

Caste Feudalism Under Slave Masters - A Review of Change in Sri Lanka with Special Reference to Mahabadda of the Cinnamon Department, 1597 - 1832.

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The superimposition of the Portuguese authority over the institutional apparatus of Kotte kings during the last decade of the sixteenth century to be followed by the Dutch in 1658 and the British in 1796 in succession for centuries was undoubtedly a change of much consequence. As beneficiaries of the mercantilist lore that emerged on the decay of the feudal system in Europe, they managed to obtain the local produce at minimum cost to be traded in Asian and European markets through the system of caste feudalism⁽¹⁾ in Sri Lanka. Feudalism that was in existence, in Sri Lanka, differed from European feudalism. In European feudalism the land tenure was associated with military service while the Sri Lankan system was not exclusively military, but were of various specialized services not professed by individuals but by the whole caste. Some of the products the Europeans sought in their commercial pursuits, ie. cinnamon, elephants and gems could be obtained through this system by means of service tenure without intervention of a money medium. Their transportation either through water or by means of overland, to the ports of shipment and the needs of the officials travelling in state or in connection with their duties were provided for gratuitously, while the security of persons and property was also ensured. Therefore, there was no need for them to change the existing system. However, the superimposition of a foreign authority and the manning of key official positions by the aliens not familiar with the customs and traditions, invariably brought about a change and much confusion, though the machinery seems to remain intact in itself, with much inconvenience to the subjects.

This particular form of socio-economic and political relations emerged with the consolidation and stabilisation of caste-feudalism and the drift of the center of royal activity from Rajarata to the South West portion of the island together with the simultaneous assimilation of migratory groups and tribes with professional skills from South and South East Asia to the Sri Lankan society.⁽²⁾ The new territory was far more varied and therefore it could not be settled and ruled in the same ways as Rajarata. It required totally different techniques of production accompanied by new social relations and organisation which was provided by the caste-feudalism. The specialized occupational talents professed by the newer castes were utilized and the kings allocated them with specific services that were of much use to them and the society. These castes were physically immobile and complex organic structures of specialized labour divisions maintained from generation to generation without any intervention of a money medium. The older castes continued to perform their assigned ritual services according to the tradition receiving perquisites from the patrons. The king created a new caste or a sub caste or adjusted the functions of an existing caste to meet the emerging new needs. Likewise, a caste service with no further use, was given a new deal. Thus, the relative status of castes depended on the economic importance it bore in the society. Sometimes a caste occupied different social positions in two different localities.

Theoretically, the king was the lord of the soil and the upholder of the customary traditions. But in practice, the land had been cultivated communally on individual and joint family share system in lieu of services rendered in common to the state and for the well-being of the society. All castes were engaged in agriculture and the specific vocations of castes were limited to subsidiary pursuits in accordance with their specialisation and organised under the *baddas*.

Rajakariya or compulsory service was the mechanism which combined caste services and land tenure. Everybody, except the *sangha* had to perform *rajakariya*. *Rajakariya* was of three kinds. Firstly, the compulsory labour useful to the public, free of charge, for fourteen days, or less and military service during a war. Secondly, the caste services for the state, temples or individuals. Thirdly, the annual land tax or *kadarajakariya* paid to the treasury as a part mythically assured by agreement with the first ruler.

For exacting the service of tribes with professional skills were organised separately under their own headmen of the *baddas*. The headmen were however exempted from menial tasks. The authority of each *badda* in respect of the group of people and the services falling within its purview, were all-embracing and stopped short only at the territorial limits of the kingdom. Thus the *badda* administration interpenetrated the territorial administration of *Disava*.⁽³⁾ The older castes obliged to perform ritual functions were clustered around in villages and hamlets where the patrons lived. They were to render the services at the ceremonies of the patrons, and in return they received the customary gifts. The newer castes settled in groups where the plants, animals and minerals connected with their long-standing skills and life styles were found and the requirements of the ruler could be accomplished.⁽⁴⁾

Eversince mankind passed from hunting and nomadic pastoral life into primitive agriculture, slavery was a part of the household economy providing services and producing goods for the masters as well as for the slaves themselves in West Asia and Europe. Slavery was a social institution acknowledged by Christianity as well as the political theorists in the West. "From the hour of their birth" wrote Aristotle, "some are marked out for subjection, others for rule."⁽⁵⁾ In Christianity, the dichotomy between servitude and the Divine Law of Human Brotherhood was resolved by the theologians according to David Brion Davis by

treating slavery as a condition of body rather than of the spirit.⁽⁶⁾ Accordingly the boundsmen was inwardly free and spiritually equal to his master, but in things external he was a mere chattel. Martin Luther, the champion of protestanism, upheld the legitimacy of slavery and re-affirmed St. Paul's dictum that "masters and slaves must accept their present stations, for the earthly kingdom cannot survive unless some men are free and some are slaves."⁽⁷⁾

In Asia and particularly in Sri Lanka, slavery was a kind of punishment for crime and anti-social activities or for non payment of debt. Sometimes war captives were used for public work as slaves. But the children born to such slaves were treated as free citizens. Neither Buddhism nor Jainism acknowledged slavery as an institution worthy of praise. Caste was essentially a Hindu phenomenon which came from India probably with the earliest immigrants, but conditioned and promoted by local circumstances in isolation from its original home, developed of its own form, subjected to a strong, unified and benevolent monarchical administration exposing itself to the influence of Buddhism. Buddhism did not provide an ideological base for caste system, but with the increasing consolidation of the caste ethos in the Sri Lankan society the Buddhist monks were compelled to conform to caste institutions.

In South Asia caste divided the society into many groups. Theoretically there were four castes, but in practice there were many castes living side by side. The relative status of castes depended heavily on its economic position in the society. Therefore, over the ages the incidence of slavery and caste has waxed and waned.

The age of exploration was a landmark in expanding merchant capitalism in which large plantations were opened up in the Iberian controlled islands off the coast of Africa, the Canary Islands, the Madeiras, Cape Verde and Sao Thome and later from

1502 in the new world through large gangs of slaves working under slave managers. From 1451 - 1559 more than 130000 blacks were provided as slaves of whom more than 90% were sent to these islands and the balance to the new world.⁽⁸⁾ Sugar was the major crop cultivated with slavery. The rapid increase in the demand for sugar in Europe brought Brazil to the fore front in sugar production by 1600; while substantial quantities were grown in Mexico, Peru, Cuba and Haiti. In the meanwhile the sugar production in the Atlantic islands off the African coast dwindled.⁽⁹⁾

The blacks were captured and forcibly transported to the new world from 1502 and continued up to 1860s. Over these three and a half centuries 990,000 Africans were sold in the new world. Brazil which was under the Portuguese was by far the largest single buyer with 41% of the total number. British and French owned colonies in the Carribean and the Spanish colonies bought 47% while the Dutch, Danish and Sweedish colonies purchased another 5%. The balance 7% was sold to the British colonies of North America.⁽¹⁰⁾

The plantations in the New World were large and were opened up with large gangs of slaves working in lock steps and moving methodically across vast fields under skilled slave managers. 80% of the products thus turned out through slave labour was sold in open markets. The large slave plantations required huge capital investment to cover the purchase price of slaves, cost of the land; buildings, work animals and other live-stocks, irrigation works, implements and the machinery. They also used advanced technology of the age.⁽¹¹⁾

The Portuguese who by then had become a leading nation benefitted in slavery assumed political control over the Kotte Kingdom in the latter part of the sixteenth century and found the ready-made administrative machinery of the Sri Lankan kings with the service tenure and caste system to procure the local

products without an initial outlay or expenses. This exploitation is made explicit in an examination of the affairs of *Mahabadda* under foreign rule. The Portuguese and the Dutch in due course introduced many features common to them in slavery in exacting the services of the *Salagama* caste people to peel cinnamon and make them more productive to their needs.

Cinnamon was undoubtedly the greatest single product that attracted the Europeans to Sri Lanka. Cinnamon grew wild in the coastal plains from Chilaw to Walaweganga and also in the Kandyan foothills. According to Linschoten, the Dutch sailor "it was the best and the finest and was three times dearer in price than that produced elsewhere".⁽¹²⁾ The fragrant bark of the cinnamon plant has long been an important spice for seasoning and savouring food as well as for medicinal purpose.

The peeling and the preparation of cinnamon for the market was a skilled profession and had become the caste occupation of a numerically important segment of the population of the Kotte Kingdom, the *Salagama* or the *Chalea* caste. The *Salagamas* were immigrants from South India and had been weavers at the time of their immigration.⁽¹³⁾ However, it is difficult to say how the cinnamon peeling became an indissoluble feature of the *Salagama* caste which continued for nearly three centuries.

