administration", 73-77. Kannangara, *The History of the Ceylon Civil Service,* 125-157.

[495] Kannangara, *The History of the Ceylon Civil Service,* 56-57.

[496] Ibid., 69.

[497] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 2, 341.

[498] Ibid., 340-344.

[499] Mottau, *Summary of Despatches to the S/S,* Vol. 1, 19-40.

[500] BL add 13865, Mornington to North 8 December 1801; SLNA, 10/38, 3 April 1805, letter of F. Rossi from Prince of Wales Island to Governor North.

[501] Mottau, *Summary of Despatches,* 40-60.

[502] Mottau, *Summary of Despatches.* References to the hurricanes: 8 February 1805. Reference to the cattle plague 16 March 1802.

[503] Ibid., 1 January 1804, 5 October 1804, 8 February 1805.

Notes to Chapter Nine

[504] Lawson, *The East India Company,* 140.

[505] Dixon, *The Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland*, 1-17.

[506] NA (UK), CO 55/62, Camden to Maitland, 21 February 1805, f. 128.

[507] Hullugalle, *British Governors of Ceylon,* 19-27.

[508] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 270; ANRI, HR 3861, 2 April 1807, Prediger from Galle to Governor General Wiese and the political council in Batavia, f. 15: *"De gouverneur Maitland is een man met wien men weijnige woorden iets kan afhandelen, maar men moet voorzigtig zijn, zijn Ed. ja en neen is onveranderlijk, en wanneer hij een idee heeft geformeerd gebeurt het zelden dat hij het zelve onuitgevoert laat."*

[509] Mottau, *Summary of Despatches*, Maitland to Camden, 10 March 1806: "I believe

mr. North to be perfectly upright and honorable as a public man, but the whole of his government was so loose, so undecided and so perfectly farcical, that dealing as he had to do with young men whose principles were not fixed, they all got into a state when thoroughly investigated, equally dishonourable to themselves and disadvantageous to his Majesty's service."

[510] NA (UK), CO 54/18, Maitland to Camden, 19 October 1805, ff. 177-195.

[511] NA (UK), CO 54/20, Maitland to Camden, 31 January 1806, f. 22.

[512] SLNA, 2/2, minutes of the executive council, 22 December 1806, f. 86.

[513] Regarding criminality in Jaffna: NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 128, despatch to Batavia, 31 July 1794, ff. 1094-1103. For North's policies regarding the service tenures: see Section 10.3-10.5.

[514] SLNA, 2/2, minutes of the executive council, 14 August 1806.

[515] NA (UK), CO 54/20, Maitland to Camden, 31 January 1806, f. 68.

[516] SLNA, 2/2, minutes of the executive council, between 26 November 1805 and 27 October 1806, ff. 50-56 and 9 December 1806 f. 81, copies of the correspondence with Governor General Wiese in Batavia; ANRI, HR 3861; 3862 and 4480, papers and letters kept by Rudolf Prediger regarding his mission to Ceylon.

[517] NA (UK), Collectie Nederburgh 727, letter of D.T. Fretz at Galle. Ibid., 757, letters from Sluijsken 1804. See also Bosma and Raben, *De Oude Indische Wereld,* 64, 85-86.

[518] ANRI, HR 3861, Prediger to Wiese, 2 March 1807, f. 63.

[519] ANRI, HR 4480, 20 January 1806, Prediger to Wiese, f. 303. This is but one example, the collectors of the various outposts were requested by Maitland to send him lists of those inhabitants who wished to depart from Ceylon and those who wished to remain. In some of the lists the reasons for not embarking are given and are related to old age, diseases or debts. See also SLNA, 6/101, inward correspondence from Batticaloa, list of inhabitants who wish to remain on the island; SLNA, 6/69, inward correspondence from Galle. SLNA, 6/128, inward correspondence from Trincomalee; SLNA, 6/45a, inward correspondence from Colombo. More extensive lists of who embarked on the ship are found among Prediger's papers, ANRI HR 3861 and 4480.

[520] Bertolacci, *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon,* 32-33. See also Section 3.10.

[521] SLNA, 25.1/36, correspondence Alexander Johnstone. No date, no folio no. The letter in question was bound between letters written in 1811.

