

# The Deportation of King Sri Vikrama Rajasimha and his Exile in India<sup>1</sup>

**S**RI VIKRAMA Rājasimha, King of Kandy, and two of his queens were captured by British forces on 18th February, 1815, at the house of a petty headman in the village of Mādamanuvara in the district of Dumbara. His other queens, two in number, were taken into custody at a village called Hamvālla close by, and later all the members of the royal family were brought together at Teldeniya, whence they were taken to Colombo. They arrived in Colombo on 6th March.<sup>2</sup>

Soon after the King and his family were brought to Colombo, Sir Robert Brownrigg, the Governor of Ceylon, took urgent steps to have the King and his family moved out of the Island. Accordingly he wrote to the Right Honourable Hugh Elliott, the Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, drawing his attention to the necessity of having the King together with his family deported from the Island and inquiring after a suitable place where they could be accommodated. The King's distant relatives, the Governor suggested, would best be settled amidst their own kith and kin in the areas from where they had migrated to Ceylon. Certain strangers

1. This paper is based mainly on three bundles of records, classified as NORTH ARCOT PRE-MUTINY PENSIONS, deposited in the Government Record Office, Madras. They are :

1. Serial No. 39/12, General No. 18375.
2. Serial No. 39/13, General No. 18376.
3. Serial No. 39/14, General No. 18377.

I had the occasion to examine these documents in 1961-62 when I spent a part of my sabbatical leave in India.

2. For the capture of King Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha, see, Henry Marshall, *Ceylon, A General Description of the Island and Its Inhabitants*, London, 1846, pp. 156-157.

A more detailed account is found in P. E. Peiris, *Tri Sinhala-The Last Phase, 1796-1815*, 2nd Edition, Colombo, 1939, pp. 158-161. According to a version published in 1884, the King was captured in a large cave, near what in 1884 was the well known coffee estate of M. C. H. De Soysa of Colombo, E. L. Siebel, *Deportation of the Last King of Kandy from Ceylon*, *The Orientalist*, Vol. I, Bombay, 1884, p. 63. In a letter dated 17th February, 1815, written by Sir John D'Oyly who later became the Chief Commissioner of the Kandyan Provinces, the King was captured on 17th February, 1815, T. B. Pohath, *How the Last King of Kandy was Captured by the British*, *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 114. A few more details are found in T. B. Panabokke, *Sri Vikrama Rajasimha, the Last King of Kandy*, *Orientalist*, Vol. I, pp. 235-236. A description of the scene of capture is found in J. P. Lewis, *Scene of the Capture of the Last King of Kandy*, *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. V, Colombo, 1919-1920, pp. 202-204.

of South Indian origin, Brownrigg informed his counterpart in Madras, would be sent to the coast through Mannar. The only strangers left in Kandy when all these persons of South Indian origin have been removed to India would be a few Malays and Caffreas and some Bengalis. As far as the King was concerned, the Governor suggested, the best plan would be to entrust him, immediately upon arrival in Madras, to the charge of some military officer such as the adjutant of the Fort at Madura. This officer may be paid a suitable consideration for this additional service. Finally it was suggested that the King might be made to reside among people of his own caste. Four separate lists of the relatives and followers of the King classified according to the degree of relationship to him were enclosed with this communication to the Governor of Fort St. George.<sup>3</sup>

About the same time Brownrigg addressed a letter to the Governor of Fort St. George setting out particulars about the King which may be useful to him in making arrangements for the King's accommodation in India. Referring to the King's caste Brownrigg stated that there were no special privileges attached to it. The King was the son of one Vencataperumal Naik who was the son of Bedda Nayik and the latter had married one of the five daughters of Moodoo Nayker who was the uncle (father's brother) of the two last deceased kings Rajadie Rajisinga and Kertesinga Rajesinga. Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha's succession to the crown was on ground of alliance — as Rajadie Rajasinga's first wife was the daughter of Bedda Naik and the sister of Perumal Naik, the deposed king's father. The caste of the King is given as Vishnoo. The King's family of Naiks derived themselves from the northern districts of the coast of Coromandel. They use the Telinga language. Payment for the King's maintenance and for that of the King's family should be sufficient and must provide for decent comfort but not anything that may be called stately.<sup>4</sup>

3. Letter from Robert Brownrigg, Governor of Ceylon to the Rt. Hon. Hugh Eliott, Governor-in-Council, Fort St. George, Madras, dated 8th April, 1815. In list No. 1, Immediate Family, are the following names: 1. Gample Naike, King's father-in-law, 2. Chinnedegal Naike, King's father-in-law, 3. Venkette Samy Naike, King's brother by second bed, 4. Jagadeavy Aligery Samy, married to daughter of King's sister, 5. Ayyely Naike, nephew of Mottal Samy, 6. Perumal Naike, peon, 7. Kāunir, son of No. 6, peon, 8. Naunnama, King's aunt, 9. Venkemma, King's sister-in-law, 10. Ammatany.

These families of Nayakkars lived in *valappas* situated along Malabar Street, holding various offices in the government and thus causing a feeling of strong resentment against themselves in the minds of the Sinhalese chieftains. In the reign of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha the Sinhalese chieftains resented the so-called Malabars so much that they organised a rebellion against the king and attempted to assassinate him.

4. Letter from Governor Brownrigg to the Rt. Hon. Hugh Eliott, undated.

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

In response to the enquiry of the Governor of Ceylon, Mr. George Strachey, Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, sent letters to the magistrates of Coimbatore, Kumbakonam, Tinnaveli, Madura and Tiruchirappalli inquiring into the possibilities of settling some of the relatives of the King of Kandy in their districts, so that arrangements could be made for the provision of pecuniary assistance and passports to the persons concerned.<sup>5</sup> On the same day Mr. Strachey wrote to the magistrate of the Zilla of Chingleput inquiring of him whether arrangements could be made to accommodate the ex-King of Kandy in his districts. He also informed the magistrate that facilities similar to those provided for the Elliah Rajah of Travancore could also be provided to the King.<sup>6</sup>

While these inquiries were being made, the Governor of Fort St. George, the Rt. Hon. Hugh Elliott, wrote to Brownrigg a letter characterised by great caution, in which he pointed out that they should not adopt any measures that might disturb the tranquility of 'our own districts' or entail a permanent charge on the company. He further pointed out that it was not advisable to keep the King at Madura, as had been suggested, because he would already have some measure of influence among the people there, and that it was not prudent to entrust the King to a military guard owing to the possible publicity that might be attracted by such a measure. The Governor was finally informed that inquiries were being made through the magistrates of some districts to ascertain the suitability of their districts for the accommodation of the King's relatives. The magistrate of Chingleput was also asked to report on the conditions of accommodation offered to the nephew of the Rajah of Travancore and the security measures that may be necessary in the event of the ex-King of Kandy too being accommodated in Chingleput.<sup>7</sup>

Before long, however, the proposal to accommodate the King in Chingleput was abandoned, as this district was found unsuitable for the purpose, but further inquiries were being made in other quarters.<sup>8</sup> A further batch of prisoners of war, of south Indian origin and associated with the

5. Letter from George Strachey, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, Madras, to the Magistrates of the places named, dated 26th April, 1815.