There are conflicting ideas about the origin of the *Salagama* caste and their obligatory role in peeling cinnamon. Queyros refers to a petition drafted by the *Mudaliyars* and *Mayorals* presented to the Captain General Deego de Melo Castro through Franciscan priests which Melo had replied on 20th March 1637.⁽¹⁴⁾ It was against the move by Goa authorities to name the *Salagama* caste as the descendents of the 24000 slaves brought by an ancient Sinhala king, probably Gajabahu in the second century A. D. Petitioners stressed the fact that seven of them came in a Muslim

boat (*paguel*) from Chale to Chilaw. Only six of them landed while the other went back. They served the king, married Sinhala ladies and the king granted them a *paraveni* at Kalutara. During the time of Rajasinghe of Seetawaka they were asked to peel cinnamon for which they were well paid. *Salagamas* bitterly resented this theory. Commenting on this Tikiri Abeyesinghe says that the economic needs of the Portuguese not only imposed additional burden on the *Salagamas* but also led to the formulation of a new social theory to justify such impositions.⁽¹⁵⁾

According to the information gathered by Antao Vaz Freire, the *Vidor da Fazenda*, between 1613 - 1615, for the compilation of the *Tombos* or the revenue registers of Kotte, the *Salagama* caste had peeled cinnamon for the King even before the times of Buwanekabahu VII (1521 - 1551).⁽¹⁶⁾ In any case by the end of the sixteenth century the obligation to peel cinnamon was the service accepted by the caste itself and it became the established *rajakariya* for the *Salagama* caste.⁽¹⁷⁾

Jan Schreuder, the Dutch Governor who had much trouble with the *Salagama* noted in his Memior for the successor in 1762, that, though he could not find any official record revealing the beginnings of the *Salagamas* they were weavers brought from Choromandel coast by the Muslim Merchants in 1250 A. D.⁽¹⁸⁾ They were well received by the Sinhala royal court which assigned the occupation of weaving to them. Sometime later they fell into disfavour with royalty and came and settled in Kotte lands in 1380 AD. paying *Dekum*. In 1406, they became hated owing to their ingratitude and were forced to peel cinnamon; the blameworthy were to work as coolies, while those less guilty were to be *Durayas* and Headmen. Schreuder's account justifies and legalizes the socialisation of the numerous sections that had emerged in the community of the *Salagamas* due to the enforcement of *rajakariya* system by the alien rule and their attempt to obtain a quantum of cinnamon as their *Anagabadda*.⁽¹⁹⁾

The *Maha Mudaliyar* of the *Mahabadda* Adrian A. de Rajapaksa on 30 June 1816 in a letter addressed to the Chief Justice Alexander Johnstone, stressed the fact that the *Salagamas* were a respectable caste and were the offsprings of the *Pesakara Brahmins* who came to Sri Lanka from Malabar Coast with king Wijaya Parakaramabahu.⁽²⁰⁾ Soon after their arrival they started shops for the manufacture of cloth. However, later the Portuguese made them peel cinnamon. Thus by the beginning of the nineteenth century the *Salagamas* were claiming to be of *Brahmin* origin. In 1833, Governor Horton, while discussing the eligibility for appointment of non official members to the Legislative Council, stressed the fact that the literacy among the *Salagamas* was high and that they were impressed with the conviction that they have an equal right with the *Vellalas* to public employment.⁽²¹⁾

As Balandier observes, hierarchy is a product of history and justifies itself by reference to myth, the founding ancestors being regarded as Gods or heroes or at least their companions.⁽²²⁾ The relative position of a caste emanates from the events that lead to its formation and its progressive achievement of economic importance in the means of production. The higher the caste goes in the economic ladder, the higher it goes in the social ladder on the whole.

The *Salagamas*, a migratory group between thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, had been detailed to peel cinnamon by the kings of Kotte and became economically important to the Portuguese as the demand for cinnamon increased in the European Markets. The original obligation to peel cinnamon in return for the lands held became a personal obligation under the Portuguese which varied according to the age and the times. Being slave masters in Europe, the Portuguese tried to blend customary obligations of caste-feudalism with the concepts of slavery by misinterpreting the local history to enhance their quota of cinnamon.⁽²³⁾

The importance of Sri Lanka for the Portuguese and the Dutch derived almost solely from its quality cinnamon. Yet the demand for cinnamon, unlike pepper, was a limited one, coming from a specialized clientele in Europe. This limited demand was not only met by the Sri Lankan product. Cheaper and coarse cinnamon from Malabar was shipped to Europe as of Sri Lankan cinnamon.⁽²⁴⁾ There was very little local demand. The peeled cinnamon was exported to India, where it was re-exported to Europe and Asian countries.

The Portuguese association with the cinnamon industry in Sri Lanka was very limited until the death of Rajasinghe of Seetawaka (1581 - 1593). From 1505 - 1518, the Portuguese could purchase a limited quantity of cinnamon. In some years they could not purchase any cinnamon from Sri Lanka. From 1520 onwards till the death of Buwánakābahu VII in 1551, the Portuguese managed to get the promised quota of 300 *bahars* from the king. But with the consolidation of Seetawaka's authority in Kotte lands the Portuguese did not get even the due quota of tribute from the Kotte kings. Seetawaka kings controlled the production of cinnamon which was sold at the public auction at Seetawaka where the Portuguese had to bid with the *Mappila* traders.⁽²⁵⁾

With the political chaos that followed the death of Rajasinghe in 1593, Portuguese managed to consolidate their position in the Kotte lands in the name of king Dhārmapala (1551 - 1597). They became the virtual rulers at the demise of the king on the strength of the deed of gift of the kingdom to king of Portugal of 1580. It was only then that the Portuguese started interfering in the cinnamon industry.

The production of cinnamon till then was under the control of royalty and was carried on through the *Vidane* of the *Mahabadda*. The *Salagamas* were obliged to peel cinnamon in return for their land grants. The quantity of supply was calculated in relation to

the service lands held by the family and therefore, the obligatory quota of supply varied from family to family.⁽²⁶⁾ The peeling was supervised by the *Durayas* or headmen who had a few families under their control. The cinnamon thus peeled was transported to the kings' stores by the peelers themselves.

The *Salagama* people lived in scattered villages from Chilaw to Tangalle, but their main concentration was in Mutwal, Negombo, Waskaduwa, Kaluamodera, Kosgoda, Welitara, Madampe, Ratgama and Dadalla. Apart from the *Mahabadda* to which the *Salagama* caste belonged the Portuguese *Tombo*s refer to *Sulubadda*, *Kunambadda*, *Patibadda*, *Bentarabadda*, *Uduwarabadda* and *Kalamullubadda*. In certain cases the *baddas* were named after the villages, but according to Tikiri Abeyesinghe the *Salagama* castes was organized by the end of sixteenth century in to three groups, the *Mahabadda*, ie. between the Gin Ganga and Beruwala; *Sulubadda*, the area between the Kelani Ganga and Madampe; and *Kunambadda*, area consisting of certain portions of the Four Korales. The *Kunambadda* people were obliged to carry the palanquins.

The succession of the Portuguese to Kotte in 1597 was an event of immense importance to the *Salagama* caste. In the chaotic politics of 1594 - 1597, they increased the obligatory quota of tribute to 400 *bahars* which was exacted through the service obligation of the *Salagama*. In 1597 the cinnamon trade was opened to anyone who could raise the necessary capital to obtain and the Captain General himself promised to sell 500 *bahars* of cinnamon to Crown.⁽²⁷⁾ By then a large number of Portuguese had become landholders and they intensified the pressure on the *Salagama* community to work in cinnamon production. The high officials collected cinnamon for themselves, the Captain General obtaining 200 *bahars* from Matara, Captain of Galle obtaining 20 *bahars* from Dadalla in the Galle district and the *Vidane* of *Mahabadda* forcing the *Salagamas* of Alutgama who had paid their dues to Rajasinghe I, in coir yarn, to peel cinnamon for

him.⁽²⁸⁾ The *Vidane* of the *Mahabadda* also increased the quantity of cinnamon by 200 *bahars* from peelers by introducing a new weight system. Other landholders too got the peelers to peel cinnamon for them.⁽²⁹⁾ Thus it is evident that the service tenure or the *rajakariya* system of the *Salagamas* was being misused to the detriment both of the interests of the Government as well as of the *Salagamas* themselves.

In 1607, the open trades system was replaced by a private monopoly, the Goa government entering into a three year contract with the Captain General of Sri Lanka to export the cinnamon. However, a few charitable institutions were permitted to export small quantities of cinnamon for their use. At the end of the third year, private monopoly was abandoned and there was a reversion to the old system until it was made a royal monopoly on 1st January 1615. The main reason for the change seem to be the charges of over-exploitation of the service labour of the *Salagama* caste and the dwindling prices of cinnamon in the open market. With the new change, directives were issued to the effect that in future cinnamon was to be produced exclusively for the government and banned the private trade in cinnamon. The total volume of cinnamon to be exported was fixed for 1000 *bales* and vigorous penalties were laid down for the violation of these prohibitions.⁽³⁰⁾

With the rising demand for cinnamon there was a tendency to enlist all members of *Salagama* families to peel cinnamon. The Portuguese also extended the obligatory service of peeling cinnamon to other castes such as *Hunu*, *Padu*, *Hinna* and *Karawa* caste people in the localities where cinnamon was grown. *Salagamas* resisted this enhanced obligation from their members by open rebellion and by desertion to settle in remote areas where they were not known or by crossing over to Kandyan territories.

