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.


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).


6 See Chapter Eight.


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.


15 Rasayanagam, “Tamil Documents in the Government Archives”.

16 The Gálanna 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.

In particular: Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Administration*, Vol. 1-2, praiseworthy because of its detailed descriptions.

The six chambers were: Amsterdam, Zeeland, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, 20.

Meilink-Roelofsz, Raben, and Spijkerman, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*.

See Chapter Eight.


SLNA, 1/2159-2163: resolutions of the inland department.

He sent his letters and reports to men of influence like Governor General Alting, Commissioner General Sebastian Nederburgh and Admiral Van Braam.

This feud is dealt with in Chapters Three and Six.

Meilink-Roelofsz, Raben, and Spijkerman, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*.


Perera, *The Douglas Papers*.

Bertolacci, *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon*.

Notes to Chapter One


Marco Polo, *The Travels*, 258.


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.

See Chapter Four and Sections 8.4-8.5.

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 Rājārata 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.

K.M. de Silva, A History of Sri Lanka, 63, 81-84.

40 Lieberman, Strange Parallels, 23-25, 121.


43 Pearson, The Indian Ocean, 54-55.


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.


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.


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.


58 Lieberman, Strange Parallels, 21-66.


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. Goonawardena, The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon 1638-1658, 32-33. Winius questioned Goonawardena’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.


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 Mul Kirigala.

65 Duncan, The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan
Notes to Chapter Two


87 Wagenaar, Galle. VOC Vestiging in Ceylon, 61-64.

88 Arasaratnam, Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687, 130.

89 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.


92 UB Leiden, manuscript collections. Pamphlet of Casparus de Jongh, Noodzakelijke verdediging, wederlegging en ophelderinge, voor het belang van de Ned oost ind, comp. [……] (1769), 64: “lof der peperiaren”.


94 Burnand, ‘Fragments on Ceylon’, 442.

95 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.
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 aanvertrouwde commandement aanbe- langt, ben met de gouverneur, schoon de hoogmoet en de waan wijt hoop[end] met de rijkdom accrediteer, in redelijke terme [...].” SLNA, 1/3425.
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 Divutore.” (Correspondence with the servants from Galle about the commission regarding Diviture assigned to the commandor Sluijsken), f. 25: Extract from a despatch writ-ten 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 Gastra, De geschiedenis van de VOC, 66-81.
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 Raben, Batavia and Colombo, 70. Raben states that from 1680 the dispers dorpen were no longer issued to company officials. However, in the list of incomes of the Company officials on the island of 1790, dispers dorpen are mentioned: ANRI, HR, 3855.
115 Raben, Batavia and Colombo, 70. Raben states that from 1680 the dispers dorpen were no longer issued to company officials. However, in the list of incomes of the Company officials on the island of 1790, dispers dorpen are mentioned: ANRI, HR, 3855.
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 money-lending.
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, lxxvii.
120 On race and status hierarchy in Colombo: Raben, Batavia and Colombo, 264-271.
121 Raben, Batavia and Colombo, 66-72.
124 Unless stated otherwise, this section is based on Arasaratnam, “The Administrative

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 dansen en springen." Ceylonese compagniedienaren schrijven over Kaneel en kaneelschillers in 1786", 19-34.


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


129 Kotelawele, "The VOC in Sri Lanka, 1658-1796: Social and Economic Change in the Maritime Regions", 419-422; Pararnavitana, 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 revitalization of this practice.


Notes to Chapter Three


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.

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 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.

142 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 Portugueseburghers, 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.


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.


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 Akting 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.– 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income (ƒ)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1781/82</td>
<td>419,385.17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782/83</td>
<td>641,491.3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783/84</td>
<td>938,228.6.–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784/85</td>
<td>642,770.1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785/86</td>
<td>809,302.15.–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786/87</td>
<td>793,749.17.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1787/88</td>
<td>822,283.1.–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788/89</td>
<td>861,712.13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789/90</td>
<td>895,959.8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790/91</td>
<td>981,979.5.–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791/92</td>
<td>954,575.2.–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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.

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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 Ol 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 NA (NL), VOC 3692, 3 March 1785, resolution in council regarding 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.