6. Letter from George Strachey to the Magistrate of Chingleput, dated 26th April, 1815.

The *eliah rajah* was the heir to the throne. In Travancore the succession was matrilineal. The king's eldest sister's eldest son succeeded to the throne.

7. Letter from Fort St. George, Madras, to the Governor of Ceylon, dated 26th April, 1815. The letter is signed by Hugh Elliott, R. Fullerton and R. Alexander.

8. George Strachey to John Rodney, Chief Secretary to the Government of Ceylon, dated 13th May, 1815.

King, was despatched on 17th May, 1815, to Tuticorin on board the brig *Eliza*.<sup>9</sup>

On 23rd June, 1815, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George informed the acting magistrate of the Zilla of Cudappah that the Governor-in-Council had finally decided to accommodate the ex-King of Kandy in the Fort of Sidhout. The magistrate was asked to transmit full details of a suitable house in the Fort that might be requisitioned for the use of the King and his family, together with a sketch of the house and also the opinions of other officers, particularly those of Mr. Newnham, the permanent magistrate.<sup>10</sup> These reports as requested were sent to Madras by the magistrate of Cudappah on 18th July, 1815.<sup>11</sup>

By this time Governor Brownrigg's patience had become exhausted and on 19th August he wrote in a somewhat urgent tone to the Chief Secretary at Madras asking him to make a final resolution regarding the accommodation of the ex-King and pointed out that in the state of relationship that existed then with the interior of the Island it was not at all prudent to detain the King at Colombo any further, though nothing untoward had happened so far.<sup>12</sup>

In the meantime the proposal to accommodate the King in the Fort of Sidhout was abandoned as the place was again found unsuitable, and Governor Brownrigg was informed that the King should be accommodated in Fort St. George till a more suitable place was found. A house in Fort St. George now at the disposal of Mr. Arbuthnot, Agent to the Government of Ceylon, had been found and the rent demanded was 90 pagodas per month. This house had been formerly occupied by the Naval Commander at Fort St. George.<sup>13</sup>

Somewhere about the first week of November 1815 the authorities at Madras abandoned all plans so far made in regard to the accommodation

9. Letter from James Sutherland, Secretary, Kandyan Provinces, to all Magistrates and Persons in authority, dated 17th May, 1815. In this batch of repatriates there were 25 men, 3 women and 5 children. Some of them might have been Nayakers.

10. Letter from George Strachey to the Acting Magistrate of the Zilla of Cudappah, dated 23rd June, 1815.

11. Letter from T. Newnham, Magistrate of Cudappah, to Fort St. George, dated 18th August, 1815.

12. Letter from Robert Brownrigg to Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, Madras, dated 19th August, 1815.

13. Letter from Fort St. George to Robert Brownrigg, dated 11th September, 1815. This letter is signed by Hugh Elliott, T. Hislop, R. Fullerton and R. Alexander. Also letter dated 11th September, 1815, from George Strachey to George Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary, Government of Ceylon.

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

of the King and his family, and decided to find a suitable place for the purpose at Vellore. Accordingly the Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore was asked to find a suitable place for the accommodation of the King and his family, and to send full details of the place to Madras.<sup>14</sup> In a letter dated 5th January, 1816, the Paymaster was required to come to Madras for personal consultations.<sup>15</sup>

In the meanwhile His Majesty's Ship *Cornwallis*, commanded by Captain O'Brien, which at the time was berthed in Bombay, was commissioned to carry the King and his family to Madras. The ship left Bombay for Colombo on 27th December, 1815.<sup>16</sup>

At Colombo the King and his family were embarked on board H.M.S. *Cornwallis* on 24th January, 1816. Captain O'Brien was instructed by Governor Brownrigg that no parade or public honour should attend the embarkation or disembarkation of the royal prisoners. He was further requested to communicate all orders and instructions regarding hours during which the prisoners could come on deck to exercise themselves and the manner in which their quarters on board should be kept clean, through Mr. William Granville of the Civil Service, who was appointed to conduct the prisoners to Madras.<sup>17</sup> Mr. Granville too received his own instructions from the Governor through James Sutherland, Secretary of the Kandyan

14. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore, dated 11th November, 1815.

15. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore, dated 5th January, 1816.

16. Letter from Robert O'Brien to A. Strachey, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, dated 27th December, 1815.

17. Letter from Governor Brownrigg to Captain O'Brien commanding His Majesty's ship *Cornwallis*, Colombo Roads, dated 24th January, 1816. E. L. Siebel describes the embarkation of prisoners as follows: The departure of the king from our shores took place on Wednesday afternoon about quarter after four on the 24th day of January, 1816. He was conveyed in great state from his residence near the south gate to the Custom-house in a phaeton of the Governor. . . . The phaeton was drawn by two thorough-bred Arabs belonging to His Excellency. The ex-queens, four in number, were accommodated with palanquins, in which they were carried to the wharf. The king on reaching the Custom-house alighted from the phaeton, and accompanied by Colonel Kerr, Deputy Commissary-General, and Mr. J. Sutherland, Deputy Secretary to Government (who were holding him by either hand) walked up to the palanquins and desired his queens to descend. . . . which they did very reluctantly. Their natural timidity or modesty induced them to stick close to their palanquins, and to decline to leave them, until forced to do so by their liege lord and master. Four boats were in readiness to convey the royal party to H. M.'s ship *Cornwallis*, then in the offing; and the boat or barge intended for the king and his queens was very richly decorated, and had an awning of green satin ornamented with gold spangles all glistening in the sunshine like so many stars. The quarter floor was covered with a valuable white carpet, and the boat itself was manned with a very neat-looking and handsomely dressed set of rowers. . . . . When his royal consorts had been safely placed in the barge, the king, divesting himself of his sandals, stepped into it; and standing erect was observed to look up to heaven, engaged in meditation. The king then sate down smiling, and, upon a given signal, the boat pulled off from shore followed by other boats which contained the king's baggage and attendants.

Office in Colombo. In the course of these instructions the Governor requested Mr. Granville that the King might be made to understand, using every demonstration of kindness and attention, that Captain O'Brien's orders were founded on the established customs of His Majesty's Naval Service and would never be issued without positive necessity, and, being issued, they could not be objected to nor in any way debated. Mr. Granville was generally to follow the instructions issued to Colonel Kerr who guarded the royal family in Colombo. He was furnished with a copy of these instructions.<sup>18</sup>

Mr. Joseph de Silva, Muhandiram of the Chief Secretary's Office in Colombo, was appointed Mr. Granville's interpreter, and a person who was employed in the King's House in Colombo was appointed to act as Conicoply and to assist in Malabar interpretation.<sup>19</sup>

The ship left Colombo on the 25th and reached Madras on the 22nd February. The journey thus took nearly a month, but was otherwise uneventful. Granville, however, has reported a few incidents which may perhaps have relieved the monotony of this long journey. One day at day break Granville heard somebody being physically assaulted, the disturbance coming from the direction of the King's cabin which was not far from his own. On inquiry it transpired that the King had been beating one of his wives on some provocation. Granville told the King that he would have the queens removed from the section set apart for them if he repeated the practice. On another occasion Granville was summoned to the royal apartments by the watch on duty. On arriving there he found the King in a fit of wild rage, attacking a bedstead that was nearby with a hatchet and reducing it to bits. With perfect self-assurance and tact Granville removed the hatchet from the King's hands. An attendant of the King, it was revealed in due course, had slept on the bedstead, on which the King sometimes used to recline. The insolence of the attendant had rendered the bedstead no longer fit for the King's use. Hence the King's anger and the attempt to destroy it. When the *Cornwallis* reached Madras, there was a very large concourse of people, who had heard of the King's arrival, assembled on the shore. Some of the more enthusiastic of them waded across the water and even attempted to carry the boat in which the King was being brought to the shore, thereby even endangering the King's safety.