[522] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 757, letter of Sluijsken to Nederburgh 1804. Sluijsken complained bitterly about how Christiaan van Angelbeek had left without saying goodbye (*Sonder van eenig mensch afschijt genomen te hebben*). One strategy to get closer to the British was for the daughters of Dutch families to marry British civilians and military officers. One of the daughters of Willem Jacob van Graaff married one Melville Leslie soon after the take over. After her brother Hendrik Jan left the island to seek his fortune, she was left at the mercy of this man. Apparently it was an unhappy marriage for Maitland requested Prediger to take her with him: *"§31 Het dringende verzoek van zijn excellentie den Heer Gouverneur zoo wel, als den aanzienelijkste ingeseetenen, om de vrouw van Melvill Leslie die een dogter van den geweesen Ceilons Gouverneur de Graaff is, een plaats aan bord van het schip Rusthoff te vergunnen heb ik niet kunnen wijgeren, vooral daar zij zeer jong zijnde is gehuwd, en thans onder het getal der ongelukkigste vrouwen behoort",* ANRI, HR 3861, Prediger to Wiese, 2 April 1807.

[523] NA (UK), CO 55/62, Camden to Maitland, 21 February 1805, f. 131.

[524] Hovy, *Ceylonees plakkaatboek,* Vol. II, plakkaat 635 and 639. With regard to problems with gangs of *kafirs* prowling around the hinterland of Trincomalee: SLNA, 1/2792, ff. 23; 25-26; 29.

[525] SLNA, 2/3, minutes of the executive council, 12 December 1808, f. 97.

[526] Kannangara, *The History of the Ceylon Civil Service*, 65-66.

[527] See for example the letters from the collectors in Batticaloa between 1806 and 1813, SLNA, 6/101-104. By far the most letters regard financial matters.

[528] Kannangara, *The History of the Ceylon Civil Service,* 65-66.

[529] SLNA, 25.1/34, papers of Alexander Jonhstone, incoming correspondence with Governor Maitland; SLNA, 25.1/35 & 36 papers of Alexander Johnstone, various incom-

ing letters, unbound. SLNA Lot 2 contains the records executive council.

[530] NA (UK), CO 54/123-126, papers of Alexander Johnstone donated to Secretary of State Lord Londonderry.

[531] NA (UK), CO 416 4/A31, 3 October 1831, letter by Alexander Johnstone accompanying the papers he offered to the Commissioners of Enquiry, including a list of the papers donated to the Royal Asiatic Society.

[532] Dirks, *Castes of Mind,* 84; NA (UK), CO 416 4/A31, for some remarks on his journey to Madras. "Sir Alexander Johnston's proposals for improvements in Ceylon", in G.C. Mendis, *The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers*, Vol. 2, 221-227.

[533] Instructions for Schneider's surveys in Mannaar and Jaffna, SLNA, 2/2, 13 February 1807, ff. 145-147.

[534] These reports are now in the collection of the Commissioners of Enquiry NA (UK), CO 416 and among the papers donated by Alexander Johnstone to the Colonial Office NA (CO) 54/124.

[535] NA (UK), CO 54/126, 10 June 1807, report of Schneider on the state of the Vanni, ff. 13-23.

[536] NA (UK), CO 416 28/J28, Schneider's report on Tangalle and Matara, f. 399.

[537] NA (UK), CO 416/22/H8; CO 416/4/A21; CO 416/28 /J28 (200 pages of reports and recommendations made by Schneider for Maitland) and NA (UK), CO 54/126 (Johnstone's papers).

[538] His remarks for Lord Londondery are published as: "Sir Alexander Johnstone's Proposals for Improvement", in G.C. Mendis, *The Colebrooke-Camero*n *Papers*, Vol. 2, 221-227. See also SLNA, 2/3, December 1808, ff. 90-101, for the discussion in the executive council about the judiciary, and the mission of Alexander Johnstone. About the brief implementation and revocation of the judicial reforms proposed by Johnstone, see Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1*,* 327-329.

[539] SLNA, 2/2, instructions for the collector of Jaffna, 22 December 1806, ff. 81-103 and ibid., instructions for the collector of Matara, 10 February 1807, ff. 115-127.

[540] SLNA, 2/2, 22 December 1806. Instructions for the collector of Jaffna, f. 100. This is undoubtedly the chetty Waitelinge who made his fortunes in tax farming and the Jaffna trade in Dutch times.