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

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

168 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 commander of Jaffna Bartolomeus Raket for his successor, f. 13.

169 NA (NL), VOC 3692, 3 March 1785, resolution in council regarding 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.

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, 1/5083, 16 November 1784, minutes of the political council of Galle: "miserable and helpless men, and amongst those diseased, those who have already died, and many others in a most wretched and helpless manner".

172 SLNA, 1/5083, 16 November 1784, minutes of the political council of Galle: "miserable and helpless men, and amongst those diseased, those who have already died, and many others in a most wretched and helpless manner".

173 SLNA, 1/2707, De Lij speaks of the *Gaulse 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.


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, *Ceylonese 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 *sanss* 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, *Ceylonese 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 handlel 129, 18 February 1785, ff. 1229-1230 despatch to Batavia. On the small pox inoculation: Hovy, *Ceylonese 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, ff. 302, despatch to Batavia.

186 Hovy, *Ceylonese plakkaatboek*, plakkaat 586; the plakkaat counts 33 sections in total.

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

188 Ibid., plakkaat 586.

189 Hovy, *Ceylonese 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 uitgevaakt, is de vordering daar in wel niet groote. Met de kannel 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 wijzig buitengewoons kunnen worden gedaan.

192 Hovy, *Ceylonese 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.


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.


196 Hovy, *Ceylonese 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.


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 families van kolenbranders gedurende den tijd van 10 jaren buijtenporig is."

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


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 3840, 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 onrechtvaardigheden die tans de ingezeetenen aangedaan worden, zeggende dat zij zelfs geen tijd hebben om aan zegen die hun door het floreeren der velden is toegevallen, en het geen zij aan den goede order en bestelling van den tegenswoordigen Heer des save verschuldigd zijn met rust te genieten, wijl zij geduurig moeten werken in de kaneel plantagen nu een van den Wel Edelen Grootachtbaaren heer Gouverneur, dan van welgemelde heer desitar of ook wel van de modiatur, en andere hoofden. Hier op gedagte drie persoonnen zich stilhouwende kwam er een groot groep al uijt eenen monde. Je verswijgt niet dat wij ook moeten werken in de kannel thijn van de armaties."

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).

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.
218 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.
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 worden NB naderhand sijn even gelijk libellen op de algemeene weegen nog verstrooijt gevonden geworden. De Mohotiaar na jaffenpatuam en d’er anderen na Trincomalee als suspecte personzen: en waardoor men dus de commandeur Sluijsken de geleegenheijd meende afgesneden 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 bapaald badde tot zijne dinaar den gem: mohandiram der wildschoters Simon de Zilva welke commandeurs partikuliere zaaken behandelde en met wie hij commandeur bijna een reekening van 40 duizzend nd hadde: geen het minste gehoor in deezen hadden gevonden."
223 Roberts, *Caste Conflict and Elite Formation*, 83.
224 NA (NL), Collectie Alting 93, writings of Sluijsken 1796. "Bij deszelf afsterven hadde Abening de 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 bezeegeling 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 mudaliyar, Moors, Chetties, Dutch and Portuguese Burghers, and people bearing Portuguese names (Karëva 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 1779, ff. 1303-1321, despatch to Batavia.
227 SLNA, 1/5082 & 5083, 16 November 1784, minutes political council Galle.
229 See Chapter Four.
230 On the landtomb: 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 Moolijaaart. About the reasons for the instalment of the committee and the consequent devepments: NA (NL), Com. tot OI handel 129, 18 February 1779, 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, 1/2875, 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.

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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 dessavony, Muturajawela, Gale, Matara, Jaffnapatnam, manar Kalpettij and Chilaw. Ibid., f. 303, on the amount of rice coming from Batticaloa.


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, f. 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”.
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.

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.

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

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.

257 Here is a small pagoda that doesn't have anything special than the Hindu priest who is a lover of feet and plants, has planted parts of the empty space that, usually by the temples, with lemon trees and other fruit trees.

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

Van Senden speaks about buikloop (diarrhoea) and kinderziekten (children's 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.