The overall supervision of the *Mahabadda* was placed in charge of the *Vidor da Fazenda*, or the Commissioner of Revenue

and the number of *Vidanes*, *Durayas* and other petty *headmen* was increased to keep the service in order. As no *Tombo* was made of the laws and customs pertaining to the cinnamon industry and the affairs relating to the *Mahabadda*. it was left to caprice, to the good or bad conscience, of those who had some authority over the *Salagamas* to decide on matters of importance to the *Salagamas*. When a change was introduced they were neither given an opportunity to express their opinion to defend their rights thus violated, nor were they given a fair hearing regarding their protests in an attempt to safeguard their liberty. Any such opposition from the *Salagamas* were treated as rebellious and they were punished in a manner worse than in the case of a run away slave.⁽³¹⁾

Portuguese officials in order to get the full quota of cinnamon needed for export resorted to various devious methods. When cinnamon was made a royal monopoly they introduced a new weight for a *bahar* ⁽³²⁾ of 6 *bales* ⁽³³⁾ each weighing 110 *arratels*, ⁽³⁴⁾ in place of the old *bahar* of 4 *bales* each weighing 94 *arratels*.⁽³⁵⁾ The *Vidane* of the *Mahabadda* who was also the Captain of the *Salagamas* increased the quota of the obligatory service and the enhanced quota went to his personal coffers. The peelers during the king's time did not contribute arecanut as *Decum*, but the *Vidane* later enforced them to pay the arecanut tax of 40 *amunams*.⁽³⁶⁾ What seems more incredible was that they made it obligatory for the widows of the *Salagamas* to pay the cinnamon which their husbands were bound to supply.⁽³⁷⁾ The *Vidanes* also made use of the free labour services of his subordinates to transport the merchandise in *dhoneys* by sea and on land by pingos without even giving them food or an opportunity to look after their families. They also forced the people to sell coconut, vinegar, poultry, butter etc.⁽³⁸⁾

Peeling of cinnamon was a specialized skill which the *Salagamas* possessed. Therefore, it was vital for the foreigners to

maintain effectively the *badda* organisation of the *Salagamas* for which the good-will of the native officials were essential. In this context the native officials whose families were exempted from the obligatory duties of the cinnamon department were abusing the free services of the people to enhance their fortunes. Gradually the native officials emerged as a powerful hierarchy.

The cinnamon was at the heart of the quarrel between the Dutch and Portuguese for the supremacy over the lands in Sri Lanka for over twenty years between 1638 - 1654 and they partitioned the south west coast between the Dutch and the Portuguese in the name of Rajasinghe, but with out any reference to him.⁽³⁹⁾ John Maetsuycker, the Dutch Governor says that the Captain of Galle Korele has no jurisdiction over the villages of Kosgoda, Welitara, Madampe, Ratgama and the adjoining hamlets of Dadalla, Magalle and Lanumodera in which the *Salagamas* lived as they were placed under the Captain of *Mahabadda* and four *Vidanes*. There were 515 peelers including those non *Salagama* of Walallawiti Korale who were forced to serve in the department of *Mahabadde*. They were to deliver 898 *bahars* each of which weighed 480 lbs. of which 520 *bahars* as the obligatory quota and 378 *bahars* for money payment.⁽⁴⁰⁾ When the Dutch took over the Portuguese cinnamon monopoly they took meticulous care to administer it. Even before the actual war against Rajasinghe II, (1635 - 1687) had begun a good portion of the Dutch army was posted to guard the cinnamon peelers. Even at later stages, the Dutch forces and the *lascarins* of the *Mahabadda* took up positions at strategic points to forestall any attack⁽⁴¹⁾ before the peelers were sent to the woods.

The policy of utilising the institution of *Mahabadda* in the interest of the Portuguese had already proved fatal to the *Salagamas*. In view of the importance of cinnamon, the loyalty of the *Salagamas* was vital to the Dutch as well. They cynically referred to the *Salagamas* as the Company's children.⁽⁴²⁾ But they had to sweat in the woods for more than nine months a year

endeavouring to fulfil the Dutch demands. Any misdemeanour was severely punished.⁽⁴³⁾ It was by striking terror in the hearts of the men that they held them to their forced labour.

The arrangements of the Dutch pertaining to the management of the *Mahabadda* are made clear by the instructions given by the special commissioner Ryckloff Van Goens (Senior) between 1656 - 1665.⁽⁴⁴⁾ He noted that the *Salagama* caste was 'a separate nation' which has to be "ruled in a particular manner..... both individually and as a community".⁽⁴⁵⁾ Unlike the other natives the *Salagamas* had no right to sell or alienate the lands granted to them. The land had to be inherited by their heirs. The sales were declared *null and void* and both the seller and the purchaser were severely punished.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This was mainly to prevent them from leaving their villages to settle in other villages. The land and the family was a safe security of their return from woods.

At the commencement of Dutch rule, at the apex of the superstructure of *Mahabadda* was the Captain, a Dutch official. Below him was the chief *Vidane* of the *Mahabadda* who had held authority over the *Salagamas* of Kosgoda, Welitota, Madampe, Dadalla, Magalla and Lanumodera. The second *Vidane* held authority over the *Salagamas* around Negmbo and was called *Hulanbadda*. The third *Vidane* held authority over the *Salagamas* of Matara and the fourth *Vidane* held authority over the *Salagamas* of Ratgama. Next in rank were the *Maha Durayas*, 24 in number who acted in subordination to *Vidnes* and below them were the *Sub-Durayas* or the *Durayas* 54 in number who acted as the superintendents in peeling. The *Maha Durayas* enjoyed all the cinnamon grown on his lands and services of a cinnamon peeler and the pay of a *Dekum*. The *Sub-Durayas*, received besides the cinnamon grown on their lands, the pay of a cinnamon peeler.⁽⁴⁷⁾

There were seven hundred and thirty peelers or '*Corondahalias*' scattered in the vilages who were directly invovled in the production of cinnamon. This includes every male youth

from above twelve years of age to all the males who though tottering through age could only walk with a stick. A youth of 12 years was to peel one *robbe* of 62 lbs. while the strong and a healthy one was to peel eleven *robbes* as the free obligatory quota. The quota was gradually reduced to a *robbe* when the person was weak.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Van Goens (Senior) cautioned the government to rule these peelers according to the customs and expressed the hope that they will be sufficient to peel the required amount of cinnamon for the company.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Apart from the peelers there were the *lasçarins* of the *Salagamas* about 100 in number assigned to five *Arachchies* of the *Salagama* caste placed directly under the *Disava*. The captain of *Mahabadda* had no power to remove these *lasçarins* from their stations without the approval of the *Disava* or of the Governor. There were also 299 *Handarias* or *Potbennas* or the children and descendants of *Durayas* who were obliged to take up arms and accompany their parents at war or to protect the peelers. They were exempted from menial work, but obliged to pay *Ängabadda* according to their height, strength and age. There were also a group of *Salagamas* 379 in number, termed as *Decum Carrias* or coolies who were obliged to serve as canganies, messengers and letter-carriers and were bound to perform ordinary, inferior and other servile occupations.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The total number of the *Salagamas* within the Dutch territories in the middle of the seventeenth century was 1590, of which 730 were peelers who were obliged to peel the required quantum of cinnamon. The peeling was done during the months of July and September and also during the months of January and February. The two harvests were termed *Maha*, the Great Harvest and *Yala*, the Small Harvest respectively. During the peeling seasons the peelers were provided with rice, salt, fish and arrack. The peelers were compelled to supply the obligatory free quota and also the added quota for which a nominal payment was made.

Peelers were also compelled to deliver a quantum of arecanuts which they could collect while going in search of cinnamon bushes.

Van Goans (Senior) also instructed the *Vidanes* and the *Durayas* to furnish a correct list of all *Salagama* caste people who were under their supervision, men, women and children including the lands and gardens they possessed with their value, condition of service, village and dwelling. taking great care that none were left out. He ordered the captain to check these lists in April, every year before the commencement of the Great Harvest through a committee which included the *Disave* of the region. All peelers were ordered to present for such examination and each one was assigned a quota according to his height, strength and age. The old and feeble were exempted from the obligation while youths were assigned their quotas.⁽⁵¹⁾

The major concern of the Dutch during the second half of the seventeenth century was to assure the regular supply of cinnamon as the relationship with Rajasinghe II had deteriorated. They tried their best to keep the *Salagamas* loyal to them for which they had to win the goodwill of the headmen. At the beginning, they could peel and send out about 400,000 to 450,00 lbs. of cinnamon. But the directors complained that the quota sent to Europe was insufficient.⁽⁵²⁾ While they were trying to step up the production in Sri Lanka, they made every effort to prevent inferior quality cinnamon from the Malabar coast and parts of South East Asian countries coming into European market. They also released a limited quantity of Sri Lankan cinnamon for the trade in Asia. These measures were effective and the prices doubled in the mid-eighteenth century and maintained that level till the end of the Dutch rule in Sri Lanka.⁽⁵³⁾ Dutch also managed to improve the relationship with the Kandyan Kingdom. This not only prevented the peelers from being forcibly taken to Kandyan areas but it also helped to supplement the stocks from the cinnamon peeled in the Kandyan Kingdom.