18. Letter from James Sutherland, Kandyan Office, Colombo, to William Granville, dated 24th January, 1816. See Appendix 1.

19. *Ibid.*

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

When the King reached the shore, Captain Macdonald, the Town Major, and Mr. Mariott were introduced to him as the gentlemen ordered by the Right Honourable the Governor to receive him.<sup>20</sup>

According to arrangements made by the Kandyan Office the King was to be paid a sum of 200 rix dollars annually as had been the practice at Colombo. Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., agents to the Government of Colombo, would have supplied the necessary provisions to the royal prisoners. Provisions and allowances to the prisoners were to be regulated by Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co. in consultation with the officer to whose charge they were entrusted on their arrival in Madras.<sup>21</sup>

The Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore, Major Mariott, the same Mr. Mariott who met the King on arrival at Madras, conducted the King and his family to Vellore, and on this occasion the magistrates of Chingleput, Chittor and Herdachellam were requested to supply the necessary provisions to the party on their way to Vellore.<sup>22</sup>

No details are available in the records examined of the house or houses where the King and his family were restrained. It would appear, however, that there was a series of five *mahals* which were all in a line. These had later come to be known as the Gumsur Mahal, the Kandi Mahal, the Tippoo Mahal, the Patcha Begum Mahal and the Palkondai Mahal, the names being derived from the names of the distinguished prisoners held in each mansion.<sup>23</sup>

The ex-King of Kandy and his family were not placed under a military guard, but their residence being situated inside a fort whose gates were evidently well guarded, there was practically very little danger of their

20. T. B. Pohath, *op. cit.* p. 114. Granville's Diary was published under the title *Journal of Reminiscences relative to the Late King of Kandy, when on his voyage from Colombo to Madras in 1816, a Prisoner of War on board His Majesty's Ship Cornwallis*, by William Granville Esq. of His Majesty's Ceylon Civil Service. Colombo: Printed at the Wesleyan Press, 1830.

21. Letter from James Sutherland, Kandyan Office, Colombo, to William Granville, dated 24th January, 1816. See Appendix 1.

22. Circular letter from George Strachey to the Magistrates of the places, mentioned above, dated 5th February.

23. *Madras District Manuals—North Arcot District*, compiled by Arthur F. Cox, New Edition, revised by Harold A. Stuart, Vol. II, Madras, 1894, p. 421. According to T. B. Pohath, *op. cit.* p. 114, the King was lodged in the palace formerly occupied by Futeh Hyder, the eldest son of Tippoo Sultan. When Tipu Sultan was killed in battle in 1799 his sons were made prisoners and those who had reached maturity were sent with their families to Vellore to live in the Fort. In 1806 some of them were removed to Calcutta being accused of instigating the troops to mutiny, Lewin B. Bowring, *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan*, Oxford, 1899, p. 201.

being able to effect an escape. In fact they were given considerable freedom of movement inside the fort and at one stage the King was even provided with a palanquin to move about inside the fort for pleasure.<sup>24</sup>

The royal prisoners were adequately provided with servants, some of whom at least may have been required to keep an unobtrusive but watchful eye on the conduct of the prisoners. At the very outset eighteen *hircarrahs* were employed on a monthly pay of Rs. 8 each.<sup>25</sup> Later the domestic staff of the royal prisoners was strengthened by the appointment of four female door-keepers and four sweepers, possibly to serve the four queens.<sup>26</sup> Still later on 29th March, the Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore was authorised to employ a native doctor on a monthly salary of six pagodas and a barber on a similar salary of Rs. 5 to attend on the King.<sup>27</sup>

Towards the end of March, a small batch of the near relatives of the King arrived in Madras, and because of their close relationship they too were conducted to Vellore to live with the royal family.<sup>28</sup>

At the very early stages of the search for accommodation for the King and his family it was agreed between the governments of Ceylon and Madras that the prisoners should be provided with a *ratib*<sup>29</sup> in kind and that no cash should be made available to the King and his family for the purpose of buying food. Brownrigg forwarded to the Government of Madras for their guidance a statement showing the quantities of the different kinds of food supplied to the King and to the members of his family during their stay in Colombo.<sup>30</sup> Judging from these lists it is evident that they were

24. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, Madras, to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 17th March, 1817.

25. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 27th January, 1816.

26. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George to Mysoor Stipends, dated 16th February, 1816.

27. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 29th March, 1816.

28. Letter from the Mayor's Office, Madras, to Major Marriott, Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 21st March, 1816. The names of the relatives are: 1. Gumpal Nayekar, 2. Samy Coomara, 3. Dorresamy, 4. Wengadasobbeya, 5. Willa, 6. Rangaya, 7. Modde.

29. Sometimes spelt *retib*; an allowance of provisions. The word is of Persian origin.

30. From Robert Brownrigg, Governor of Ceylon, to Hugh Elliott, Governor-in-Council, Fort St. George, in reply to a query from the latter. No date is given. The amount of provisions supplied to the King daily at Colombo is stated as follows:

	Rs.	f	p
8 measures <i>mootoo samba</i>	1	0	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ measure butter		4	2
1 dry fish	1	0	0
6 <i>kombulwas</i>		1	2

THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

adequately provided for in the matter of food both in respect of quantity and quality, though what was supplied would not have compared favourably with what they were accustomed to in the palace at Kandy.

Whatever were the steps taken by the authorities to make the King's life as comfortable as circumstances permitted, soon the new life at Vellore began to gall the King while the rest of the family such as the queens appear to have resigned themselves to the new situation. The King's dissatisfaction was brought to the notice of the authorities at Madras, and the Chief Secretary, George Strachey, wrote to the Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore that the Government was much concerned at the discontent manifested by the captive King, but that the Government trusted that by steadiness and kindness the Paymaster would be able to reconcile the King to his new situation.<sup>31</sup>

An incident that may have added to the King's restlessness was the visit paid to him by two 'adherents' who were suspected of working upon

6 coconuts	1	2
8 sorts of vegetables	10	0
currystuffs	4	2
betel, tobacco and areca	3	1
1 calengu cardamon		2½
½ calengu cloves	1	0
½ calengu mace	3	0
3 bottles milk	3	0
5 king coconuts	2	2
8 oranges	4	0
*5 Pomplemos	1	3½
½ (?) soft sugar	3	0
½ sugar kandy	6	0
1 seer fish	2	10 0
4 coconuts	1	0
	9	1 1
Total expenses per day	9	1 1
Total expenses per month	273	1 2
Money per month	200	0 0

\* Shaddock or Pumperose (*Citrus decumana* L.) both of white and red varieties and of a very large size.

