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Vol. XXI.]

OCTOBER, 1931.

[No. 2

# Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.



*"Eendracht maakt Macht"*

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*Contributions are invited from members on subjects calculated to be of interest to the Union. MSS. must be written on one side of the paper only and must reach the Editor at least a fortnight before the date of publication of the Journal.*

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— THE —  
**DUTCH IN CEYLON**

**VOL. I.**

BY  
**R. G. ANTHONISZ, I. S. O.**

*Copies may be had at the D.B.U. House  
at Rs. 5 each.*

**Journal of the  
Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.**

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**\* THE DUTCH GOVERNORS OF CEYLON.**

RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS.  
1663—1675.

[This article was written by the late Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, and was evidently intended by him to form the basis of one of the chapters in Vol. II of his work on "The Dutch in Ceylon." As there is no likelihood of this volume making its appearance in the near future, we have obtained the permission of Mr. Anthonisz's relatives to publish from time to time in the JOURNAL such of the chapters as are in a sufficiently advanced form until enough material is available to form a separate volume.—ED.]

Ryckloff van Goens who succeeded Van der Meyden looms large in the sphere of the Dutch East India Company during the latter half of the 17th century. Ceylon had but a small share in his activities, which embraced the whole tract of the Company's operations from the Cape of Good Hope to the furthest limit of its authority in the East. He was born at Bees in the Dukedom of Cleves in 1619, and came out to the East with his parents when only a lad of nine years. He has been appropriately called a "Child of the Company." His father Volekert Boickes van Goens, the cadet of an old Friesland family, was a cornet of a company of cuirassiers in the service of the States General, when he was prevailed upon by a younger brother, who had made his fortune in the east, to go out and better his prospects in Batavia. So he took service in the Dutch East India Company and obtained the command of a company of military in Batavia, but died a month after his arrival. His wife only survived him a year. Thus Ryckloff van Goens, at eleven years of age, found himself an orphan in a strange land, with no fortune and only his trust in Providence to sustain him. His

uncle's influence obtained him, while scarcely twelve years old, a post under the Governor of the Coromandel coast, Arent Gardenys, which he held till 1634, when he had to return to Batavia. It is needless to enumerate here the various posts he held at the Batavian headquarters. That he early gave proof of much intelligence and administrative ability is evidenced by the fact that he quickly rose from post to post. He became *Onderkoopman* with a salary of 40 guilders a month in 1639, *Koopman* with 60 guilders in 1642, and *Opperkoopman* with 120 guilders in 1645. During his service in Batavia he was selected on various occasions to go on diplomatic missions to ruling chiefs in the neighbourhood. But it was not till 1649 that he was called upon to take up arms, and his first command was to go with four ships to the Strait of Sunda and capture and bring in two Genoese ships, a service which he performed with great success. In 1653 he was sent out as "express commissioner" and commander of the naval and military forces to Ceylon, Wingurla, and the Kingdom of Guzerat, and in this expedition he obtained two victories over the Portuguese; in the first he burnt and vanquished forty frigates or galleons of the enemy, and in the second destroyed four and captured one great Portuguese galleon. He was now (1654) made an extraordinary Councillor of India. So that in twenty years, at the age of 35, he had risen from an assistant (*ad-sistent*) with 20 guilders a month to one of the highest positions in the Company's service, which carried an income of nearly 300 guilders. In 1655 he obtained permission to return to the Fatherland, and, on his departure from Batavia, received from the Governor-General and Council a gift of 4,000 guilders. In addition to this token of appreciation of his services the Lords Seventeen, on his arrival in Holland, presented him with a gold chain of the value of 600 guilders. He again left the Fatherland for the East in 1656, and on his way out served as Commissioner to the Cape of Good Hope in March and April 1657. After his return to Batavia he was appointed Commissioner, Superintendent, Admiral and Commander of the forces on land and water over the coast of India, Coromandel, Surat, Ceylon, Bengal, and Malacca. It was in this capacity that he overthrew the Portuguese, and captured from them in succession Tuticorin, Mannar, and Jaffnapatam in 1658. His next appointment as Commissioner to Ceylon in 1659 and a year later as Governor in succession to Van der Meyden brings his career up to the date when his administration of Ceylon began.