The Dutch took meticulous care to regulate the services of the *Salagamas*. The peeling of cinnamon by unauthorised persons was prohibited together with its transport and its trade.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Peelers were instructed to peel quality cinnamon and the headmen were given clear instructions not to accept coarse or inferior quality cinnamon.⁽⁵⁵⁾ There were many instances of banishments of peelers to Batavia or Cape of Good Hope on charges of peeling bad cinnamon.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Steps were taken to prevent the destruction of cinnamon plants. *Plakkaarts*⁽⁵⁷⁾ were issued prohibiting the wilful destruction of cinnamon plants by the enforcement of banishment or the death sentence.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Likewise, export of cinnamon plants or seeds was prevented by enforcing heavy penalties.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Lists of cinnamon yielding villages, *Korales* and *Pattus* were prepared and kept under the special care of the Captain of *Mahabadda*.⁽⁶⁰⁾ They were frequently updated. Not even a small piece of cinnamon growing land was granted for planting and cultivation of other crops. Cinnamon grown in private lands had to be protected and the peelers had to be given access to such lands. There were allegations against the peelers entering such lands and carrying away other products such as bananas and arecanuts belonging to the landholders.⁽⁶¹⁾

The Dutch policy of land grants was primarily guided by their interests in cinnamon and the desire to preserve cinnamon plants in the woods and jungles. Permission to clear *chena* was not granted if the land so desired to be cleared had more than 6 to 8 bushes of cinnamon. A thorough inspection was done either by the Captain of *Mahabadda* and *Disave* or by other responsible officers.⁽⁶²⁾ *Chenas* had a time cycle between five to thirtyfive years and the Dutch believed that cinnamon grows well in newly abandoned *chenas*. Therefore restrictions were placed on the repeated clearance of such lands. As *chena* cultivation supplemented a major portion of the food needs of the villagers this

restriction had a very bad effect on the people. It was further aggravated when the Dutch compiled the *Tombos* and declared all the forest lands as being of Crown. On the one hand the gradual village expansion stopped and the lands became fragmented with the second generation onwards as people were deprived of fresh lands for habitation. As the coconut industry was fast improving and the coconut tree became a source of additional income as well as a source of raw material for other industries people started planting coconut in the *chenas*. The Government concerned about the adverse impact of this on the cinnamon industry and started destroying the newly planted coconut trees in *chena* lands.⁽⁶³⁾ In 1775, *Mudaliyar* of Alutkuru Korale was banished from the island for permitting *chenas* to be cleared without government approval. While the government was enforcing restrictions on the clearance of *chenas* and began planting coconut trees the people in turn started destroying the cinnamon plants. Thus according to Kotelawela the Dutch policy of land grants oscillated between the policy of preserving the cinnamon lands on the one hand and providing a living for the inhabitants on the other hand, by allowing them to cultivate *chenas* for food production.⁽⁶⁴⁾

The Dutch took steps to regulate even the private life of the *Salagamas*. They were denied the natural right of marrying outside the caste without the permission of the government⁽⁶⁵⁾ which right the other castes enjoyed in the context of changing circumstances. Stressing this point before the Colebrooke Commission in 1830, Gregory de Zoysa of the cinnamon department pointed out that "no such vigilance is observed to the change of other castes."⁽⁶⁶⁾ Whenever, a member of a 'low caste' wanted to register himself as a *Goyigama* often he became a Catholic. Marriages of christian *Salagamas* were not legal unless confirmed by the church. For the non christian *Salagama* the Captain of the *Mahabadda* maintained a Marriage Register."⁽⁶⁷⁾ Only the legitimate children had the right of inheritance to the property of the parents;⁽⁶⁸⁾ while such legitimacy derived from the marriages

solemnized at the church. The marriages were minutely regulated and the offsprings were grouped and their services were decided by the Dutch Political Council of Colombo.⁽⁶⁹⁾

To increase the number of peelers the illegitimate children of *Durayas*, *Lascarins*, *Ilandariyas* and *Pattabendas* were treated as cinnamon peelers. Frequent attempts were made to harness the services of *Hunu*, *Demalagattara*, *Pannaya*, *Wahumpura*, *Karawa* and *Durawa* castes in localities where cinnamon was found to *Mahabadda*.⁽⁷⁰⁾

The natural growth of the caste according to statistics seem to be very poor. Around 1660 there were 730 peelers which had risen to 968 in 1696 and 2924 in 1751⁽⁷¹⁾ and to 2800 around 1829. The total number of the Salagamas around 1660 was 1590 and in 1696 there were 2902 persons. In 1829 the total *Salagama* population was around 27000 of which 2800 were peelers. In consequence of the fantastically high value put upon the cinnamon in the European markets, the Dutch Government demanded excessive labour from the peelers by increasing the quota obliged to be delivered.

The cinnamon grew in jungles far way from the home of the peelers as successive peeling destroyed the bushes in their villages. Before the commencement of the harvest temporary sheds were put up in the cinnamon bearing woods and the peelers were sent in groups of 2, 4 and 6 men and stationed for about six months or more in places four to five miles apart from the other group.⁽⁷²⁾ The peelers had to creep about far and wide in the pathless woods to seek and procure cinnamon. When peace was restored with the king of Kandy and after due permission was granted, peelers were sent even to the Kandyan hills.

Between 20 - 30 peelers were entrusted to a *Duraya*, who was held responsible for the delivery of the assigned quota. If a peeler failed to perform his duties he had to make good of the

deficit. Therefore, he could keep a peeler extra in case due to sickness or other reason, the peelers could not make the required quota, *Duraya* can use the extra peeler to make up the deficit. *Duraya* had to be vigilant and use *lascarins* to protect the peeled cinnamon. He had to watch through *lascarins* in several places in the peeling area to prevent the peelers absconding from their duties and returning to the villages.(73)

As the *Durayas* were paid according to the number of men employed and on the delivery of full quota of peeled cinnamon, *Durayas* had no regard for the age, disease or other disabilities of the peelers. Therefore, they enforced all the conditions of service on a peeler provided he could stand up and walk. With the *lascrins* *Durayas* went out in the night and forcibly opened the doors of peelers to check whether they have returned home from the woods. When they detected such an absconder, they beat him without mercy, tied his hands behind him and led him away like a criminal to the superior headman, who kept him in stocks until sent to Colombo where he seldom escaped flogging and other corporal punishment.(74)

The obligatory service of the *Mahabadda* had become arduous and risky under the Dutch and the peelers took every opportunity to abscond. The rules were framed to the effect that such absconders when reported never let free without punishment.

Salagamas were placed outside the jurisdiction of the formal courts of law and placed under the Captain of *Mahabadda*. He held exclusive magisterial authority over the *Salagamas* of the six districts extending from Chilaw to Hambantota. His jurisdiction in all civil matters extended up to the amount of 10 Rix Dollars and in criminal matters to the extent of inflicting 50 lashes, a fine of 50 Rix Dollars and punishment at hard labour for two months.(75) All serious disputes were referred to the Govenor.

Cinnamon was not only the *raison d'etre* of the company's interests, but also was the prime cause of all its problems. The Dutch held the littorals of Sri Lanka on "trust".⁽⁷⁶⁾ Rajasinghe II, who entered into an agreement with the Dutch in 1638, found himself badly deceived by the Dutch, took steps to make the land unproductive by depopulation and devastation.⁽⁷⁷⁾

The loyalty of the people in the littorals of Sri Lanka to the king of Kandy was very strong. He was looked upon as the custodian and protector of Buddhism, the Sinhala culture and the nation. Till the signing of the ill-fated treaty of 1766, the Kandyan king appeared to be the lawful ruler of the littorals and the local chieftains remained more loyal to him than to the Dutch. Often he encouraged rebellion in the littorals and in consequence many chieftains lost their positions.⁽⁷⁸⁾

In most of these uprisings and rebellions the *Salagamas* played a leading role. As late as 1762, Jan Schreuder, the Dutch Governor noted that "the court knows wonderfully well how to make use of them to vex, harass, and cause us embarrassment in order that we should always have to remain under obligation to them."⁽⁷⁹⁾ On the one hand the burden of peeling cinnamon under tragic circumstances,⁽⁸⁰⁾ especially in the Kandyan frontier areas, when the king was hostile to the Dutch and later in distant lands, for a longer term brought misery and dissatisfaction.⁽⁸¹⁾ *Salagamas* knew that they were indispensable to the Dutch. According to Governor Schreuder they were impertinent, discontented and mutinous.⁽⁸²⁾ When the *Salagamas* were in rebellion, the others too joined and in many instances the Dutch Governors had to give into their demands. Van Gollenesse, the Governor confessed this in his memoir thus. "*Chalias*, a bold and stubborn people were stirred up by the Kandyans against the Dutch, who made appearances with all sorts of unfounded and entirely unjust requests which were refused. They had rebelled and said that they will not peel cinnamon anymore. I found myself at a loss and was

obliged to settle the matter under-hand with conditions to pardon *Chalias* provided they give the full quota of cinnamon."(83)

Sometimes the *Salagama* headmen too encouraged the uprisings. In 1745, the *Mudaliyar* of Wellabodde Pattu Christoffel Wass and *Muhandirum* Gonsalvo de Silva and *Arachchi* Phillip were charged with setting up the cinnamon peelers to refuse service and run away to the kings' territory. The two former accused were banished and the latter was put on chains for one year.(84)

In consequence of the need to keep this "unmanageable" "rebellious" "bold" and "stubborn"(85) people, the *Salagamas* were endowed with fields and gardens and also paid a *parra* of rice and a *medie* (equal to seven quarters) of salt per month and a *quarter* of arrack daily.(86) They were also exempted from tolls or passage money, both for themselves and for articles they carry. They were also allowed to transport coconut, coconut oil and paddy by sea and were exempted from duty and also from anchorage charges.(87) They were allowed to fetch salt from the *levayas* without paying any duty. After the completion of the harvest the Governor met the peelers at an annual audience where the Governor conferred gifts and medals on those who had performed their services satisfactorily and on all others a piece of cloth of 12 cubits. He also made it a forum for the discussion of problems of the peelers.(88)

During the last stages of their rule the Dutch adopted some concrete plans for keeping the *Salagamas* in favour of the company. Cinnamon was declared a general product of the island by the Batavian Instructions of 4 December 1762. The responsibility for peeling cinnamon was made an obligatory function of the *Salagamas*, but their authority to enter private lands in search of cinnamon was withdrawn. Landholders were premitted to get peelers to peel the cinnamon and sell them to the Government.

Folk (1766 - 1785) won the confidence of the *Salagamas* and they became so attached to the interest of the Company that they became the chief instrument for the extension of the harsh land policies. The known hostility of the *Salagamas* to other castes was considered sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of their reports and they were asked to report on the illicit felling of *chenas* and also appointed as Commissioners to probe the suitability of persons for granting lands for *chenas*. They also supervised the destruction of garden crops in the cinamon lands.⁽⁸⁹⁾ During this period the *Salagamas* especially the headmen were endowed with privileges, not enjoyed by any other category of inhabitants.