Daily allowances for king's mother and four queens :

20 seers <i>Mootoo samba</i>	2	6	0
1¼ measure butter		11	1
10 dry fish	1	8	0
10 <i>koblewas</i>		2	2
10 coconuts		2	2
4 sorts of vegetables	1	3	0
currystuffs	1	3	0
Betel, Arrecanut, Tobacco, Calypakoo		11	1
5 calengus cardamums		3	0½

Extra monthly allowances were given in the form of articles such as pots, pans, knives, needles and mats.

Varying allowances were given to the other Nayakkars. Cf. P. E. Peiris, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-202.

31. Letter from George Strachey to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 10th May, 1816.

the King's mind. The Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore was requested by the authorities at Madras to report the names of these miscreants. If they repeated their visits to the King the Paymaster was instructed to arrest them as prisoners of war.<sup>32</sup> The Paymaster, however, thought that some of the sons of the Nayiks who were attending upon the King according to custom had attempted to influence the King and thereby added to his distemper. Consequently the Paymaster received instructions from Madras that the services of these young Nayiks might be dispensed with and servants appointed to take their place, if the services of the Nayiks were deemed inessential by the Paymaster.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the circumstance that caused the greatest vexation to the King was that he was thwarted in an attempt he made at this time to get some ornaments for his queens and his mother, and a crown for himself. This desire of the King was conveyed to Madras and thence to Colombo,<sup>34</sup> and Brownrigg wrote to Strachey in the second week of August, 1816, that the beaten gold that the King possessed had been purchased with the immediate view of being made up into a hat for the King. An ornament in the form of a crown, Brownrigg suggested, was entirely inadvisable, 'as encouraging troublesome pretensions or generating reflexions which had better be allowed to subside'. Suggesting that some ornaments could be made of a restricted value, Brownrigg observed, "Upon the whole I am strongly impressed with the conviction that a style of Dress and living which may partake more of personal comfort than any tendency to appearances of splendor or Royal State will be found most safe and eligible, most consonant with his situation as a Prisoner of War and most conducive to his happiness."<sup>35</sup> To add to the King's difficulties, in the same letter the Governor of Ceylon suggested that the adherents living with the King be reduced to the nearest relatives essential for the comfort of the King.<sup>36</sup> In consequence Strachey informed the Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore on 5th October, 1816, that a crown could not be permitted but that the King could get any other ornament made with the gold he had.<sup>37</sup>

32. Letter from George Strachey to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 10th May, 1816.

33. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 22nd September, 1816.

34. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 23rd August, 1816.

35. Letter from Governor Brownrigg, King's House, Colombo, to Rt. Hon. Hugh Eliott, Governor-in-Council, Fort St. George, dated 11th September, 1816.

36. Letter from Governor Brownrigg, King's House, Colombo, to Rt. Hon. Hugh Eliott, Governor-in-Council, Fort St. George, dated 11th September, 1816.

37. Letter from George Strachey, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends Vellore, dated 5th October, 1816.

Towards the end of the year the Paymaster was authorised to reduce the number of Nayiks living with the King, and as if he were attempting to recompense the King for this inconvenience, the Chief Secretary of Fort St. George inquired from the Paymaster whether he would recommend that the King should be indulged with the use of a palanqueen.<sup>38</sup> The Paymaster who appears to have been ever concerned with the happiness of the King and to have done all that he could, under the limitations imposed on him by the office he held, readily gave his assent. In the following year, in March the Madras Government authorised the Paymaster to purchase a palanqueen for the use of the King and to employ twelve bearers to carry it.<sup>39</sup> About the same time approval was received from Brownrigg for the making of ornaments worth 500 pagodas for the use of the King's mother and his queens.<sup>40</sup>

About the middle of the year 1817 proposals were made by the authorities at Madras that the King of Kandy and the other prisoners should be released or on the alternative their confinement be relaxed to an extent consistent with the requirements of security. These proposals were frowned upon by the Governor of Ceylon, and James Sutherland, the Secretary of the Kandyan Provinces, communicated the Governor's reactions to Madras in a communication dated 15th September, 1817. In this letter Sutherland explained that His Excellency had no desire to protract the confinement of the Nayakers though he apprehended 'it would be highly unsafe to His Majesty's possessions in Ceylon to discontinue the supervision and control of their proceedings to such an extent as to prevent or frustrate any plans undertaken for their return to Ceylon'. It would be most gratifying to His Excellency, stated Sutherland, to feel himself warranted in placing the deposed King in a more comfortable position were it not obvious that the danger which was contemplated from the Nayakers was infinitely greater in the instance of the King, from the superior temptations which existed in his case and the known impetuosity of his temper, combined with a degree of weakness which could hardly fail to render him an instrument in the hands of the Nayakers for the prosecution of any designs having for object the recovery of the Kandyan provinces and the restoration of the Malabar

38. Letter from George Strachey, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, not dated.

39. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 17th March, 1817.

40. Letter from Robert Brownrigg, Governor of Ceylon, to Rt. Hon. Hugh Elliott, Governor-in-Council, Fort St. George, dated 15th May, 1817.

Dynasty.<sup>41</sup> The whole set of proposals was finally rejected and the King and his family settled down to a period of long confinement in the Fort of Vellore.

The Vellassa disturbances which occurred towards the end of the year in Ceylon had their own repercussions in the Kandī Mahal at Vellore. James Sutherland, Secretary to the Government of Ceylon, in a letter dated 27th October, 1817, acquainted the Government of Madras with information relating to these disturbances and described them as originating from the presence in Vellassa of a stranger of the Malabar caste, a relative of the ex-King. The letter referred to a rumour that had reached the ears of Mr. D'Oyly, the Chief Commissioner of the Kandyan Provinces, that the person alluded to was one Doreswamy, one of the Nayakers who accompanied the King to Madras in the ship *Cornwallis*. Inquiries were immediately made from the magistrates of Trichinopoly, Tinnaveli, Nellore, Madura and Tanjore, where some of the relatives of the King were living at the time, as to the whereabouts of Doreswamy.<sup>42</sup>

George Lusignan, Secretary to the Kandyan Provinces, wrote to Strachey in June, 1818, requesting him to ascertain the reactions of the King in regard to the outbreak of disturbances in Vellassa, to find out whether the King or any member of his family had heard of these disturbances, and if so, from whom and when. Strachey was also required to seek their opinions as to the person of the pretender, the person principally concerned in the disturbances and the part played by certain chieftains in creating disaffection in the country.<sup>43</sup> Major Marriott, the Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore, however, felt that it was not prudent at the time to acquaint the King of the situation in Ceylon of which he might otherwise be ignorant, and further action on this matter was abandoned with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Kandyan Provinces.<sup>44</sup>

41. Letter from James Sutherland, Secretary, Kandyan Provinces, to George Strachey, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, dated, Kandy, 15th September, 1817.

42. Letter from James Sutherland, Chief Secretary, Kandyan Office, Colombo, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 27th October, 1817.

43. Letter from George Lusignan, Secretary, Office of the Kandyan Provinces, to George Strachey, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 7th June, 1818. The chieftains mentioned in the letter are : 1. Ahalepola Mahanilame, 2. Molligoda Mahanilame, 3. Kapuvatte Mahanilame, 4. Pilimatalavve Disava of the Seven Korales, 5. Madugalle, formerly Uda-gabada Nilame, 6. The Gajanayaka Nilame, 7. Millava, the late Disava of Vellassa, 8. Mampittiya Nilame, 9. Komakaduwe Naik Unanse, 10. Wellewita Anu Naik Unanse, and 11. Malama Unanse.