[541] SLNA, 2/2, 27 August 1806, ff. 41-43 petitions of twelve Buddhist priests from Matara to set up a Buddhist council falling directly under the British government. This was part of the strategy to draw the lowland Buddhist priests closer to government. See also: SLNA, 25.1/34, 2 May 1806, statement of Alexander Johnstone on the policy towards the Catholics and Buddhist.

[542] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* 414-445.

[543] Kannangara, *The History of the Ceylon Civil Service,* 65.

[544] SLNA, 6/143, letters from the collector of the Wanny, 14 July 1807, §25, report of George Turnour.

[545] SLNA, 6/143, letters from the collector of the Wanny, 14 July 1807, §28, report of George Turnour.

[546] SLNA, 6/101, 9 September 1806, letter of MacNab, the collector of Batticaloa inquiring after the memorandum of Burnand.

[547] NA (UK), CO 416/27/J12, 23 May 1815, f. 120-128.

[548] Bertolacci, *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon,* 180.

[549] Ibid.*,* 181-182.

[550] NA (UK), CO 54/31, Maitland to Castlereigh, 25 January 1809, f. 6.

[551] NA (UK), CO 416/28/J28, f. 418, reports of Schneider on the state of agriculture in Galle and Matara 1807.

[552] SLNA, 2/2, 10 February 1807, f. 117, instructions for the collector of Matara, §4.

[553] NA (UK), CO 416/4/A31, 3 October 1831, letter of Alexander Johnstone, accompanying the papers he gave to the commissioners of enquiry.

[554] NA (UK), CO 416/26/5, reports from collectors' circuits in Galle: "they did not only give the necessary information, but also informed me by a Cingalese ola that in the said quality they had upon them the cultivation of this country in the Dutch government and

well at the time of his excellency the Governor Van de Graaff, the extent of one hundred and ten amm. [ammonam] and seventy burnies low ground was caused to be cultivated and the produce thereof given, and that by the assistance of three rivulets called De Kande, Elle Kandan Elle and Kirybattawille Elle which were made to discharge the superfluous water of Diviturreh."

[555] Kannangara, *The History of the Ceylon Civil Service*, 109-124.

[556] SLNA, 6/84, letters from the collector of Matara to Colombo 1812; NA (UK), CO 54/44, despatch from Brownrigg to London, 28 August 1812, reporting on the famine: over 4,000 people have died and many have migrated to Kandy. It was reported to Colombo only at a very late instance, which is why government was late with help.

[557] NA (UK), 416 2/A1: "Mr Orr's proposal for a land tax or fixed quit rent to be permanently established on all landed property in Ceylon" (1813-1815). Based on the system in Bengal, Orr was of the opinion that the backward development of the agriculture was the result of the system of small landholdings and different sort of titles. His colleagues responded negatively to his proposal. In 1817, Brownrigg suggested such a change in modes of taxation and possession of land once more. The extensive and informative replies to his questions by all the collectors, almost all negative, are kept in the following bundle: SLNA, 10/201-202.

[558] SLNA, 10/201-202, reports sent to Brownrigg by the collectors and magistrates in 1817 in answer to his question about improving agriculture through modes of taxation and laws of inheritance. For example, the collector of Galle writes the following interesting remarks: "1st to take a general view of the present state of cultivation; It will be found that lands of all description are much neglected; That it was in a more flourishing state under the Dutch government is an observation which comes from the natives themselves." Another such example is found in the description of Matara by Granville, 1813: NA (UK), 416/26/J10, f. 382: "It however appears to me highly necessary that headmen should be appointed whose particular duty would be to superintend the cultivation of the country. To be able by a proper authority vested in him, to call upon the people at pleasure to work the lands, to order the cutting of crops and inspect the due division of the different share. This might be done by appointing weebadde mohandirams, a title which has been extinct since the Dutch time, but nevertheless in itself highly necessary. Another title and situation existed under the Dutch government called saaymeesters or sowing masters […]."

[559] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation.* Vol. 2, 385-413.

[560] Ibid., 371.

[561] Correspondence with the commercial agent for Ceylon Huskisson BL, Add 38739, Huskisson papers, Huskisson to Henry Goulburn 11 July 1814, ff. 233. Letter discussing the bad financial state of Ceylon and suggestions for improvement by increasing the access to the Indian market (arrack) and the English market (coffee).