Due to excessive peeling of the cinnamon bushes without care for its growth in the jungles and woods, the number of bushes dwindled. In areas where one had seen as many as 20 to 30 peeling sheds in the past one could see nothing but coconut gradens, remarked a Governor.⁽⁹⁰⁾ The Dutch had to abandon these and depend on the goodwill of the Kandyan kings to supply their needs from the Kandyan foothills. This supply was uncertain and depended heavily on good relationship cultivated, for which the Dutch had to give in to the demands of the king. Therefore, the Dutch experimented on the systematic cultivation of cinnamon on a plantation basis. This proved successful and making use of the indigenous institutions themselves the Dutch ordered the *Mudaliyars* of *Korales* and *Pattus* to open up cinnamon plantations in their areas with the help of the *Salagamas*. A new kind of land grants, with the obligation to plant one third of the area with cinnamon and the balance according to the wishes of the grantee called *Tunhaul* was excessively used for the purpose. *Mudaliyars* who encouraged the planting of cinnamon were rewarded with gold medals and chains.⁽⁹¹⁾ This system of plantations started in 1769 was productive and by 1794 there were more than 609 million cinnamon bushes planted in the various parts of the south-west coastal plain.⁽⁹²⁾

The Dutch policy of subjecting the activities of the *Salagamas* to minute control was mainly led to the carving out of separate entities and different classes in the *Salagama* caste. The *Salagamas* were carved out into four classes namely,

- I. The *Corondohalias* or the peelers, ranked the lowest, the Company deriving the most profits from their labour;
- II. The *Handarias*, the sons and descendents of the chiefs and *Durayas*;
- III. The Coolies, bound to perform all the services within and outside the village except peeling, and finally;
- IV. The *lascarins*, the military people.

Thus by the end of the seventeenth century, the fourfold division of the caste was getting clearly marked and the gulf between the sections well established. Likewise the position of headmen was elevated, while the land policy and the privileges and the misuse of free service labour made them highly prosperous. At the commencement of the Dutch rule there were 4 *Vidanes*, 24 *Mahadurayas* and 54 *Durays* holding authority over the *Salagamas*. By 1627 it had increased to 5 chief *Vidanes*, 3 lesser *Vidanes*, 2 *caganees*, 59 chiefs and lesser *Durayas*, 20 *Reformados* to look after 478 *Handaris*, 968 peelers and 513 coolies while the *lascarins* of the *Salagama* had swelled in numbers to 796 organized under 3 *Mudaliyars*, 1 *Muhandirum*, 19 *Arachchies* and 36 *Kanganes*.⁽⁹³⁾

The territory in which the cinnamon peelers dwelt was distributed among the *Vidanes*. The *Vidane* of the *Mahabadda* was in charge of the *Salagamas* of Kosgoda and Welitara of the Walallawiti Korale and Madampe and Akurala of the Galu Korale. The *Vidane* of *Hulangbadda* administered the affairs of the *Salagamas* of Uduwara, Potupitiya, Warnadoowa and Pinwatte of the Raigam Korale, Midalena of Pasdun Korale, Mandawala of

Alutkuru Korale and *Pallors* of the Hina Korale who had been compelled by the Portuguese to peel cinnamon, The *Vidane* of Ratgama administered the caste services of the *Salagamas* of Ratgama, Dadalla, Magalla and Lanumodara. *Vidane* of *Roonebadda* looked after the *Salagamas* of Talalla, Natudora and those scattered in the Dolosdahas, Marawaka and Weligama Korales. *Vidane* of Kaluamodera administered the *Salagamas* of Kaluamodera, Totabadda Kalamulla and Moragalla. There were three other lesser *Vidanes* to administer the peeling of the non *Salagama* peelers. The *Vidane* of Magamme looked after the *Wahumpura* peelers of Galwalamulla. Mahagama. Neboda, Halwatura and Latpandura in the Pasdun Korale. The *Vidane* of *Demalagattaras* looked after the *Demalagattaras*, *Hinnawas* and *Pannayas*, who had been found in the village Dodanpapitiya in the Walallawiti Korale North of Bentota Ganga, forced to peel cinnamon by the Portuguese. The *Vidane* of *Tondagattara* looked after the affairs of the grass cutters also compelled by the Portuguese to peel cinnamon in the village Walambagala South of Bentota Ganga. (94)

The peelers or the *Corondohalias* paid their *Ängabadda* or poll tax by peeling cinnamon according to the age which varied from 1 *robbe* to 11 *robbes*. They were obliged to deliver 300 *bahars* of cinnamon when the Portuguese assumed control over the lands of Kotte Kingdom. But in due course the Portuguese and the Dutch managed to increase the amount to 8000 *bahars* by the end of the seventeenth century. By then the European market demand was around 10000 *bahars*. But in certain years the Dutch could not even supply 8000 *bahars* due to social disturbances. To increase the supply the Dutch tried to impose a tax called *Huwandirum*. There was much resentment over the new tax and *Huwandirum* was abolished in 1736. (95) *Handarias* were employed as messengers in the village service and had to go to the forest to convey the orders of the Captain, *Vidane* and the *Durayas* to the peelers during peeling times. At the close of the

harvest they had to assist in sorting, tasting of peeled cinnamon. In times of disturbances they had to use arms to protect the peelers. They had to pay the poll-tax or *Ängabadda* from the age of 12 which was of a *laryn* and which increased every year by 1/4 of a *laryn* until it reached 4 *laryns* or 4/5 of a Rix dollar. *Ängabadda* was reduced to 1/4 of a *laryn* on reaching old age. In 1696 the *Ängabadda* of the *Handarias* amounted to 281 1/2 Rix dollars.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Coolies too had to pay the *Ängabadda*, but it did not exceed 1/2 a Rix Dollar. It commenced with 1/4 of a *laryn*. The Coolies were the poorest group among the *Salagamas*; in consequence of the continuous service, they had no time to cultivate even their fields and attend to the gardens.⁽⁹⁷⁾ The *lascarins* however did not pay the *Ängabadda*.

The conditions imposed on the *Salagamas* in collecting cinnamon was harsh and oppressive and according to Van Imhoff peelers came forward with complaints when it was time to commence peeling with the intention of postponing the work, saying that they went to the forest too late to be able to deliver the required amount.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Their complaints were immediately looked into and sometimes such complaints formed the subjects of lengthy inquiry and the basis for some important government measures.⁽⁹⁹⁾

Peeled cinnamon had to be brought from the jungles to the stores situated along the sea coast at Negombo, Colombo, Galle and Matara. Very often the services of the *Madige badda* of the *Karawa* caste and the Moors were utilized for this transportation. The delivery of the peeled cinnamon to the superintendent of cinnamon department was done in *robbes* of 65 Ibs., 3 Ibs. more than the usual *robbe* to supplement any coarse cinnamon. The cinnamon sorted out by the *Handarias* were to be examined by 2 Dutch Commissioners as agents of the company. *Bales* of 85 Ibs. five Ibs. more than what was usual to make up for breakage and drying, were made and wrapped with hides or gunny bags and

delivered to the Commissioners. The responsibility of the Captain of *Mahabadda*⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ ended there. As Governor Schreuder correctly remarked: "There was no product in the East or West of India in respect of which such great difficulty, opposition and vexation were experienced in its collection and transport as the cinnamon."⁽¹⁰¹⁾

The harsh and oppressive policy followed by the Portuguese and the Dutch regarding the *Salagamas* and the *Mahabadda* as a whole tended to carve out a separate identity for the *Salagamas* in Sri Lankan Society. The reciprocal customary obligation involved in caste feudalism to render an allocated service in relation to the enjoyment of a landholding in safety, took on a new dimension under the foreign rule. Obligatory service of the *Salagamas* became a statutory subjugation to be distorted according to the politico-economic needs of the alien master.

The mass agitations and protests and also occasional rebellions of the *Salagamas* during the colonial period, helped them to obtain privileges over the other castes. The Committee of Investigation of 1797, raised their voice against the indulgence shown to the *Salagamas* and remarked that "their present independence of all authority but that of their own immediate chiefs may throw difficulties in the way of many desirable arrangements, for the revenue department."⁽¹⁰²⁾ The *Salagama* boatmen received port clearance for the coastal trade without being obliged to pay the duty imposed on all others. As late as 1828, the Collector of Colombo Kachcheri pointed out that the majority of the first and second class boats of Colombo belong to the *Salagamas* and were being navigated by them.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Unfortunately the entire crew was pressed for the cinnamon duty and the boats remained ashore for most of the year. Colombo being one of the leading fishing centres, Anstruther, the Collector of Colombo remarked that if the boats were used the requirements of the fish of the area could be assured.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Some of the *Salagamas* had been fishermen during their off seasons and they were enjoying the exemption of the fish rent. Hamilton, the Revenue Collector of Colombo on 1 April 1802 reported to the Board of Revenue and Commerce that the *Salagamas* living in the neighbourhood of Panadura, Kalutara and Beruwala were accustomed to pay no duty to the Fish Renter⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ which gave rise to great confusion on account of disputed claims.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The abuse and irregularities connected with this concession had created open clashes with the *Karawas* on many occasions in Negombo,⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Dondra⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and Matara.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

During the off seasons the *Salagama* caste engaged in many vocations. As seen from the report of the superintendent of the cinnamon department submitted to Colebrooke, out of 16489 *Salagamas* and other castes liable to serve in the cinnamon department in *Mudaliyar* Divisions of *Mahabadde* - Mutwal, Welisara, Caluamodera, Wellitota, Dadalla and Roone, there were 1508 fishermen, 186 carpenters, 3535 labourers, 3631 agriculturists 818 weavers and 6811 engaged in multifarious vocations.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

The indispensability of the services of the *Salagamas* to the Portuguese, the Dutch and subsequently to the British in peeling the required amount of cinnamon procured them concessions and privileges which enhanced their wealth. This is well depicted in the *Tombo* entries of the day. For example, a cinnamon peeler at Uduwara⁽¹¹¹⁾ possessed 12 gardens and 24 paddy fields as his father's *paraveni* while another at Waskaduwa⁽¹¹²⁾ possessed 22 gardens planted with 1587 coconut trees 108 jak trees and 16 arecanut trees as father's *paraveni*. A lascarin of Uduwara possessed 7 gardens and 18 paddy fields inherited as father's service *paraveni*.⁽¹¹³⁾ A *Dekumkaraya* of Midalena⁽¹¹⁴⁾ possessed 6 gardens and 14 paddy fields as his service *paraveni*. A *Panividakaraya* of Uduwara⁽¹¹⁵⁾ had 8 gardens and 17 paddy

fields as his father's *paraveni* and also possessed lands at Tebuwana. Thus from these few entries alone one could judge that *Salagama* caste was occupying a very attractive economic position.