Van Senden intended to collect the stories: "van deze wassersvrouw worden zoo veel wonderlijke dingen verhaald, dat ik gelast heb er een verzameling van te maken, te meer ik reeds verschijndige wonderstukken gezien heb, die haar teweeggebracht werden." 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.

TO CHAPTER FOUR 231
smorgens 10 minuten over half 5 uuren ver-

trok ik van Kooij Koedieroeppoe na het berugte en door geen Mallabaren zonder schrik
genoemd wordende Kandelaaij. Alles was aangewend om het mij te beletten; waerschouwin-
gen, 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
hoockzeltjjes der bij geloovigen [...].

gelijk ik dagt, door menschen gemaekt, schoon zij het de geesten
toeschreeven.

Zijn lands lieden namen
het beding aan en den braven Tamblegammer wierd, zijn vaderland gered hebben, de slag-

toffer zijner grootmoedigheijd; hij wierd doord en sterken drang van water tusschen de klippen
vernederd en de deelen van zijn lichaam kwamen op verscheijde plaatsen aandrijven, die ook
werkelijk aan zijn vrouw en kinderen toegewezen wierden, dog deze om het gemak wille, lie-
ver alles bij een willende hebben, verzogt en verkreegen het veld, waar op / zeer, wijl die het
werkrijck der openening van de tank gevoerd had den regter arm aangedreeven is en zoo veel
weer van zijn lichaam gevonden wierden als er stukken van zijn hoofd, der hem mede
sized that he was not sure whether the story was true, but it seemed that some of the elder-
ly 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 verschillen-
de taalen en er onder aan te schrijven met Gulde letteren W
welk een man!
welk een v
ader! doch
voor al welk een meede burger!

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

Most are called "of Portuguese native descent", but bear typical Dutch names like Jan
Anthony Twelkerts or Johan Carel de Hoed.

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.

Memorie over den staat der Wannijsche landen [...]", 23/5 1793.

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

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 Twelkerts or Johan Carel de Hoed.

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Memorie over den staat der Wannijsche landen [...]", 23/5 1793.

One parrah of paddy equals twenty-eight pounds. Hovy,
Ceylonees plakkaatboek, Vol.
2, appendix 1.
26 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.

27 Arasaratnam, "The Vanniar of North Ceylon". He uses the term feudal to define the relationship of the vanniyars with their subjects.

281 Arasaratnam, "The Vanniar of North Ceylon". He uses the term feudal to define the relationship of the vanniyars 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 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, f. 139-140.

288 Ibidem, f. 147.


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 government".

294 Ibid., f. 177.


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.


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.


305 Oostindie, “Same Old Song?”, 179-193.

306 Van Zonneveld, “Een échte antikoloniala”, 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*.


308 Sens, “Dutch Antislavery Attitudes in a Decline-Ridden Society, 1750-1815”.

309 Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschap, a detailed study of which is in Groot, *Van de Grote Rivier naar het Koningplein*.


312 NA (NL), Collectie Van Braam 115, 30 December 1785: “Den grooten Venalon, in zijne T elemachus, den cardinaal Alberonie, in zijn testament politique en d'abt Reijnaal, in zijne histoire politique et Philosophique bewijzen ons alle, dat het de pligt is van alle regenten, om hunne ondergeschikte aan te moedigen, tot de commercie en den landbouw zij pretende- ren, dat deze twee takken, de bron des overvloeds in een land zijn zij zeggen al verder, door deze in vloe (bloei) te brengen, ‘t eenigste middel is, om een land magtig en bloeijend te maken, en wijzen al verder aan hoe noodsakelijk ‘t is, het volk door beloning daar toe te ami neeren. 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 gelukkigclimaat, 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 improve- ment.

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.


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

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 a good example for the inhabitants of Ceylon.