44. Letter from Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated Kandy, 10th August, 1818.

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

Aopayndra Amma, one of the wives of the ex-King died on 16th June, 1818, at Tanjore.<sup>45</sup>

One of the ways in which the King expressed his discontent was to refuse to accept the *ratib* given to him. Sometimes for months he refused to accept it, and he is stated to have been forced to borrow—what or from whom is not mentioned in the records available.<sup>46</sup> In July, 1820, there was a considerable volume of correspondence exchanged between the Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore and the authorities at Madras concerning the allowances, provisions and articles of clothing and furniture supplied to the King and his family. The Paymaster was trying to secure for the King and the other prisoners whatever little comforts that he could legitimately procure for them, but the authorities at Madras were very strict and were not easily persuaded into accepting the Paymaster's recommendations.<sup>47</sup> At times the Paymaster was even gently reprimanded for his interest in behalf of the prisoners. However occasional indulgences were made with a view to keeping the King in good humour. For instance the provision of articles worth Rs. 1,000 was authorised by the Secretary of the Kandyan Provinces to enable the King to hold a religious feast on the occasion of the ear-ring ceremony of his first daughter. An application for a similar grant was made by the King on the occasion of the ear-ring ceremony of his second daughter.<sup>48</sup>

During this period the King's demands became so very frequent that Augustus Andrews, the new Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore, who appears to have had an unusual degree of sympathy for the King, was constrained to comment in the course of a communication addressed to Fort St. George as follows: "The demands of the captive King are so very frequent that it is impossible to comply with them, but . . . . . I use every means in my power to render his situation as comfortable as the circumstances admit". He further assured the authorities at Fort St. George that the disbursements in behalf of the King seldom amounted to more than Rs. 1,000 monthly and

45. Letter from W. Blackburne, Resident of Tanjore, to Fort St. George, dated 9th July, 1818.

46. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Civil Auditor, Fort St. George, dated 15th October, 1819. Also letter from A. Andrews, new Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Political Department, Fort St. George, dated 19th July, 1820.

47. Extract from Minutes, Madras Government, for 17th October, 1820. Other relevant letters are severely damaged. Among the articles provided to the members of the royal family are carpets, broadcloth, shawls and brass pots.

48. Letter from George Lusignan, Secretary, Kandyan Provinces, to E. Wood, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 13th August, 1821; and letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Chief Secretary Edward Woods, Fort St. George, dated 22nd December, 1823. See Appendix II for statement of requirements for the ear-ring ceremony.

that if he had acceded to all his requests his disbursements would exceed Rs. 3,000.<sup>49</sup> Probably the latter comment was made with the intention of assuaging any fears that Fort St. George authorities might have entertained that the Paymaster was too indulgent towards the King.

Within a few months, however, the King was again persisting in making further demands of the Paymaster. In the beginning of March, 1822, the King requested that he be provided with a horse and also with a monthly allowance of Rs. 2,000 as pocket money. Both these demands, the Paymaster assured him, would not be allowed by the authorities at Fort St. George. They were therefore expunged from a statement of requests forwarded to Madras, wherein Paymaster Andrews stated as follows: "I have to observe that since taking charge of the Stipend Pay Office the expenditure for the captive King and his adherents is considerably less monthly and in consideration of this possibly the Honourable the Governor may be pleased to comply with the requisitions."<sup>50</sup> The King's demands were, nevertheless, unabated. He had become obese by now and therefore demanded a larger palanquin. The Secretary of the Kandyan Provinces readily agreed to grant this request but directed that the expenses for the funeral of the King's mother, in the event of her death, be decided by the Paymaster in compliance with any orders that Fort St. George might desire to give, stating that he saw no reason why a larger allowance should be given then than in the case of the funeral of the King's aunt.<sup>51</sup>

On 14th August, 1822, one of the queens gave birth to a daughter.<sup>52</sup> A few days later Gumpaul Naik, the King's father-in-law died. The Paymaster of Vellore communicated to the Collector and Magistrate of Trichinopoly a 'Gentoo memorandum' to be conveyed to the brother and the son-in-law of the deceased, Kummama Naik and Dasen Naik, who were living at Trichinopoly under the charge of the Collector and Magistrate.<sup>53</sup>

About this time the King became ill-tempered once again. He even quarrelled with his brother-in-law, Coomaraswamy Naik, but when the

<sup>49</sup>: Letter dated 16th June, 1821.

<sup>50</sup>: Letter from A. Andrews, Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Fort St. George, date not legible, probably before March, 1822. The figure 2000 is probably a clerical error. It might possibly have been 200.

<sup>51</sup>: Letter from George Lusignan, Secretary, Kandyan Provinces, to Edward Woods, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 22nd May, 1822.

<sup>52</sup>: Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 14th August, 1822.

<sup>53</sup>: Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Collector and Magistrate of the Zilla of Trichinopoly, dated 31st August, 1822. Gumpaul Naik died on 27th August, 1822. The message conveying the news of the death of Gumpaul Naik is written in Telugu, hence the reference to a 'Gentoo Memorandum.'

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

Paymaster attempted to remove the latter from Vellore to Chingleput he opposed the change stating that in the event of the death of his mother or daughter, both of whom were ill at the time, he was the only person who could conduct the essential ceremonies.<sup>54</sup> The King's turbulence was so persistent that the Paymaster was forced to report to Madras stating, "The disposition of the King is too well known to the Government to require any comment from me. I need therefore only add that his conduct towards me is not always very ceremonious when I find it necessary to oppose his wishes."<sup>55</sup>

The King was ever concerned with showing his affection for his wives and children and he might have been even grief stricken that he was no longer in a position to provide his family with the comforts and luxuries that they were accustomed to enjoy at Kandy when they were placed in more fortunate circumstances.

One day in April the following year the King showed the Paymaster some pieces of valuable cloth that he had brought from Ceylon and asked him to dispose of them so that he could use the money so realised to buy jewels for his wives and children. The Paymaster said that it was not in his power to do so but promised to communicate his request to Madras.<sup>56</sup>

The King's elder daughter had at this time reached the age of nine years and so had some children of Gumpal Nayik, a near kinsman of the captive King. Accordingly the King sought permission from the authorities to invite to Vellore his relations from places such as Trichinopoly and Tanjore, so that suitable brides and bridegrooms could be chosen for his child as well as the children of his kinsman. He also requested the authorities to grant him the money necessary to meet the expenses of the consequent weddings.<sup>57</sup> The King made a request for a sum of ten thousand pagodas, which the acting Paymaster of Vellore, Lieutenant Lewis, thought was made 'from a spirit of ostentation and because he did not wish to be satisfied.'<sup>58</sup> The statement

54. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 13th January, 1823.

55. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated . . . . . November, 1823.

56. Letter from Lieut. Col. Augustus Andrews, Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Government of Madras, dated 16th April, 1823.

57. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to David Hill, Chief Secretary, Government of Madras, 3rd June, 1825.