[562] On the labour on the public roads, see Munasinghe, *The Colonial Economy on Track,* 11-14, 30-42; Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 279-282. NA (UK), 59/27, ff. 13-55, reports on the duties of the various castes and classes of natives liable to government service. In 1818, Brownrigg sent around a letter to all collectors to ask for lists of the type of labour, coolie labour in particular, to which the inhabitants of the specific districts were liable.

[563] NA (UK), CO 54/93, despatches to London, 1826, f. 69: Barnes speaks of an increase in coffee exports from 209,568 in 1816 to over one million pounds in 1822. However he, like Brownrigg, still had to convince his superiors in London of the desirability of growing coffee in Ceylon. In 1826, the import duty for coffee from Ceylon was still higher than that for coffee from the West Indies.

[564] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation*, Vol. 2, 437-444. Moreover in 1826, 3,000 sprigs of the cinnamon tree were stolen by a Dutchman and brought to Sumatra. NA (UK), CO 54/93, despatch Barnes to London, 22 September 1826, ff. 182-188.

[565] Peebles, *Social Change in Nineteenth Century Ceylon,* 89-90.

[566] G.C. Mendis, *The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers*, Vol. 1, ix-lxiv (introduction).

Notes to Chapter Ten

[567] Engerman, "Abolitionism in Comparitive Perspective", 224, 227. Slavery was abolished in Britain in 1834, in the Netherlands in 1863, and in 1865 in the United States.
[568] Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment,* 88-106.
[569] Engerman, "Abolitionism in Comparitive Perspective", 227. The Netherlands abolished the slave trade in 1814, France in 1815. Denmark had abolished the trade already in 1803 and the United States in 1808.
[570] Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation,* 354.
[571] Drescher, "The Long Goodbye", 25-53.
[572] Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings*, xiii-xix.
[573] See, for example, Dow, *History of Hindostan* (1768); Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings,* xvi; Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind,* 76-77.
[574] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, 1-20, and Marshall and Williams, *Great Map of Mankind,* 128-155. Through an analysis of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century publications on India, Kate Teltscher, shows how the image of India and its inhabitants changed in the course of these centuries. While in the 1780s the Indian willingness to submit to the good rule of the British is emphasized, in the 1790s and early 1800s it was rather the tyrant-nature of the Indian sultans, Tipu in the first place, that legitimized British expansion. In that way British expansion was seen as the Indians' salvation; Teltscher, *India Inscribed*, 1-10.
[575] Pitts, *A Turn to Empire,* 57.
[576] Ibid., 59-85.
[577] Lawson, *The East India Company,* 128-31.
[578] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, 19-23.
[579] Ibid.
[580] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, 19-21, and Guha, *A Rule of Property in Bengal,* 160-186.
[581] Marshall, "The Moral Swing to the East", 69-95.
[582] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, 23-25, and Stein, *Thomas Munro*, 63. on criticism and scepticism in London regarding the Cornwallis settlement, especially by Shore, who felt that it was put into practice to quickly. Guha, *A Rule of Propery for Bengal,* 187-201.
[583] Stein, *Thomas Munro*, 63-64.
[584] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, 13 March 1801, f. 355.
[585] Dirks, "From Little King to Landlord", 314; Stein, *Thomas Munro*, 86: "[...] the Madras government had been instructed by the governor-general, Lord Wellesley, late in 1799, that the Bengal regulations of Cornwallis were to be established in Madras, in 'poligar countries' and elsewhere."
[586] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, 13 March 1801, instructions for his guidance in administering the government of Ceylon, §10.
[587] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, 13 March 1801, 386.
[588] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, 13 March 1801, §64.
[589] NA (UK), 416/2/A1, ff. 28-32, 62.
[590] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 272-274.
[591] NA (UK), CO 55/62, Edward Cook to Maitland, 11 June 1807, f. 172.
[592] Hullugalle, *British Governors of Ceylon,* 13-14, and Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 257-258.
[593] Dixon, *The Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland*, 8-13.
[594] See Section 9.5.
[595] NA (UK), 55/62, Castlereigh to Maitland, 11 June 1807, f. 177. This was a response by Castlereigh to all Maitland's despatches written between October 1805 and November 1806. Castlereigh wrote that upon resumption of his office as Secretary of State, he discovered that his predecessor, Camden, had written very limited responses to Maitland's dispatches, even though Maitland wrote in great detail about the situation on the island. Castlereigh wrote that he did not have much time at the moment to treat all subjects extensively, but that he would limit himself to the chief points of Maitland's letters.
[596] NA (UK), CO 55/62, Edward Cook to Maitland, 11 June 1807, f. 173.
[597] Van Goor, "Continuity and Change in the Dutch Position in Asia between 1750 and