The headmen too occupied a very strong position in society. As their family members were exempted from most of the obligations to the state they had the time to concentrate on their lands. As was common in the headman system they misused the service labour for their personal benefits. They opened up coconut plantations and when the Dutch made the cinnamon a general product so that anybody could cultivate and peel and sell it to the Company the majority of the headmen capitalized on the opportunity to open up their own cinnamon plantations.

The social position of the *Salagama* headmen improved in due course. One notable feature about the headman system under the Dutch was the enhancement of the *Mudaliyars* position. In addition to the *Mudaliyars* of *Korales* and *Pattus* the Dutch appointed their faithful and favourite members of castes useful to them as *Mudaliyars*. The chief among all the *Mudaliyars* was the *Maha Mudaliyar* - often appointed from the *Goyigama* caste who assisted the Dutch Governor as the Interpreter in dealing with Kandyan ambassadors.

When the *Salagamas* became faithful allies of the later Dutch Governors they raised their rank of the *Vidanes* to *Mudaliyars* and that of the chief among them, Rajapaksa *Mudaliyar* of Welitota to the position of a *Maha Mudaliyar*.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ By the end of the Dutch rule the *Salgamas* had a *Maha Liyana Muhandirum* and two *Vidane Muhandirums* in addition to numerous petty headmen with different designations.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Ever since the consolidation of the European hold on the littorals of Sri Lanka they were utilizing the caste system with its occupational specialisation and the labour service to reap the

economic benefits from the country without disturbing the social structure and without cost to them. In pursuing these objectives their attention was drawn to the more lucrative *badda* organisations like the *Mahabadda*, *Kottalbadda* of the smiths and the elephants department under the *Gajanayake* etc. But unlike the *Mahabadda* these department organisations were not important throughout their period. The importance of elephant trade waxed and waned according to the importance of elephants in the Indian market. The importance of *Durawa* caste people rested, on the fluctuations of that market.

With the successful completion of the *Tombos* by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Dutch gathered information sufficient for using the existing order to the best advantage of the Company. Apart from the obligatory services they had already harnessed of the economically important castes, they utilized the personal services such as those of coolies, baggage carriers, torch bearers, palanquin bearers and messengers available to them from the less privileged castes and groups, for the convenience of the officials on duty. In this context the barbers or the *Ambattayas* were compelled to shave the officials on duty visiting the villages. The washerman was compelled to wash the clothes and provide linen for the use of the officials when they were staying in the rest houses. The *Gamarala* or the village chief was to provide the food. Such a mobilisation created a sense of dignity and authority among the higher officials and a feeling of subservience and obedience in the minds of the common man. This was the case in the Kandyan kingdom. The caste hierarchy existing among the nobility created a stratified society in which the less privileged groups occupied an inferior position.

In 1796 the British inherited a partly metamorphosed and partly stratified society in which the norms and ethics of caste feudalism had been greatly worn down and had become confused. They did not have a clear cut policy for the administration of the colony at the beginning. The Madras officials of the East

India Company, on them the responsibility of administering the affairs was vested, abolished the service tenure system in order to assimilate the administrative and revenue systems to the Madras system and introduced a tax of half the produce which was sold out to revenue farmers.(118) However, these innovations were shortlived and the experience of 1797 rebellion and the findings of the Committee of Investigation of 1797 compelled them to go back to the old order.

The British who were involved in the South Indian politics for a long time viewed the Sri Lankan caste system in terms of a single hierarchy in which the *Goyigama* or *Vellala* caste commanded the respect and obedience of all other castes.(119) Therefore, the appointment of superior headmen at the beginning was limited to the Goyigama caste in the Sinhala speaking areas while in the Tamil speaking areas it was confined to the *Vellala* caste. In 1801, Governor Frederick North (1798 - 1805) abolished the service tenure system in favour of a direct tax on the produce of service lands and reserved and re-affirmed the right of the state to compel the services of the inhabitants according to their castes at the express orders of the Governor and on receipt of payment.(120) Thus the compulsory services were divorced from the land tenure and placed purely on a caste basis contrary to its original concept and given a statutory sanction.(121)

During the Dutch times there were no local sales of cinnamon. The British liberalized this policy by a Proclamation of 1st December 1801 which permitted the inhabitants to buy up to one pound for local consumption and for the seamen up to ten pounds for their consumption at the sea, at fixed price from the Public Warehouse.(122)

North viewed the privileges enjoyed by the *Salagama* caste as inconsistent with good government and gradually withdrew them one after the other. The permission granted to the *Salagamas* to collect salt from the *levayas* for their domestic use without

paying any tax to the renter, had by then become a lucrative retail trade for the *Salagamas*. North limited the amount of salt given to the *Salagamas* to four parrahs each and subjected that too to a payment of fourteen *Stuivers* per *parrah*. Thereafter they were obliged to leave behind a heap of salt for every heap taken away by them at the saltern. But when the Board of Revenue and Commerce objected to this order on the grounds that the renter gets his salt at the same price from the government store, North raised the fixed rate for *Salagamas* to 20 *Stuivers* per *parrah*.⁽¹²³⁾ Likewise, their privileges on fish, port clearance for their coastal trade, etc. were swept away by the reforms of 1 May 1802.

The British activities in Sri Lanka, began at a time when mercantilism was giving way to the emerging capitalism in Europe. The Utilitarians and Benthamites advocated individual freedom, social equality, freedom of speech, thought and action basing themselves on the theory of *laissez-faire* which was also supported by the Methodist humanitarianism of the early nineteenth century in Britain. The majority of the British officials who came to Sri Lanka were influenced by these theories and inspired by the liberal concepts of the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. The officials were not happy with the continuation of caste-feudalism and the compulsory labour services based on service tenure. In 1814 the superintendent of cinnamon J. W. Maitland remarked that "It has been not only a painful and disagreeable, but disgusting part of my duty, to punish individuals for disobedience or neglecting to perform a task imposed on them against their inclinations."⁽¹²⁴⁾ He was commenting on the mode of punishment inflicted on the *Salagamas* on petty charges of neglect of duty.

The British officials, however, were compelled to adhere to the norms of caste-feudalism to maintain law and order in the society and to run the affairs of the country without social uprisings. By a proclamation dated 10 November 1802, the Provincial Courts were established and were empowered to hear

and determine disputes of the natives according to the customary laws and usages of the castes of the litigants.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Majority of the cases of alleged violation of cinnamon duty were decided by these courts. In case No. 7134 of the Colombo Provincial Court, Poeswelle Sooriya Archchige Don Francisco complained against the superintendent of cinnamon John Wallbeoff that the plaintiff being a *Vellala* had been compelled by the defendant to perform the duty of a *Salagama*. But the defendant denied that plaintiff was a *Vellala* and informed the court that he was of *Salagama* descent and the court decided that the plaintiff was of *Salagama* descent and ordered him to perform the public duty in the cinnamon department.⁽¹²⁶⁾ The case was instituted on 31 May 1824 and the decision was given on 11 July 1825. In another case the superintendent of the cinnamon department charged Eratuwelle Francis of Welitota for not performing the duty of peeling cinnamon. The defendant declared himself, to be of *lascarin* descent, but on the strength of the evidence the court found that the defendant's mother was of peeler descent and in accordance with the the Resolution of the Dutch Council of 23 March 1753, which though not strictly acted upon during the early British administration, had not been abrogated by any subsequent act, the court ordered the defendant to perform the duty of a cinnamon peeler as that "had been the class and condition of his mother." The defendant was also subjected to pay the cost of the case.⁽¹²⁷⁾ In several other cases according to the information provided to the Commissioners of Inquiry of 1830 by the respective Provincial Court Judges in the cinnamon plantation areas many defendants were charged on the ground of not performing the allotted duty on disputed origins of birth, but all were compelled to serve as the superintendent have previously noted.⁽¹²⁸⁾

Some of the leading officials, though Methodist humanitarians in outlook, tried to use the caste-feudalism to their advantage. A classic example was the case of Sir Alexander Johnstone, the Chief Justice of Sri Lanka. He was an ardent

Methodist humanitarian who advocated the emancipation of slavery in Sri Lanka. He was also instrumental in introducing the system of the trial by Jury. But during his term of office the basis for the selection of the jurors was caste.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Likewise, he tried to use the caste system to organize the local Christians on a regional basis.⁽¹³⁰⁾

The administrative measures adopted by the British regarding the *Mahabadda* were intended to regularise and minimise the effects of compulsory labour with less encumbrances to the coffers of the government and to avoid abolishing it altogether. Therefore, they gradually withdrew some of the privileges enjoyed by the *Salagamas*. When service tenure was abolished the *Salagamas* continued to enjoy *Accommodossans* and service tenure lands.⁽¹³¹⁾ The caste payment on duty was raised from 3 rix dollars to five rix dollars in 1821.