58. Letter from Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Fort St. George, dated 7th August, 1825; letter from the acting Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Fort St. George, dated 9th September, 1825.

of requisites given to the Paymaster contained items such as pandals, dancing girls and payments to Brahmins.<sup>59</sup>

The original request for permission for the marriage of the King's daughter was communicated to the Governor of Ceylon by the authorities at Madras and the former approved the marriage subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council in Madras. A reasonable monthly allowance of cash to the King was also approved subject to certain conditions as regards distribution. However the authorities at Colombo wanted an estimate of the expenses for the proposed marriage before any final decision could be arrived at.<sup>60</sup> The statement of requisites sent by the King to the Paymaster at Vellore was an exhaustive and expensive one<sup>61</sup> and the Chief Secretary of Fort St. George, possibly on the advice of the authorities in Ceylon, replied that he did not wish to sanction the proposed marriage of the King's daughter and the Paymaster was requested not to renew the subject unless the proposed expenses were limited by the strictest moderation.<sup>62</sup> About this time the King and his family celebrated the Dasarah and the Chitrapurnami festivals, and certain dancing girls and singers were permitted to pass through the gates of the Vellore Fort to the King's residence to take part in the festivities.<sup>63</sup>

Towards the middle of the year 1826 the King became extremely quarrelsome and ill-tempered. He quarrelled with his brother-in-law Coomara Swamy Naick who was living in an adjoining house. Lieut. Col. P. A. Stewart, who had assumed duties as the Paymaster of Stipends at Vellore, in fact, proposed that Coomara Swamy Naick should be sent to some place outside the fort or to his relatives living at Trichinopoly. The Paymaster wrote to the Chief Secretary at Madras that the King had then become violent in temper and incapable of listening to reason and that he would not level himself to his situation. When, however, arrangements were being made to remove Coomara Swamy the King reconciled himself with his kinsman and for some time became quiet and equable in temperament once again.<sup>64</sup>

59. Letter from the acting Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Fort St. George, dated 9th September, 1825.

60. Letter from George Lusignan, Secretary to the Government of Ceylon, to David Hill, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 2nd June, 1825.

61. See note No. 62.

62. Letter from David Hill, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to Officiating Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 23rd September, 1825.

63. Guide to the Records of North Arcot District, Madras, p. 187, summary of letter dated 14th April, 1826.

64. Letter from Lieut. Col. P. Stewart, Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 27th June, 1826.

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

A month or two later the King's aged mother became seriously ill and the Paymaster, taking timely action, sought permission from the authorities at Fort St. George to employ a party of soldiers to accompany the remains of the royal lady, in the event of her death, to the cemetery. He also asked the Government to sanction the expenditure necessary for the funeral.<sup>65</sup>

The authorities at Madras saw no objection to a party of native officers being employed to accompany the remains of the King's mother to the cremation ground in the event of her death and requested the Paymaster to regulate the expenses at his discretion. Later he was given permission to spend Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 3,500 pending sanction from Colombo.<sup>66</sup>

The King appears to have become petulant once again towards the middle of the year 1827. He demanded that a verandah be constructed in his residence to prevent rain from getting into the living quarters of his house. This was granted and a sum of Rs. 2,000 was sanctioned for the purpose.<sup>67</sup> A few months later he refused to accept the *ratib* once again.<sup>68</sup>

In October 1827 Paymaster Stewart once again took up with the authorities at Madras the question of the marriage of the King's daughter, and pointing out that the royal family in their then state had no means to meet the necessary expenses of a marriage, suggested the grant of a sum of Rs. 5,000 for the purpose.<sup>69</sup> No decision, however, was made by the Madras authorities in regard to this proposal and the matter lay in abeyance for some considerable time.

An event that brought some measure of cheer to the members of the royal family was the birth of a daughter to the third queen in February 1829.<sup>70</sup> To assist the family the Paymaster inquired from Madras whether the *ratib* given to the King and his family could be commuted for cash, so that jewellery could be bought for the new born baby and the mother as was the custom. This letter was referred to Colombo for a decision and

65. Letter from Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 6th October, 1826.

66. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 24th November, 1826.

67. Letter from the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, 31st July, 1827.

68. From the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 24th October, 1827.

69. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 31st October, 1827. The letter is damaged and it is not clear whether the figure is 5000.

70. Damaged letter dated . . . . . February, 1829. The exact date cannot be made out.

in a letter dated 22nd September, 1829, Thomas Eden, Deputy Secretary, Chief Secretary's Office in Colombo, objected to the *ratib* being appropriated to buy jewellery. "With regard to the concluding paragraph," said Eden, referring to the proposed marriage of the King's daughter, "I am directed to state that it is not so much a matter for His Excellency's consideration—but politically His Excellency cannot consider it desirable to perpetuate by marriage amongst members of the Ex-Kandyan royal family claims to the throne of Kandy."<sup>71</sup> Later the Government of Ceylon gave formal approval to the proposed marriage, and also approved a suitable sum of money for the purchase of jewellery for the third queen and her infant.<sup>72</sup> In fact the authorities approved the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 3,000 for this purpose.<sup>73</sup>

At this stage the condition of the King's infirm mother became somewhat alarming and Lt. Col. Stewart wrote to Fort St. George as follows: "It is customary with Hindoos of distinction and particularly with persons of the captive's rank to preserve in tombs or transmit to Benares the bones of deceased relatives or to erect over ashes a building . . . . . Brindavanam; the latter has been the usage of the Kandyan family and . . . . . king possesses a drawing of the family tombs at Kandy . . . . ." The Colonel, therefore, suggested that a piece of land situated near the river and to the left of the road from Vellore to Chittore should be acquired for the purpose of erecting a Brindavanam.<sup>74</sup>

The death of the King's mother took place somewhere in the last week of January, 1831. Arrangements were made for a party of fifty men—all Hindoos—commanded by a native officer and a Drummer and a Fifer to escort the remains of the deceased lady to the place of sepulchre on the banks of the river. The escort was provided with three rounds per man of blank ammunition.<sup>75</sup>

71. Letter addressed to David Hill, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George.

72. Letter from P. Anstruther, Deputy Secretary, Chief Secretary's Office, Colombo, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 20th September, 1831.

73. Letter from Fort St. George to the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, dated 8th November, 1831.

74. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Fort St. George, dated 20th January, 1831.

A. M. Hocart states: 'Mr. W. R. Hancock kindly showed me an old print of the tombs of the Kandyan kings: they are simply topes. I made inquiries about them and found the site at a place called Aradhana Maduva, but the tombs have disappeared, having been destroyed when the railway to Matala was built.' See *Note on the Origin of the Tote* by A. M. Hocart, *Ceylon Journal of Science* (G), Vol. I, Colombo, 1924-1928, p. 101. The name of the site as given above by Hocart is not quite correct. This site where the remains of Kandyan kings were cremated was known as *Ādāhana-maluva*, cremation terrace. The place is situated close to the Asgiriya Monastery in Kandy. For an illustration see Major Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, Vol. I, London, 1840, opposite p. 300.

75. Letter from Fort St. George to Colonel, H. Q., A. Taylor, commanding Vellore; letter damaged and the date cannot be made out. Probably before 28th January, 1831.