1850", 186; Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 2, 347; Wickremeratne, *The Conservative Nature of the British Rule of Sri Lanka*, 51; and Dixon, *The Colonial Administrations,* 55.

[598] NA (UK), CO 54/20, general despatch, 31 January 1806, f. 19

[599] SLNA, 2/2, minutes of the executive council, 22 December 1806, f. 8.

[600] SLNA, 2/2, minutes of the executive council, 22 December 1806, f. 90.

[601] Ibid., f. 92.

[602] Up to 3 months labour and hundred lashes and fines up to 100 rixdollars, civil up to cases of 200 rixdollars.

[603] SLNA, 2/2, 10 February 1807, f. 121.

[604] SLNA, 2/2, 22 December 1806, f. 99: "But I imagine independent of the benefit you will derive from a strict and vigilant superintendence over the headmen of the cutcherry and the various churches, that there are means in that district of Jaffna, if providently made use of, of very materially strengthening the hands of government which is principally the effect by forming an intimate connexion between the government and one of the temples of that place."

[605] See Section 9.4.

[606] NA (UK), CO 416/4/A31, letter of Alexander Johnstone to the Commissioners of Enquiry, accompanying the papers given by him to the committee, 3 October 1831.

[607] Stein, *Thomas Munro*, 124-138.

[608] Stein, *Thomas Munro*, 104-117, 121-138; Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj,* 24-27; Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India,* 8-22.

[609] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj,* 26-27: "The officials of the romantic generation in India shared a great deal with those of the Cornwallis era. To be sure, as Munro wrote with exasperation, 'it is too much regulation that ruins everything'. Yet these men were in fact themselves committed to the fundamental values of the rule of law, of property and of 'improvement'. In similar fashion, though they might accuse Cornwallis of 'rash innovation', neither they nor their whig predecessors were prepared to restore the India that existed before Plassey."

[610] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj,* 27: "By 1820 much that was to endure the framework of the Raj had been set firmly in place. The British had convinced themselves of the righteousness of their conquest of India, and, after the agonies of Hastings' trial, of their own moral superiority over the Indian subjects."

[611] He could not accept the fact that he had to share his power over the inhabitants with them. In 1809 Maitland expressed his worries about the continuous power of the headmen in the southwest, despite his efforts to diminish it, when he discussed the increase in paddy production. His policies had only been successful in the peripheral districts, where he had successfully replaced the native headmen with government agents: "This enourmous encrease has taken place in those districts where the government reached the cultivator himself and could see his own measure carried in full effect." NA (UK), CO 54/31, January 1809, f. 6.

[612] Perhaps his moderate approach was explained by his experiences when he served as a military officer on San Domingo in the 1790s, just after the slave revolts. The failure of the experiment on San Domingo, and the violent situation there, which he ascribed more to the French colonist than to the slaves, must have influenced him. Dixon, *The Colonial Administrations,* 8-10.

[613] Emmer, "The Ideology of Free Labor", 207.

Notes to Chapter Eleven

[614] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 225.

[615] BL add 13865 and 13866.

[616] NA (UK), CO 55/61, Dundas to North, 31 March 1801, ff. 135-213 (136 sections).

[617] Rasanayagam, "Tamil Documents", 29-53.

[618] Tammita-Delgoda, "The English East India Company and Sri Lanka 1760-1796"; V.L.B. Mendis, *The Advent of the British*.