Although Ryckloff van Goens took over the functions of Governor from Adriaan van der Meyden in 1660, he had, by virtue of the commission on which he had previously been sent from Batavia, been placed in some authority over the latter. So we find him addressing a "Memoir" to Van der Meyden before his departure on the expedition against Jaffnapatam, 19th January 1658, in which he instructs the latter to reduce the limits of the fortifications of Colombo in order that a smaller garrison may be sufficient to defend the city. These instructions included the demolition of all the houses outside the new city boundary; the raising of a bund within the city with the debris thus collected; and the submergence of the surrounding belt of low land. These changes were in due course effected.

Van Goen's intimate knowledge of Ceylon affairs and his great administrative ability are proved by the series of memoirs, instructions, reports, etc., which he furnished from time to time. Of these the "Instructions to the Governor of Ceylon, etc.," from 1656 to 1665, of which a complete translation into English has been published, deal with all the departments of the administration, the duties of officers, and other matters, and are worthy of careful perusal. We may here briefly indicate the subjects of these instructions, viz., 1. Instructions to the Governor; 2. to the Dessave of Colombo; 3. to the Chief of the Revenue Office; 4. to the Master Attendant of the Shipping; 5. to the Chief Pay Officer; 6. to the Chief Storekeeper; 7. to the Treasurer of Colombo; 8. to the Chief Commissariat Officer; 9. to the Sub-Inspector of Public Works; 10. to the Superintendent of the Cinnamon Department; 11. to the Dessave of Matara; 12. to the Commandeur of Jaffnapatam; 13. further instructions to the same; and 14. to the Dessave of Jaffnapatam.

On the 21st June 1661 Van Goens once more had to leave Ceylon on a mission to the Coast of India, which necessitated Adriaan van der Meyden's return to the Island, where he remained till 1663, when Van Goens relieved him. After this several interruptions occurred in the personnel of the Government, chiefly in consequence of the demand for Van Goens' special military services in the neighbouring countries. He was instrumental in capturing in succession Crangenor, Coylan, Cochin and other places on the coast of Malabar. Of these interregnums in Ceylon, if we

may so call them, the most important was the assumption of the Governorship in 1663 by Jacob Hustaart, when Van Goens, for family reasons, desired to remain in Batavia for a short period. On this occasion by the directions of the Governor-General and Council he left for the guidance of his *locum tenens* a memoir in which he fully defined the territory in the occupation of the Dutch after the final expulsion of the Portuguese; the resources of the different parts of these dominions and the character of their inhabitants; Raja Sinha's conduct towards the Dutch; the strength of the army and navy; and certain domestic matters, such as the privileges to be allowed to the Burghers, the maintenance of the clergy, the licenses to inn-keepers, etc.

**Jacob Hustaart. 1663 to 1664.** Jacob Hustaart had just been appointed Governor of the Coromandel Coast and was on his way out to take up that post when he was required in Ceylon. He landed at Colombo on the 2nd November, 1663, and took up the administration on the 27th December following. His rule lasted scarcely a year and was practically uneventful. Raja Sinha's attitude towards the Dutch during this period continued to be unfavourable. He still detained a large number of Dutch subjects without any justification, and among them the Ambassador Hendrik Draak. The Council at Colombo seemed to fear that he was expecting help from the English, and even from the Portuguese; and, by a resolution of the 18th July, 1664, in which this fear was expressed, it was decided to detain in Colombo a contingent of 50 soldiers who had come from Cochin, in order to meet any emergency. On his return to Batavia, on the 16th December, 1664, Hustaart furnished the Governor-General and Council with a Report on the state of the Company's Affairs in Ceylon, Malabar, etc. It dealt chiefly with matters relating to the settlements on the Coast of India, but in the passages relating to Ceylon he gives evidence of a close knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the island, and, in spite of the shortness of his stay, has not hesitated boldly to express views of his own on certain matters of administration. Valentyn concludes from this that the relations between him and Ryckloff van Goens were not altogether friendly. As Hustaart did not remain in Ceylon to be relieved by van Goens, Adriaan Roothaas, the Commandeur of Galle, was called upon temporarily to administer the Government till the return of van Goens. This was

the first instance of a provincial chief acting in the place of the chief ruler of the island. After this, when emergencies arose, the Commandeur of Jaffna or of Galle had, for short periods, to carry on the Government in conjunction with the Political Council in the absence of the Governor from the island.