319 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. TSHA/DR/1557: “Papieren betreffende de boedel en nalatenschap 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 mudaliyär: “De s. heeft nooit iemand van zijne onderhoorige niets met geweld afgenomen doch hij heeft en wil dit niet verbergen eenige paren van hen ontvangen, die ze naar landsgewoonte aan hem gebracht hebben. Dit is in de aard die revoluties, yi en geen verbonden zaak gehouden en van alle de inlandse hoofden in dezelve desavonij 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 suppliants zoo wel als de andere hoofden in de Nederburghen denkt dat dit te minder voor een misdaad gehouden, wijt ook zij dit aan wanneer ze een dienst verkrijgen de gebruiken ten hunne opzigt in acht 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 vanimho] als regent en vader van zijn volk niet voor de opvoeding der kinderen zorge, hij nimmer hoppen konden gezag over de menschen te voeren, dat hij stelsel men dingen in gedaante en domme botte gediertens in deze aard zulke oorloggeniger 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 onlangs strengelijk verboden is. De suppliants zoo wel als de andere hoofden in de Nederburghen denkt dat dit te minder voor een misdaad gehouden, wijt ook zij dit aan wanneer ze een dienst verkrijgen de gebruiken ten hunne opzigt in acht neemen.”

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 gedaante en spraek niets menschelijks vertoonden” (apart from looks and speech 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 grooters werkzaamheijd hem niet alleen aanzien maar ook een aangename oversheid bezorgde zouden zich van alle mogelijke middelen bedienen om bruide te vermeerderen en dus zijn zoonen niet meer tot hun vijf TIjden of zestiende jaar te laten lopen, zonder ander werk te verrichten dan savonds de geesten van den vader vast te binden en 'morgen des weider 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 Neptuneus. 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 Jaffnapatnam.

331 Ostindie, “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 deze ingeslonden weten er niets bij overlevering van, nog in geschrept nog bij mond, zijn weeten dus van hunne afkomst niets te bren- gen.”

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 wunnisse weten waaren dus zeer kort, want zij hadden gene, nog van ouds, nog van den landheer in geschricht.”

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 menschelijke kennis te brengen [...]”; other examples of similar expression are “inspire the nation with human feelings” (de natie menselijke gevoelens inboeimen) and “the reform of a wild nation” (hervorming eener woeste natie).

340 Ibid., 4; “hunne begrippen, hun caractere, hunne neijgingen kunnen ongetwijfeld verbee- terd 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 regering te Jafanapatnam (Den Haag, 1783); Pieters, Memoir of Hendrick Zwaardcrom; Pieters, “Memoir left by Anthony Pavijoen”; 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, 180, 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).


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 suc- cesses 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.
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 desavoir 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 Singh (1707-1739).
375 NA (NL), Com. tot de O/I handel 128, 31 July 1794: generale beschrijvingen with extracts of the Patrausche 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 Nederburgh 442, paragraphs 4 and 8.
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 foi parceque la culture dimminoit 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, daarmede 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 tuschen hof en kamp. Als de eerste grondslag van de welvaart en zelfs het voortduren van het Kandiasche rijk te herstellen, en we denken daarom zeer nederig, dat hij, zoo wel als wij, overtuigd zijnde dat dit door zachte middelen nimmer op eene voorgaande wijze zoude bereikt worden, door het geven van dien raad, zoo min verdiend ene landverraader genoemd te worden, als een beheerder, die geen kans ziet een wone te genezen 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 Aasidisadâ Kava. On temple restorations and land grants see Coomaraswamy, Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, 13, 56, 131, 188, 206, and 277.


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

390 NA (NL), VOC 3842, 7 May 1790, separate despatch to Batavia, ff. 2620-2622: “een tijd lang geleeden deed mij den eersten hofsgrooten die ik reeden heb te gelooven dat de kamp. Zeer is toegedaan in vrij onbewimpelde termen te weten, dat de koning anders een goed man, zig wat veel begon over te geven aan zijne plazieter, en om zoo te spreken daar van zijne voornaamste bezigheid maakte.”