[619] Lewis, "Andrew's Embassies to Kandy in 1795 and 1796".
[620] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation,* Vol. 1, 54-62.
[621] For source publications of these embassies see Lewis, "Andrew's Embassies", and "Macdowall's Embassy to Kandy".
[622] Wickremeratne, "Lord North and the Kandyan Kingdom", 30-42.
[623] Ibid.
[624] Bayly, *The Imperial Meridian*, 100-209.
[625] Perera, "The Douglas Papers", 65-78.
[626] He succeeded Nicolaas Dias in 1794 and retained this position after the British takeover.
[627] Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation*, Vol. 1, 95-97.
[628] NA (UK), CO 55/62, 21 February 1805, Hobart to North, f. 111; ibid., Hobart's Instructions to Maitland, ff. 114-128 (reference is made to a paper on the subject of Kandy which Maitland wrote after consulting North's dispatches).
[629] NA (UK), CO 54/43, Brownrigg to Secretary of State, 29 March 1812, f. 3. Last received letter from Davie: "[…] For heavens sake please send Laudanum and opium, my torture is indurable […]." Davie died in early 1813: NA (UK), CO 54/47, despatch Brownrigg to London, 13 March 1813.
[630] P.E. Pieris, *Tri Sinhala*, 158-161; Granville, "Deportation of Sri Vrikama Rajasinha".
[631] NA (UK), CO 55/63, 10 May 1815, ff. 71-73: "he [His Royal Highness] has […] commanded me to inculcate upon you the necessity of abstaining from hostilities with Kandy / not only under the present circumstances of provocation, but under any short of an actual invasion and attack upon his majesty's territory. It is impossible for his Royal Highness to forget that the immediate consequence of a war would be the loss of a very large proportion of the European force employed in a climate which has proved particularly obnoxious to European constitutions and an immense increase of expenditure beyond what the colony could ever have a chance of defraying." BL add 38739, Huskisson to Brownrigg, 12 December 1814, f. 306: "On the subject of expenditure, and particularly of military expenditure, I cannot help stating to you, in the confidence of *old friendship*, that there exist an impression at home, that it is carried on much beyond what is absolutely necessary. This is supposed to be the effect not of any eagerness for patronage, nor of any want of zeal of checking any abuses; but rather from your military habits, and from you being supposed to look at matters rather too much with a soldier's eye."
[632] NA (UK), CO 55/63, Bathurst to Brownrigg, 28 August 1815, f. 83: "[…] The succes of your enterprize has been so complete and immediate that you must have yourself anticipated the lively satisfaction with which his royal highness received the intelligence. Had it been confined to the mere liberation of a people from a foreign despotism / as sanguinary and cruel as that under which the inhabitants of Kandy so long groaned / it could not but have been grateful to the feelings of His Royal Highness: but as the overthrow of that tyranny has given encreased security to His Majesty's possessions, and has been followed by an annexation of territory voluntarily and animously made by its inhabitants, the satisfaction which His Royal Highness would in any case have felt derives considerable accession from these circumstances, and from the proofs which they afford on the part of a whole people of confidence in the British name and character."
[633] Marshall, *Ceylon*, 110-111 and 127-128.
[634] Wickremeratne, "Lord North and the Kandyan Kingdom"; K.M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, 220-239.
[635] Teltscher, *India Inscribed,* 229-59. Teltscher uses British descriptions of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, who was increasingly depicted as an oriental tyrant, to legitimize British military action against Mysore.
[636] NA (UK), CO 54/55, 15 February 1815, f. 103, Brownrigg to Bathhurst: "I shall […] conclude the present [despatch], with soliciting your lordship to me the honor of presenting to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent the expression of my humble congratulations, in being enabled by the speedy and happy issue of a campaign ending with the unparalelled good fortune of not loosing a single life, to tender for his Royal highness's acceptance, the duties of a new and *industrious hardy race of people, and the possession of a territory bountifully endowed with natural gifts*, and requiring only the blessing of a just

government […]." (My italics.)

[637] Certainly the strategic argument, the constant fear that the Kandyans would ally themselves with a foreign enemy, was another motive for a more aggressive policy towards Kandy. However, one could say that in Brownrigg's time, this fear was less realistic than in the days of Van de Graaff. Other factors such as personality and background could have played a role. Both men did have a military background and would therefore have been more eager to make use of their experiences. In the case of Van de Graaff, one may wonder whether he was reinforced in his decisions by the arrival of the military commission in 1789, and whether the presence of the professional regiments made him more eager for war.

[638] For an elaboration on this subject, see Section 11.6.