In 1823, the government started the payment of peelers on piece rate of 1 1/2 pennies to 3 3/4 pennies for a pound of quality cinnamon.⁽¹³²⁾ The period of peeling was also cut down to 5 1/2 months provided the peelers could produce the quantity allocated. But a close examination of these changes shows that their conditions of service did not improve though their privileges were gradually withdrawn one after the other.

Cinnamon had become the source of misery and inconvenience for many in Sri Lanka. Therefore, destructions of cinnamon plants became frequent. Like the Portuguese government the British took steps to protect the cinnamon plantations as well as cinnamon plants grown in private lands by enforcing heavy penalties on the willful destruction of the cinnamon plants by Regulation 8 of 1816⁽¹³³⁾ and 3 of 1826.⁽¹³⁴⁾ By the former Regulation the cinnamon plantations of Maradana, Moratuwa, Welisara, Ekala and Kadirana were declared protected areas. No person was allowed to cut firewood, without permission from these lands. Such attempts were subjected to heavy penalties.

Likewise, no person was allowed to cut grass, keep cattle, buffaloes, swine or any other animal in the cinnamon plantations. People were prohibited from burning grass or *chenas* near these lands and the cattle in these lands were subjected to seizure or slaughter. By the second Regulation, the rights of His Majesty to all cinnamon grown within the maritime provinces were affirmed. No person was permitted to cut and destroy any cinnamon plant or bush either grown in the government lands or on private lands without the permission of the government. The violation of the provisions was met with heavy fines and imprisonment. Thus the cinnamon laws became once again an impediment to land development.

In 1827 about 2100 peelers were employed in the cinnamon department of whom at least 300 died in the Kandyan jungles.⁽¹³⁵⁾ Although native medical assistance and pensions to families in case of death on duty was provided, the one was inefficient and the other insufficient.⁽¹³⁶⁾ There was no pension scheme for those who were disabled or grew old in service. At the rate the peelers were paid, many returned home empty handed after completing an obligatory service for more than 9 months.⁽¹³⁷⁾ Sometimes the peelers purchased peeled cinnamon from the Kandyans at a higher rate pawning or selling their personal belongings to fulfil the obligatory share.⁽¹³⁸⁾ *Salagamas* pointed out to the Commissioners in 1829 that they were suffering under greater poverty and distress than any other caste and passed their days in the same service upon the salary alone without any freedom from labour.⁽¹³⁹⁾

In 1802 the British abandoned the cinnamon plantations in the southern districts on an erroneous calculation that those cinnamon gardens in the Colombo district would provide the necessary quota. This compelled the *Salagamas* of the southern districts to come to Colombo and serve in the cinnamon department for a long time at a distance far from their homes. The superintendent of the cinnamon department reported that such

services were not willingly performed as the persons coming from Galle or Matara preferred to earn as much without quitting the neighbourhood. They were very active, industrious and intelligent and worked as fishrmen, cultivators or traders.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The Maradana cinnamon plantation alone needed more than 750 men. The other plantation of Moratuwa, Ekala and Welisara needed a large number of labourers. During Barnes' time a system of relieving the labourers and paying a batta of one rix-dollar for persons coming from a distance was introduced.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ But their up and down journey took nearly two weeks for which they did not receive anything. Officially the government reduced the period of work of the peelers to 5 1/2 months, but infact they had to labour for more than 8 months a year to peel the allocated quota of cinnamon.

Colebrooke who arrived in April 1829 had his attention immediately drawn to the system of forced labour of the *Salagamas* who were then assembled in Colombo to be sent into the jungles to peel cinnamon.⁽¹⁴²⁾ After a careful study of the problem he condemned the "privileged servitude" to which the *Salagamas* were subjected to by law and tradition.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Independently of the injustices and severity of the existing regulations he found that the expenses incurred in maintaining the monopoly in cinnamon in no way compensated for the injury it had done to the inhabitants.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Therefore, he recommended the abolition of the cinnamon department, advised entrusting the administration of the cinnamon plantations to the respective Government Agents of the Provinces.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ He advised the government to subdivide the cinnamon plantations of the Colombo district in to farms of convenient size and sell or lease such lots to headmen and others.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ He also advised the government to encourage the re-occupation of the abandoned cinnamon plantations by individuals who were willing to sell peeled quality cinnamon at a regulated price to the government. He also advised lifting the restrictions imposed on cutting the cinnamon grown in private lands and

permitting the landowners to sell peeled cinnamon to the government.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ For encouraging cinnamon cultivation and trade, various penalties imposed on transportation, confiscation of vessels, fines, imprisonment and hard labour were also to be repealed. Thus Colebrooke assured the Government the supply of a large quantity of cinnamon without much expense while providing relief to the *Salamagas*. He also upheld the view of Walker, an assistant in the cinnamon department that people of other castes would be willing to join the cinnamon department to work, provided the existing rules of the Dutch Government pertaining to cinnamon were repealed.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ According to Colebrooke free trade in cinnamon would encourage private enterprise, improve the wages, accumulate the capital in the hands of the people and bring more lands under cultivation.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

Lord Goderich, the Secretary of State for the Colonies upheld the views expressed by Colebrooke and ordered that the liability of the people to work according to their castes should be discontinued for plain and obvious reasons of policy thus emancipating the natives from an interference with the free disposal of their time and labour.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ The decision was transmitted in the form of an Order in Council issued on 12 April 1832. Orders were given to abolish the cinnamon department and sell the cinnamon plantations to individuals. Thus the caste which had been long subjected to "privileged servitude" was officially liberated and *Mahabadda* the caste based *badda* organisation which played a vital role in the history of the littorals under Western rule was finally dismantled.

Foot Notes

1. The term caste-feudalism to identify the Sri Lankan caste system was used by Prof. Leach, see for details, Leach. E. R., "Hydraulic Society in Ceylon", *Past & Present*, No. 15 (1959) pp. 2 - 26.
2. De Siva M. U., "A Review of Caste Consideration in the Public Service by the Dutch and the British Officials in the Maritime Provinces of Sri Lanka up to 1850." *Rohana*, No. 03, 1991, pp. 31 - 37.
3. Abeyesinghe T. B. H., *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, 1594 - 1612*, Colombo, 1966, p. 72.
4. Gilbert William H., "Sinhalese Caste System in Central and South Ceylon" *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. 2, pp. 295 - 366.
5. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1, 1254 b.
6. Davis, David Brion, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*. Cornell University Press, 1966, p. 86.
7. *Ibid*, p. 106.
8. Curtin, Phillip D., *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, A census, Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, p. 46.
9. Fogel, Robert William., *Without Consent or Contract*, The Rise and Fall of American Slavery, New York, 1989, p. 20.
10. Curtin, 1969, p. 268.
11. *Ibid*.
12. Linschoten, *The Voyages of John Huyghon Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, ed. A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele, Vols. II, London, 1885, p. 77.
13. Queyroz Rev. Fernando de., *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* Tr. by S. G. Perera, Colombo, 1930, p. 1018.
14. Queyroz, p. 1018.
15. Abeyesinghe, 1966, p. 139.
16. *Ibid*, p. 136.
17. *Ibid*.
18. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, 1752, p. 74.
19. Ängabadda was the poll-tax payable by certain castes.

20. Rajapaksa, A. de. A. Maha Mudaliyar of Mahabadda to Alexender Johnstone, 30 June 1816. *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society* 1816 - 17, p. 533.
21. Horton to Goderich, 20 May 1833, Sri Lanka National Archives (SLNA) 5/20, No. 88.
22. Balandiar George., *Political Anthropology*, 1971, p. 81.
23. Abeyesinghe, 1966, pp. 139 - 140.
24. Linschoten, 1885, p. 77.
25. De Silva C. R., "Cinnamon Trade of Ceylon in the 16th Century." *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, New Series, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 14 ff.
26. See for details Abeyesinghe, 1966, pp. 136 ff.
27. Ibid. p. 144.
28. Ibid. p. 140.
29. Pieris, P. E., *Ceylon Littorals*, p. 20.
30. Abeyesinghe, 1966, p. 149.
31. Queyroz, p. 1023.
32. Bahar - A weight used by the Portuguese often in dealing with cinnamon. The weight of a bahar varied from 300 to 500 Ibs.
33. Bale - A bale of cinnamon was 85 Dutch Ibs.
34. Arratel - A Portuguese weight of about one pound.
35. Queyroz, p. 1028.
36. Ibid. p. 1029.
37. Ibid. p. 1030.
38. Ibid. p. 1029.
39. Goonewardene, K. W., *Foundation of the Dutch Power in Ceylon. 1638, 1658*, Amsterdam, 1958.
40. Memoir of John Maetsuycker, 1650, Colombo, 1927 pp. 6 - 10.
41. Arasaratnum S., *Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658 - 1687*, Delhi, 1988, pp. 181 ff.
42. Memoir of John Maetsuycker, 1650, p. 10.
43. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, 1752, p. 74.