Ryckloff van Goens returned to Ceylon after these interruptions in his rule on the 19th November, 1664, and, from that date was able to apply himself personally and continuously to the affairs of this island. The period was one of great unrest owing to trouble both within and without the island. The war between England and Holland had been renewed in 1664, intimation of which had been duly communicated to the Dutch authorities in the East. These were enjoined by the Directors of the Company to be on the look out for hostile attacks and to harass the English on sea and land whenever they could. All measures were taken in Ceylon to safeguard the interests of the Company, especially as it was feared that Raja Singha would seize the opportunity to obtain assistance both from the English and the Portuguese to rid himself of the Dutch. In view of this the Council at Colombo resolved to keep back 50 soldiers who had been temporarily brought from Cochin, and the garrison at Jaffna was to be increased to 100 men to consist exclusively of Netherlanders and Germans. English, French, Italians and Spaniards were to be specially shut out. About this time much disquiet was caused by certain rumours which reached Colombo from Paliacotta that a fleet of English ships was on its way out to the East. In November, 1666, suspicions were raised that Raja Sinha had been carrying on a correspondence with the English and the Portuguese through the agency of Moors and Chetties in the guise of merchants. The continuance of the war in Europe was also a source of much inconvenience to the civil government of the island; for instance, during this time it was not expected that any money could be brought into the island, and so it became necessary to use foreign coinage, such as abassis from Persia, for currency purposes. Much doubt and apprehension prevailed with regard to hostile attacks by the enemy, and the war fleet in the roads which was under instructions to sail out was detained till some information could be obtained of the strength of the enemy that it was likely to encounter. But at length rumours of the possibility of a conclusion of the war reached the ears of the Council at

Colombo, and on the 26th April, 1673, when the outward bound ships of the Company were daily expected and news of the course of the war was anxiously awaited, small boats were sent out to meet the ships, and request the skippers on sighting Colombo, Negombo or Galkissa to fire a cannon and give a signal if the news of a peace was brought, and if otherwise to come in with only the Company's flag. The war with England, as we know, was brought to a conclusion on the 9th February, 1674, by the Treaty of Westminster.

Raja Sinha, as we have seen, had, ever since the conquest of Colombo by the Dutch, manifested strong feelings of animosity towards them, and he did not hesitate shortly after that event to proceed to open acts of hostility. Over ten years had now elapsed and there was no return to the old relations of even ostensible friendship, although the violence of his first resentment had apparently abated. He showed pretty clearly in various ways that he would rather have nothing more to do with them. He had been detaining at his courts for 10, 12 and 20 years, contrary to all principles of inter-national good faith, some ambassadors and other persons of exalted station who had proceeded there on friendly missions. The Dutch, much concerned about the safety and welfare of these subjects of theirs, protested against this barbarous conduct, but to no effect; and the Governor-General and Council at Batavia advised the Government in Ceylon in future to send only competent lascorins and other native employees on missions to Kandy instead of European officials. All this while it was difficult to find persons willing to run the risk of a visit to Kandy, even to carry messages to the ambassadors and others who were forcibly detained there. The Government had to offer special rewards to those who had the hardihood to undertake any mission. For instance, a *briefdrager* (letter carrier) had to be promised a good appointment in the service on his safe return in order to induce him to risk his life and liberty.

About this time (1665) a conspiracy against Raja Sinha among some nobles of his court, and his appeal thereupon to the Dutch for assistance, gave Ryckloff van Goens the opportunity to occupy a number of provinces in the hill country. This was followed by the harbours and the lands adjoining Batticaloa, Kottiyar and Trincomalee being taken possession of and the forts garrisoned—a pro-

ceeding in which the King acquiesced. But while at this time ostensibly friendly with the Dutch it was found that he was only temporising with them. In 1667, when Calpentyn was taken, there were found there some Sinhalese who were being sent by the King as ambassadors to the English at Madras. These were seized and removed to Colombo. The Dutch at this time, although in a position to proceed on with their conquests, considered it advisable to deal mildly with the King. They left him in possession of the Seven Korales, which were in their power, and which would have given them great facilities in the collection of cinnamon, being satisfied that their dominion over the coast-line gave them sufficient command of the commerce of the Island. But they had repeated experiences of his untrustworthiness. In October 1668 information was received in Colombo of a hostile invasion by the King's men of the Meda and Attakalan Korales, which the Dutch were understood to occupy in the interests of and for the protection of Raja Singha. These men drove out the Dutch from their station and compelled them to beat a retreat; so that a detachment had to be sent under Major Hendrick Adriaan van Rheede to subdue the insurgents. The King had all this while been allowed free navigation at Colombo, Galle, Negombo, Calpentyn, Batticaloa and Kottiyar, but another insurrection of his people in 1670 compelled the Dutch to deprive him of this privilege, which they refused to restore to him even though he pleaded that these risings were only confined to some isolated malcontents, while he and his court remained true and friendly to the Dutch. They also refused to accede to his request that a responsible Dutch official might be sent to the court to receive his assurances of good faith, as they were by no means sure of the safety of any such emissary and feared he would not be allowed to return.