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

In October the same year the first and the only son of the King was born, and Paymaster Stewart wrote to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Madras suggesting that some money should be offered on this occasion to the King, the mother and the infant. The parents, the Paymaster informed the Chief Secretary, had applied for such a grant. In the same letter the infirm nature of the King's health is mentioned for the first time. Reporting that the King's health had latterly become enfeebled and uncertain, Stewart says, "he suffers from occasional fits of fever, sleeps indifferently, has but little appetite and his limbs puff and swell."<sup>76</sup>

In December the King's health had not improved and Stewart reported this circumstance to Madras in a letter dated 9th December, 1831. This letter has been severely damaged by moths and only parts can be read. The legible sections read as follows: "..... much from difficulty to breathe, and that swellings which were before ..... limbs have reached the chest. He became very unwell on Saturday night ..... causes; he was much relieved yesterday and this day he continues better but is enfeebled and confines himself to his couch."<sup>77</sup>

On 19th January, 1832, Paymaster Stewart reported to Henry Charmier, Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, that the ex-King had declined the further assistance of Mr. Surgeon Reid on the previous Sunday and had again applied to the native medical attendants. His malady had gained ground, and Stewart considered his life to be in a very precarious state. Contemplating the probability of his early or sudden demise Stewart desired to have authority from the Chief Secretary for a military escort to accompany the King's remains to the burial grounds and to fire three volleys in the customary manner. He also wished to have the necessary expenditure sanctioned. He considered a sum of Rs. 5,000 adequate for the purpose, and another sum of Rs. 3,500 he considered adequate for the annual ceremony. Finally he drew the attention of the Chief Secretary to the need to purchase a piece of land where the bones of the King, in the event of his death, could be entombed.<sup>78</sup>

In a letter written in January, 1832, of which the exact date cannot be read as the paper is severely moth-eaten, the Paymaster of Vellore commu-

76. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 29th October, 1831.

77. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 19th December, 1831.

78. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Henry Charmier, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 19th January, 1832.

nicated to Madras that the reports for some days past from the native medical attendants on the health of the ex-King being very unsatisfactory and in some instances alarming, he had decided to request the attendance of a European surgeon. The rest of the letter is illegible but the occurrence of the name Reid suggests that Surgeon Reid may have once again been requested to attend upon the royal prisoner.<sup>79</sup> By the 27th the King had become dangerously ill and Stewart reported as follows: "The King was yesterday frequently insensible and considered to be in imminent danger; he has since recovered sufficiently to express his wishes, but he still remains in a most precarious situation."<sup>80</sup>

On 31st January, 1832, Stewart reported to the Chief Secretary at Fort St. George that the King had died the previous day in the afternoon about three o'clock. He reported further that at the request of the members of the family the body was conveyed to the place of burning before sunset under the escort of a military guard and accompanied by the late captive's male relatives and servants all of whom returned to the Fort in the evening.<sup>81</sup> On the same day the Paymaster of Vellore conveyed to the King's relatives living in places such as Trichinopoly a letter from Coomaraswamy Naick intimating to them the death of the King. The message was written in Telugu. At the same time the Paymaster sent notes to the officers concerned at these places requesting them not to send prisoners of war to attend the obsequies of the King.<sup>82</sup>

A few days later Stewart wrote to Madras reviewing the situation in the royal family as existing after the death of King Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha. At the last interview he had with the King, Stewart reported, the latter had wanted the same care and liberal provisions to be bestowed upon his son as had been bestowed upon him. The King did not want his son to be released after his death; whether because he felt that his relatives would do his son any harm or because his release might cause disturbances, the Paymaster was unable to determine. The King's eldest wife, the Paymaster noted, was a person of talent and intrigue and was not friendly towards

79. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, . . . . . January, 1832.

80. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 27th January, 1832.

81. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated 31st January, 1832.

82. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Magistrate of the Zilla of Trichinopoly, 31st January, 1832.

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

the third wife who was mother of the King's only son. But he felt that under other circumstances this enmity might cease.<sup>83</sup>

The news of the King's death was conveyed to the Governor of Ceylon on 3rd February, 1832. He had been kept informed of the King's illness earlier. In a letter dated 13th February the Governor of Ceylon generally concurred with the arrangements made for the disposal of the King's remains.<sup>84</sup> A few days later P. Anstruther, Deputy Secretary to the Government of Ceylon, addressed a letter to the Chief Secretary at Fort St. George informing him that he considered it highly necessary that the late King's son should remain at Vellore and that he should be given the best education possible for which purpose he might be sent to Calcutta where his intriguing relatives would not have access to him. Anstruther, however, wanted a report on the aptitude of the boy before any decision could be taken.<sup>85</sup> Later the authorities at Colombo decided that the ex-King's son should stay in the territories of the Madras Government. It was suggested by them that an estate should be bought on the revenues of which the boy might now be supported. It was further suggested that the boy might live in the estate under the supervision of a native of respectability during his minority. Other proposals made by the Madras Government could not be easily put into effect. The Government of Madras, however, was asked to send to Colombo their observations on the proposals now made.<sup>86</sup>

In the meanwhile proceedings had been instituted to acquire some land in Vellore where the remains of the late King and those of the other members of the family could be entombed. In June, 1832, the Collector of North Arcot acquired 10 cawnies of ground in a place called Aroogundum Poondy and Conavuttam from some cultivators living there.<sup>87</sup> The Governor-in-Council at Madras approved of this purchase of land in the immediate vicinity of Vellore for the sum of Rs. 186, 2 annas and 3 paisas.<sup>88</sup> In a letter dated 30th July, 1832, the Government of Ceylon approved this

83. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, 2nd February, 1832.

84. Letter from P. Anstruther, Deputy Secretary, Government of Ceylon, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, 13th February, 1832.

85. Letter from Deputy Secretary, Government of Ceylon, to Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated Kandy, 19th February, 1832.

86. Letter from Deputy Secretary, Government of Ceylon, to Fort St. George, dated 27th March, 1832.

87. North Arcot Bundle 39 (2—IVa), letter dated 30th June, 1832.

88. Extract from minutes of Consultation—Political department, Fort St. George, 6th July, 1832.

purchase.<sup>89</sup> Arrangements for the purchase of land were completed in July, 1832, and the Paymaster sent to Madras the following estimates for the buildings proposed to be erected on the land :

Brindavanam for the King	Rs. 500
Brindavanam for his mother	Rs. 150
Choultry	Rs. 500 <sup>90</sup>

These estimates were frowned upon by the Chief Secretary's Office in Colombo, who stated that His Excellency the Governor hesitated to approve so considerable an outlay to erect tombs and a choultry over the King's remains. The Colombo authorities asked the Governor-in-Council, Madras, to incur whatever was absolutely necessary in the erection of the several buildings.<sup>91</sup>

It may be mentioned in conclusion that in these documents King Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha emerges as a man of not altogether unlikable character: as a father he was ever concerned with the happiness of his children and their future and as husband he was anxious to promote the happiness of his wives, constantly thinking out ways of pleasing them in their unfortunate plight. His occasional outbursts of temper and petulance can easily be understood when one considers the restrictions he was subject to in exile at Vellore, both in respect of his personal freedom and in respect of the amenities of life that he and his family may have wished to enjoy. He was, however, fortunate in having as his immediate custodians a succession of officials who tried with commendable patience to make the King's exile as comfortable and as least irksome as was possible within the powers vested in them. Some of the Paymasters at Vellore, in fact, even risked incurring the displeasure of the authorities at Fort St. George in trying to be indulgent to the captive king and his family. On the other hand, the authorities in Madras and in Ceylon appear to have been concerned mainly with only two aspects of his exile at Vellore. While they did not impose any unnecessary hardship on the prisoners they were nevertheless anxious that the King should not by any means be enabled to return to Ceylon or

89. Letter from P. Anstruther, Deputy Secretary, Government of Ceylon, to Fort St. George, 30th July, 1832.

90. Letter from the Paymaster of Stipends, Vellore, to Fort St. George, dated 4th July, 1832.

91. Letter from Chief Secretary's Office, Colombo, to Fort St. George, dated 7th August, 1832. No remains of the monuments erected in memory of King Sri Vikrama Rajasinha and his mother are to be found today. Within the limits of the suburb of Vellore named Arikandampundi are the tombs of several members of the family of Tipu Sultan. For the latter monuments see, *Madras District Manuals—North Arcot District*, compiled by Arthur F. Cox, new Edition revised by Harold A. Stuart, Vol. II Madras, 1894, p. 421.