44. Instruction, 1656 - 1665, pp. 43 - 54.
45. Ibid. p. 57.
46. Ibid. p. 46.
47. Ibid. pp. 43 - 45.
48. Ibid. pp. 48 - 57.
49. Ibid. p. 48.
50. Ibid. pp. 47 - 49.
51. Ibid. p. 57.
52. Arasaratnum, S., 1988, p. 186.
53. De Silva C. R., *Sri Lanka, A History*. New Delhi, 1987, pp. 141 - 142.
54. Political Council Minutes, 23 May 1705, SLNA. 1/31.
55. Plakkaart No. 721 of 30 Nov. 1720, SLNA. 1/2440, p. 19.
56. Political Council Minutes, 17 July 1748, SLNA. 1/93.
57. Plakkaarts were the Proclamations. Orders and Publications issued to the public by the Dutch Government. They were posted in the public places and often promulgated throughout the territories by beat of tom-toms. Plakkaarts were like the Gazette Notifications of the British period.
58. Political Council Minutes, 16 August 1754, SLNA. 1/103.
59. Political Council Minutes, 12 September 1766, SLNA. 1/137.
60. Political Council Minutes, 4 August 1758, SLNA. 1/112.
61. There were numerous petitions submitted to Colebrooke on such allegations. See for details CO. 416/29-31.
62. Memoir of Hendrick Becker, 1716, Colombo, 1914, p. 142.
63. Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, 1757, Colombo, 1935, p. 23.
64. Kotalawela, D. A., "Agrarian Policies of the Dutch in South West Ceylon 1743 - 1767, *Bijdragen*, XIV, 1967, pp. 16 - 17.
65. Political Council Minutes, 23 March 1753, SLNA. 1/102.
66. Gregory de Zoysa's oral evidence before Colebrooke Commissioners, 6 September 1830, C. O. 416/6/C II.

67. Political Council Minutes, 12 May 1772, SLNA. 1/152.
68. Goonewardene, K. W., "The Dutch Religious Policy Towards Buddhism and some Aspects of Religious and Social Change in Sri Lanka," *Asian Panorama*, ed. K. M. De Silva, C. R. De Silva & Sirima Kiribamune, New Delhi 1990, 1990, 325 - 26.
69. Political Council Minutes, 1 July 1682, SLNA. 1/18, 17 June 1704, 1/30, 23 March 1753, 1/102, 11 February 1768, 1/141, 12 May 1772, 1/152, p. 337.
70. Memoir of John Maetsuycker, 1650, p. 10.
71. Memoir of Julius Stein Van Gollennesse, 1751, Colombo, 1974, p. 73'
72. Memoir of Joan Simon, 1707, p. 8.
73. Memoir of Thomas Van Rhee, 1697, p. 45.
74. Archdeacon Glennie before the Commissioner, 3 Septembet 1830, CO. 416/5/B 3.
75. John Wilbeoff before Colebrooke Commission, 5 may 1829, C. O. 416/5/B/ 5.
76. Rajasinghe II of Kandy invited the Dutch to oust the Portuguese on a written contract and assured them the payment of war expenses and confer trading rights. However, the Dutch deceived the king through a translation of the original contract and held the territories on the sly of non payment of war expenses. See for details, Goonerwardene K. W., *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon 1638 - 1658*, Ansterdam, 1978.
77. See for details Arasaratnum, S., *The Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658 - 1682*, Ansterdam, 1958.
78. See for details Kotalawele D. A., *The Dutch in Cylon 1743 - 1766*, (Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of London). 1968.
79. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, 1762, p. 13.
80. Political Council Minutes, 9 May 1691, SLNA. 1/23, 26 August 1735, 1/59.
81. Political Council Minutes, 25 June 1736, SINA. 1/60, 10 February 1748, 1/92.
82. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, 1762, p. 13.
83. Memoir of Van Gollennesse, 1751. p. 46.
84. Political Council Minutes, 24 August 1745, SLNA. 1/84.

85. Memoir of Van Gollennesse, 1751, pp. 46, 74.
86. Memoir of Schreuder, 1762, p. 13.
87. Memoir of Van Rhee, 1697, p. 48.
88. Kotalawe D. A., 1967. p. 83.
89. Kanapathy Pillai V., *Dutch Rule in Maritime Ceylon 1766 - 1796*, (Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of London). 1969. p. 299.
90. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, 1762, p. 13.
91. Memoir of Van de Graff, 15 July 1794, C. O. 54/125.
92. Kanapathypillai, V., 1969, p. 303.
93. Memor of Van Rhee, 1696, pp. 42 - 43.
94. Ibid. p. 42.
95. Memoir of Van Gollennesse, 1751, p. 75.
96. Memoir of Van Rhee, 1696, p. 45.
97. Memoir of Van Imhaff, 1740, p. 50.
98. Memoir of Van Rhee, 1696, p. IV.
99. Ibid. p. 47.
100. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, 1762, p. 13.
101. Wickramaratne U. C. *British Administration in the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, 1796 - 1802*. (Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of London). 1964. p. 326.
102. Anstruther, P. Collector of Colombo Kachcheri to Commissioner of Revenue, 29 September 1828, C. O. 54/131, No. 43.
103. Ibid.
104. Farming out of Fish Rent annually was started by the British and the fish renter had the full control over the share of the Government of the fish catch.
105. Wickramaratne, 1964, p. 228.
106. Dutch Political Council Minutes, 5 September 1740, 14 September 1740, 6 Oct. 1740, SLNA 1/68.
107. Dutch Political Council Minutes, 25 March 1745, SLNA. 1/83.
108. Dutch Political Council Minutes; 12 June 1750, SLNA. 1/97.

109. Number of persons belonging to *Salagama* caste and other castes liable to serve in the cinnamon department classified according to their vocations,

Name of the District	Fishermen	Carpenters	Labourers	Agriculturist	Weavers	No. per-ticular Trade	Total
Mutwal	322	34	182	310	5	2212	3065
Welisara	92	59	334	1473	-	205	2163
Caluamodera	68	12	415	359	-	226	1080
Wellitota	970	51	2006	600	700	1742	6069
Dadalla	56	30	498	389	13	316	1302
Roome	-	-	100	500	2110	2810	
Total	1508	186	3535	3631	818	6811	16489

Superintendent of cinnamon department to Commissioner, 22 Dec. 1829.
C. O. 416/5/B, 10.

110. Land Tombo, SLNA. 1/3828, folio 20.
111. Do. 1/3870, folio 58.
112. Do. 1/3870, folio 19.
113. Do. 1/3880, folio 258 - 59.
114. Do. 1/2828, folio 25.
115. Do. 1/3828, folio 25.
116. Ceylon Almanac, 1815, p. 53.
117. Jaffna Diary, 15 July 1797, SLNA. 20/11.
118. Kannangara, P. D., "Headmen System of the British Administration of the Maritime Provinces of Sri Lanka, 1796 - 1833." *Kalyanee*, Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences, University of Kelaniya, Vol. 1, October 1982. p. 104.
119. Proclamation of 3 September 1801, Skeen, Willian., *A Collection of Regulations of the Government of Ceylon*. Vol. I.
120. De Silva, Colvin R., *Ceylon Under the British Occupation, 1796 - 1833*. Vol. II. Colombo, 1953, p. 386.
121. Skeen, W., Vol. I. pp. 57 - 58.
122. Wickramaratne, U. C., 1964, p. 326.
123. Maitland to Governor, C. O. 416/5/B 3.
124. Skeen, W., Vol. I, pp. 57 - 58.

125. Provincial Judge of Colombo to Commissioner, 3 November 1829, C. O. 416/14/F 24.
126. R. M. Sneyd, the Provincial Judge of Galle and Matara, to Commissioner, 24 January 1830, C. O. 416/14/F/ 24.
127. Provincial Judge of Colombo to Commissioner, 3 November 1829, C. O. 416/14/F 24.
128. De Silva M. U., *Rohana*, No. 3, pp. 57 - 58.
129. Church Missionary Society, Proceeding of 1816 - 1817, pp. 531- 534.
130. Cordiner, 1807, p. 419.
131. Superintendent of cinnamon to Commissioner, C. O. 416/5/B 5.
132. Skeen, William. Vol. I, pp. 191 - 192.
133. Ibid. pp. 331 - 332.
134. *Chalia* grievances, C. O. 416/5/B 3.
135. De Silva Colvin R., 1964, II, p. 391.
136. *Chalia* Grievances, C. O. 416/5/ B 3 & B 5.
137. Ibid.
138. Petition No. 288, submitted by the *Chalias* to Colebrooke, C. O. 416/30 Petition No. 288.
139. Superintendent of cinnamon to Commissioner, C. O. 416/5/B 5.
140. De Silva Colvin R., 1964, II p. 390.
141. Colebrooke's Report on Compulsory Labour, 16 march 1832, C. O. 54/122.
142. Colebrooke's Report on Revenue, 31 January 1832, C. O. 54/12.
143. Colebrooke's Report on Administration, 24 December 1831, C. O. 54/122.
144. Colebrooke's Report on Revenue 31 January 1832, C. O. 53/122.
145. Ibid.
146. Colebrooke's Report on Compulsory Labour, 16 March 1832, C. O. 45/122.
147. Colebrooke's Report on Revenue, 31 January 1832, C. O. 54/122.
148. Colebrooke's Report on Compulsory Labour, 16 March 1832, C. O. 54/122.
149. Colebrooke's Report on Administration, 24 December 1831, C. O. 54/122.
150. Colebrooke's Report on Revenue, 31 January 1832, C. O. 54/122.
151. Goderich to Horton, 3 may 1832, C. O. 55/72, No. 52.