[639] NA (NL), VOC 3975, despatch to Batavia, 31 December 1792, f. 274: "*Dat het daarentegen zeer bekend is, dat den tweeden adigaar is een zeer listig en kwaadaardig man, van geheel tegengestelde principes, welke met de hofsgrooten van zijn partij, onder anderen Doembere en Leuwke, zedert lang heeft gewoeld om het hof, met de komp over hoop te helpen, en dat het bovendien uit de geintercepteerde Korrespondentie met de Franschen gebleeken is, dat hij is een der voornaamse hoofd belijderen daar van."*

[640] P.E. Pieris, *Sinhale and the Patriots,* Appendix B, 591: The treaty of March 1815 "art. 1: By inflicting bodily torture and the pains of death unrestrainedly arbitrarily and mercilessly without making inquiry, in some instances without even a complaint, and also in matters where there was not even the opportunity for performing any wrongful act, and by infringing the law with great contempt, the cruelties and violent acts of the Demala [Tamil] Raja have become so extremely great and widespread as to be beyond endurance [...] art. 3: It is hereby announced that all males bearing kinship to the late Raja Sri Vikrama Raja Simha whether by marriage or otherwise, or of that family in any other manner whatsoever, or claiming kinship by deceitful stratagem, are not only enemies of the Government of the Simhala Rata, but they may not enter the said Rata for any purpose whatever without the warrant of the English government […]. All Demala males now expelled from this rata are prohibited from coming back thereto […]."

[641] Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom*, 29-45.

[642] Dharmadasa, "The Sinhala Buddhist Identity and the Nayakker Dynasty", 79-105.

[643] Roberts, *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period 1590s to 1815*, 109-131.

[644] Roberts bases his argument on the idea that people in the villages would have sung the war poems and thereby passed on the anti-Tamil message to all levels of society. He underlines this by a lengthy discussion of oral poetry in Sri Lanka, but he does not substantiate his central point, that the war poems were enthusiastically received and widespread in this manner.

[645] Gunawardana, "Colonialism, Ethnicity and the Construction of the Past", 198-221; Goonewardene, "Sri Vijaya Rajasimha (1739-1747)", 441-496; Rogers, "Historical Images in the British Period", 87-106.

[646] Holt, *The Religious World of Kirti Sri*, 100; Duncan, *The City as Text*, 182-183; Seneviratne, "The Alien King", 55-61.

[647] SLNA, 7/39, Governor's secret diary, November 26, 1798.

[648] This "last stand of Kandyan autonomy" has been dealt with extensively by P.E. Pieris in his *Sinhale and the Patriots 1815-1818*. 195-246, include references to the new king-to-be, Dore Swami. The rebellion inspired Sinhalese nationalists in their resistance to colonial regimes in the twentieth century.

[649] NA (NL), VOC 3975, despatch 31 December 1792.

[650] NA (NL), Collectie Nederburgh 442, §10: *"*[…] *dat den eersten Rijks Adigaar van wien ik meen te moogen vertrouwen, dat hij bij voortduuring wel gezind tegens de kompenie is* [...]*"*

[651] Rasanayagam, "Tamil Documents", 25-28.

[652] OIOC, G/11/1, f. 478. Boyd refers here to the dessāva of Matala, this office was at that point occupied by Erevvala.

[653] Rasanayagam, "Tamil Documents", 35-36; Lewis, "Andrew's Embassies", 70-76.

[654] Rasanayagam, "Tamil Documents", 4. Reference is made here of a letter written by Meduma Vederala, who also carried the Sinhalese name Rajakaruna Rajapaksa Gopala

Mudaliyar.

[655] It is understandable that in these times of ethnic troubles in Sri Lanka, historians search for early manifestations of ethnic consciousness. However, I do not think that this can serve as an explanation for the fall of the Kingdom. More generally, I have not come across forms of communal strive among the various ethnic groups on the island. Competition between the castes was a more urgent problem, but even that was limited. In any case, a better explanation for the Kingdom's fall is its fragile political power structure. That is not to say that there cannot have been any relationship at all between the rise of Sinhalese ethnic consciousness and the fall of the Kingdom: but Kandy's demise seems to have triggered the rise of Sinhalese ethnic consciousness, rather than the other way around.

Note to Chapter Twelve

[656] This topic is dealt with more extensively by Nirmal Ranjith Devasiri in his upcoming thesis, written under the auspices of the TANAP programme, on the relations between the colonial government and peasant in the southwest in the mid-eighteenth century.