392 NA (NL), VOC 3842, 7 May 1790, separate despatch to Batavia, ff. 2620-2622: “[...]

393 NA (NL), VOC 3975, 31 December 1792, appendix to despatch to Batavia, ff. 350-356: “[...] Ten eerste maal in genoome met de verderlijke projecten der Naijkers, die hem omringen, ziet de koning gerust zijnen onderdaenen lijden, zonder de middelen te zoeken om de dingen te herstellen volgens de verbond en alliantie traktaat, het welk tusschen de Ed. Komp. en de Singalesche natie subsisteerde. Eindelijk is het heetelijk project, waar- toe de koning zig heeft laat door overhaald, en waar bij hij volstaand schijnt te blijven, ten dien- delijksten voor den dag gekomen. God die ‘t eiland Ceylon en de Singaleesche natie beschermt, heeft in handen van den heer Gouverneur doen vallen den brief van de koning, welcke aan- toond dat hij de zwaakheid gehad heeft, gehoor te geven aan de schadelijke raadgevingen van de ontrouwe Naijkers die bij hem zijn, en dat hij niet alleen heeft toege staan, maar zelfs ver- zorgt om trouwes van eene vreemde mogenheid op dit eiland te doen koemen. Deze ontrouwe Naijkers, die bij den koning zijn, agffirig dat ze niet ook over de Singalesche natie kunnen offenen, die verdrukkingen die de Mallabaaren gewoon zijn te oefenen tegen een elck zij...
kunnen vertrappen, hadden zij niet minder voorgesteld dan dat ze door vreemde troepen op dit eiland te doen koomen, gemakkelijk de grote des rijsk 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 eenige raadsluiden van de koning geworden zijn, en niet zouden ze ontzien hebben om den totalen en 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 Mooliar bekent te maaken, dat wijl er tans over en weer boodschappen gingen, er midsdien door het geheele land faam was, dat de vrede zoude getroffen worden, dit een zeer goede zaak was, dog dat schoon het ook tot een oorlog moge 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.

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399 NA (UK), CO 416/24, Burnand’s papers. “Fragments sur l’état ancien et moderne de l’île 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

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 Ol 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 Dutch 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 overgegeven, zal Uw: zeeker bevreemden, vooral wijl ik niet twijfelde, of enige menchen van hier zullen naar Mauritius geschreven hebben, dat de plaats zig had kunnen defonderen, een uitsprooizel, het welk zig overal, zoo hier als te Commandel, 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, dagdat alle mijne pogingen en te werk gestelde middelen, door een zaamenloop van wederwaardigheeden veriedeld zijn, en dat ik door de capitulatie, die ons aangebooden werd, af te wijzen, en de defensie van de vesting op mij te nemen, 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 at 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."


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 Dutch refusal to take the oath.

419 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.

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.

See Section 3.12.

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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.
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 its 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 admisatie aan de Singaleesen die maar het hoogste bood af te staan, waar door de gemene man, so als men vernam, gantzich niet te vrede scheen, en alzo daar uijt seer ligt opschuddingen konden resultereven, voor al zo zij daar meede bleven continuereven, wjzj in inlander nimmer aan dergelijke dingen is ondoverwen geweest, maar daar en tegens van onbevrijde tijden af, in de geruste beheering is geheeren van het zijne.”

Notes to Chapter Eight

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


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.

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.
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 to 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, 7/35, North's public diary, 17 September 1799.
462 SLNA, 7/36, North's public diary, 29 November and 16 December 1799: letters from Catholic priests asking for improvement of their status.
464 NA (UK), CO 54/2, despatch North to Dundas, 30 January 1800, ff. 31-32.
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. NA (UK), CO 54/2, despatch North to Dundas, 27 October 1799, f. 87.
469 Ibid., 310-314.
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 Wellesley 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.
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 416/4/4a17. 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 BL, Add 16867, 30 July 1800, North to Mornington, f. 297.
485 BL, Add 16867, 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).
486 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."
487 BL add 13867, North to Mornington, 1 July 1800, ff. 258-261.
488 For Kandyan affairs, see Chapter Eleven.
489 BL add 13867, North to Mornington, 19 March 1800.
490 See Sections 11.1 and 11.2.
491 D.G.B. de Silva "Hugh Neville's 'Notes on Military History of Trincomalie'", 73-74: "Memorandum by Col. Wellesley on Trincomalie".
492 BL add 13867, North to Mornington, 7 September 1801, f. 501.
495 Ibid., 69.
497 Ibid., 340-344.
499 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.
500 Mottau, Summary of Despatches, 40-60.
501 Mottau, Summary of Despatches. References to the hurricanes: 8 February 1805. Reference to the cattle plague 16 March 1802.
502 Ibid., 1 January 1804, 5 October 1804, 8 February 1805.