It transpired however that for some time the nobles of his court, forced to it by his tyranny, had taken much of the power into their hands, and that Raja Sinha himself had become a mere cipher in his court. They were probably enabled to do this owing to the King's misfortunes and illness. Information was received in Colombo in 1667 that his only son had died in March of that year, and in February 1668 news came that Raja Sinha himself was seriously ill, his lower limbs being paralysed. This illness, however, it will be seen, did not terminate his life. At any rate, the condition of

affairs at his court were very unfavourable to him; so that whatever hopes the Dutch may have entertained of maintaining amicable relations with him were for the time frustrated. They had now to reckon with his courtiers. In the year 1671 there arrived at Trincomalee a large French fleet under Admirals de la Haye and Caron, who it was feared had the support of the Kandyans. Van Goens was obliged to take various protective and defensive measures against this, and in the year 1672, the French, who had already occupied Trincomalee, were defeated, and were forced to capitulate and retire.

The subject of the attitude to be taken by the Government of Ceylon towards the King of Kandy was one over which much difference of opinion arose about this time between Van Goens and the Council at Batavia. The policy of the Supreme Government of India appeared to be that peace should be maintained with the King at all costs, and that friendly overtures should be continued to be made to secure his good-will and assistance in promoting the commercial interests of the Company. This opinion will be seen to have been held by many keen-witted and sagacious politicians in the Company's service both before and after Van Goens' time; for instance by the High Commissioner Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, whose severe strictures on Van Goens' policy will be found expressed in his elaborate "Considerations" on Ceylon furnished to the Governor-General Maatzuyker in 1677. (See Valentyn, *Byzondere Zaaken van Ceilon*, pp. 247 to 285). But Ryckloff van Goens was a man of commanding influence, of strong character, and great experience. His long intercourse with Rajah Sinha and his intimate acquaintance with the conditions prevailing in Ceylon led him to a different opinion. This opinion will be best seen from an utterance of his in the Council of India on the 31st October 1680, when he was Governor-General: "that it must be established as a dictum and a maxim that it would be always better for the Company to be at war with Raja Sinha, the King of Ceylon, than to have peaceful dealings with him". It will be seen that he persisted in this opinion to the end. (See Hodenpyl's Article on Imhoff as Governor of Ceylon in *Bydragen* of the Royal Institute of Netherlands India, Vol. 75, p. 502). It must be mentioned that notwithstanding this apparent belligerent frame of mind, Van Goens was ostensibly an earnest Christian and inclined even beyond the authoritative precept to see the hand of God in every successful undertaking; "to give the Almighty God all the honour therefor" and to be "eternally thankful to him." But as a servant of the Company he did not consider it desirable to apply the Christian maxim in dealing with native princes. He followed the Cromwellian precept: "Trust in God, and keep your powder dry".

Ryckloff van Goens was twice married; first to Jacomina Roosegaard, who was the mother of the younger Ryckloff van Goens,

the successor of his father in the Government of Ceylon; and secondly to Esther (or Hester) de Solemne, widow of Dirk Adrichem, Director of Surat. By his second wife he had a daughter, Esther Ceylonia, who was born and baptized in Colombo, on which occasion a handsome baptismal dish of silver with an inscription was presented to the church by the Governor, which is still preserved at Wolvendaal.