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

otherwise assert his claims to the throne of Kandy. Their second concern was that the Paymaster at Vellore in whose custody the prisoners were placed should at all times exercise the strictest economy in providing for the needs of the Kandyan prisoners. In the pursuit of both of these objectives they were indeed quite successful.

P. E. E. FERNANDO

# UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON REVIEW

## APPENDIX I

Extract of a letter addressed by the Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces to W. Granville Esq. appointed to conduct the late King of Kandy to Madras, with his family and suite.

Kandyan Office,  
Colombo, 24th January, 1816.

The late king and his followers will be embarked this day, according to numbers, rank and description of person specified in the annexed abstract.

His Excellency wishes, with regard to the reception and treatment of the king and his dependants, and their landing at Madras, in so far as concerns His Majesty's Ship, have been communicated to Captain O'Brien by a letter of this date, of which a copy is enclosed for your information.

You will perceive that all communication which Captain O'Brien may wish to be made to the king or any of the prisoners will be made through you. These will probably relate, for the most part, to the cleanliness of that part of the ship in which the prisoners will be lodged, to the extinguishing of their lights at night, and to the times at which the prisoners may be abroad for air, and those parts of the ship to which they may be admitted on those occasions.

In all these, and any other unforeseen instances His Excellency has only to request, that the king may distinctly be made to understand (using at the same time every demonstration of personal kindness and attention towards him, his family, and followers) that Captain O'Brien's orders are founded on the established customs of His Majesty's Naval service, and will never be issued without positive necessity and being issued they cannot be objected to, nor in any manner debated.

Your general management of this charge will best be guided by observing in substance the instructions originally conveyed to Colonel Kerr, by His Excellency's orders, on the removal of the king and Malabar prisoners from the Kandyan country to Colombo. A copy will be annexed and the only change will be the omission of all such parts as have no relation to the situation of things on board ship.

Provisions and all needful supplies, calculated for the subsistence of 60 prisoners during one month, will be put on board by the Deputy Commissary General from whom you will be so good as to receive them under your charge and direct their being issued.

In the measure of these allowances the accompanying schedule will serve for your general guidance but it is not His Excellency's wish to restrict the issue to precise rule, where any deviation may be deemed advisable for the comfort of the king, his family or suite, under the circumstance of discomfort, which cannot be entirely provided against in a sea voyage.

On the arrival of His Majesty's Ship at Madras, and as soon as communication can be made with the shore, you will be pleased to report the arrival of the king and the prisoners to the Chief Secretary of the Government, and forward a letter, with which you will be furnished, from His Excellency the Governor to the Right Honble. the Governor of Fort St. George, whose orders you will wait for as to the landing of the king and the prisoners, and as to their being transferred to proper custody under the orders of the Honble. the Company's Government.

As soon as this change takes place, you will consider yourself as relieved, and may take immediate measures for your return, but so long as you may be necessarily detained at Madras, you will be so good as continue to afford information to the Agents and proper officers there, in all particulars respecting which inquiry may be made; and His Excellency also desires you should visit the king during your stay, communicating for that with the officer who may have him in charge.

His Excellency recommends your immediately opening a diary in which all material occurrence should be entered.

Joseph de Silva, Mohandiram of the Chief Secretary's Office, will attend you as interpreter; and a person now employed in the King's House will act as Conicoply of provisions and assist in Malabar interpretation. They will draw rations of subsistence from the provisions shipped by the Deputy

## THE DEPORTATION OF KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

Commissary General, and will receive such advances, either here or at Madras, as you may apply for holding in view their present pay as noted in the margin, and the intentions of indemnifying them of all extra expenses, which you judge to have been necessarily incurred in the performance of their present duty, and until their arrival again at this place.

The Governor wishes you to take the earliest opportunity of returning to your duties, and requests you will interest yourself to procure a passage back for the interpreter and Conicoply with as little delay as possible.

You will not fail regularly to report your proceedings to this department for His Excellency's information.

### APPENDIX II

*The following list of articles is found in the bundle of papers bearing Serial No. 39/13, General No. 18376, but it is not stated anywhere for what purpose the articles were required. But from the position in which the list occurs, it is most likely that the list represents a statement of the requirements in food and drink etc. on the occasion of the ear-ring ceremony of the King's daughter.*

800 seers Raw Rice	300 Country oranges (Rs. 6)
14 seers Sugar Candy	15 pagodas weight of saffron
28 seers Sugar	5 pagodas weight of musk
7 seers Honey	10 pagodas weight of <i>Tereadoo</i>
70 seers Jaggery	15 pagodas weight of Cewit
70 seers Ghee	15 Palums Muddy paul
30 seers Dhall	15 pagodas weight of fine camphor
30 seers Green Gram	15 pagodas weight of <i>Cowbeezer</i>
30 seers Ginger seeds	15 pagodas weight of <i>Sambrany Tylum</i>
60 seers Lamp oil	6 bottles of Atter
30 seers Black gram	6 bottles of Rosewater
10 seers butter	plantain leaves
40 seers milk	..... } illegible
30 seers <i>tyre</i>	..... }
2500 young coconuts	..... }
61 plantain trees with bunches	salt
2000 sugar cane	chillies
3000 plantain fruits	Tamarind
1000 coconuts	Bitters seeds
1500 limes	Cummin seeds
200 Candles	mustard
30 bundles of betel	Pepper
28 seers betel nuts	Onion 40 seers
50 nutmegs	Garlick 30 seers
12 palums Macc	2 palums <i>Hing</i>
30 palums Cardamuns	15 seers <i>Casaqasah</i>
30 palums Cloves	10 sheep
200 eggs	50 fowls
30 large tank fish	30 bunches young coconuts
30 large salt fish	17½ seers dates
30 hares	8 2/4 seers cadjure nuts
3 hogs (Rs. 15)	8 2/4 seers raisins
3 deers (Rs. 15)	8 2/4 seers almond
300 different kinds of birds (Rs. 30)	17½ seers sweet meet (sic)
30 bundles fire wood	30 country paper globes
30 jack fruits (Rs. 11)	2 pagodas weight of gold for ear-ring
1000 mango fruits (Rs. 35)	5 pagodas weight of gold for forehead pendent
50 pineapples	2 sets of Tom Tom beaters
50 Hurdboodzs frudes (Rs. 8)	2 sets of dancing girls.

All this quantity of food and drink and a few other articles and services cost Rs. 1,989 — 10 as.