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503 Lawson, The East India Company, 140.
505 NA (UK), CO 55/62, Camden to Maitland, 21 February 1805, f. 128.
506 Hullugalle, British Governors of Ceylon, 19-27.
507 Colvin R. de Silva, Ceylon under the British Occupation, Vol. 1, 270; ANRI, HR 3861, 2 April 1807, Pediger from Galle to Governor General Wiese and the political council in Batavia, f. 15: "De gouverneur Maitland is een man met wien men weinig woorden iens kan afhandelen, maar men moet voorzichtig zijn, zijn Ed. ja en neen is onveranderlijk, en wanneer hij een idee heeft geformeerd gebeurt het zelden dat hij het zelve onuitgevoerd laat."
508 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: "Het dringende verzoek van zijn excellentie den Heer Gouverneur zoo wel, als den aanzienlijkste 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.
525 SLNA, 2/3, minutes of the executive council, 12 December 1808, f. 97.
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.
529 SLNA, 25.1/34, papers of Alexander Johnstone, 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 54/123-126, 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.


533 Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 84; 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.

534 Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 84; 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.

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 54/126, 10 June 1807, report of Schneider on the state of the Vanni, ff. 13-23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


549 Ibid., 181-182.

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

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

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

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

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

555 NA (UK), CO 54/31, Maitland to Castlereigh, 25 January 1809, f. 6.
well at the time of his excellency the Governor Van de Graaff, the extent of one hundred and ten acres and seventy burnees 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 Kjribattawille Elle which were made to discharge the superfluous water of Diviturreh.”

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 per-
manently established on all landed property in Ceylon” (1813-1815). Based on the sys-
tem 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 col-
leagues 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 plea-
sure to work the lands, to order the cutting of crops and inspect the due division of the dif-
f erent 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 […]”
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 (arack) 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 collec-
tors to ask for lists of the type of labour, coolie labour in particular, to which the inhabi-
tants 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 desir-
ability 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.
Notes to Chapter Ten

567 Engerman, “Abolitionism in Comparative Perspective”, 224, 227. Slavery was abolished in Britain in 1834, in the Netherlands in 1863, and in 1865 in the United States.


569 Engerman, “Abolitionism in Comparative 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.


573 See, for example, Dow, History of Hindoostan (1768); Marshall, The Impeachment of Warren Hastings, xvi; Marshall and Williams, The Great Map of Mankind, 76-77.

575 Pitts, A Turn to Empire, 57.

576 Ibid., 59-85.


578 Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, 19-23.

579 Ibid.


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 Property 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 ‘puligars’ 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, 257-258.

591 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.


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.

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 Ibid., 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 Ibid., 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.


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 agones 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 enormous increase 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.

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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.

Lewis, "Andrew's Embassies to Kandy in 1795 and 1796".


For source publications of these embassies see Lewis, "Andrew's Embassies", and "Macdowall's Embassy to Kandy".

Wickremaratne, "Lord North and the Kandyan Kingdom", 30-42.

Ibid.

Bayly, *The Imperial Meridian*, 100-209.


He succeeded Nicolaas Dias in 1794 and retained this position after the British takeover.


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 to which Maitland wrote after consulting North's dispatches).

NA (UK), CO 54/43, Brownrigg to Secretary of State, 29 March 1812, f. 3. Last received letter from Davie: "[…] For hevens 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.

P.E. Pieris, *Tri Sinhala*, 158-161; Granville, "Deportation of Sri Vrikama Rajasinha".

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.'

NA (UK), CO 55/63, Bathurst to Brownrigg, 28 August 1815, f. 83: "[…] The success 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 increased 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."


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.

NA (UK), CO 54/55, 15 February 1815, f. 103, Brownrigg to Bathurst: "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 unparalleled 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.)

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.

For an elaboration on this subject, see Section 11.6.

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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 strife 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**

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.