Two portraits in oil of van Goens appear to have been in existence, the one by Govert Flinck, on which the national poet Vondel composed a poetical epitaph—[See Valentyn Vol. IV], the other by the great Dutch master, Bartholomeus van der Helst, in which his first wife Jacomina Roosegaard and his two sons Ryckloff and Volkert are also represented. This painting was burnt in the fire at the Boyman's Museum at Rotterdam in 1864; but a copy had fortunately been made and was in the possession of Mr. J. C. van Goens of the Hague in 1891. It was painted in 1655-6 when Ryckloff van Goens and his family were on a visit to the Fatherland, whither he had sailed from Batavia as Admiral of the Return Fleet, in "de Paerl" on the 28th June, 1655. Van der Helst had just previously founded, in conjunction with Nicolaes de Helt Stokade, the Painters' Guild at Amsterdam, and it is very probable that the sittings were given at the studio there. Some of the great painter's best portraits are said to have been produced about this time. The group represents van Goens standing in the middle of the picture, his wife seated in front of him, and his two sons, Ryckloff and Volkert, then aged 14 and 12 years respectively. These composed the whole family at the time. Jacomina Roosegaard died at Colombo on the 3rd January, 1667, and the second wife, Esther de Solemne, whom he married in August, 1667, died on the 22nd June, 1668. Both were laid to rest in the vault in the old church in the Fort, and their joint epitaph may now be seen at Wolvendaal. Volkert, the younger son, settled in the Netherlands, where he became a member of the Town Council of Schiedam and "Commissary of the Muster".

Ryckloff van Goens, the elder, retired from the Governorship of Ceylon on the 12th April, 1675, and was succeeded by his son. In the usual course of promotion he became Director-General and First Member of the Council of India; and on the retirement of Maatzuyker was nominated Governor-General of Netherlands India, an office which he appears to have accepted with some reluctance in 1678. He resigned from his post in 1681, and the following year returned to Holland. His death occurred at Amsterdam on the 14th November, 1682, and his body was removed for burial in the Kloosterkerk at The Hague.



## THE ADVENTURES OF A SHIP'S SURGEON IN THE EIGHTIES.

*(Compiled for publication in the D. B. U. Journal only).*

Somebody has said that the memory of a man is best recalled in a story intimately connected with his life. Perhaps some old notes docketed under the imposing title: The epic of the s. s. "Mogul," will not have lost any claim to the appreciation of the reader by the fact of the events narrated being nearly half a century old, while possibly they will help to add an appealing detail to tangible recollections of a personal friend.

I need hardly add that the story illustrates how truth can be as fascinating as fiction. It is recorded as I once heard it told, and has been merely bolstered up in minor details by devious inferences.

Dr. Elbro, we shall refer to him by this name for short, found that in the last three years he had been a busy exile. For one year of this period he had hung round the hospitals preparing for and securing an added British qualification. The rest of the time he had filled in with stray situations as *locum tenens*.

Yes, it was after three years, he declared, that he found himself in the grip of an ailment unknown to him before—home sickness.

Knowing the man, this does sound beyond all common understanding although perhaps not entirely to his discredit since it originated from the expansiveness of a home-loving heart.

However, unfortunately, this particular ailment does not fall within the scope of any treatment advanced by medical science. Failing the obvious remedy the only alternate option was to effect a compromise. Reckoning that a run down to London and the company of some Ceylon friends would afford this measure of respite, he packed up his traps and left Edinburgh.

But that evening when he sat smoking a cigarette in familiar London lodgings he was crushed by a feeling of hopelessness. Through the smoke-wreaths he saw nothing but dark clouds settling like a pall. A cable from Ceylon which had just caught him on arrival at his permanent address conveyed the news that his father was very ill, in fact, between the lines he sensed that he was merely being prepared for much worse news to follow.

Psychologists would tell that all this from the very beginning was in that mysterious order of things which assigns to mental power an influence over the physical being and that it originated from the subconscious action of thoughts bridging miles of space. But turning from theories to hard facts, there was little solace added to gloomy reverie by qualms of conscience. Indeed, it was weeks and even months gone—so Dr. Elbro found when he came to count time up—since he had penned a line to the folk at home.

Long into the night he sat huddled up while what seemed an eternity of thought marked the passing of time. Jarred by consciousness that he was tired he at length sought his bed but not to sleep.

All the world over, under all circumstances, daylight demands something of all people. So, pulling himself together he made up his mind. He was returning to Ceylon, taking the earliest opportunity of doing so. This decision, of course, was all very well, but suddenly, rudely pushing in and demanding consideration there came the pertinent monosyllabic enquiry: How? Facing the matter squarely he found that he had only a sum of five pounds to take him miles across the ocean.

In rather a panicky state of mind he found himself a little later doing the round of the offices which looked after the interests of the principal shipping lines.

The P. & O. had nothing to offer him by way of a vacancy as Ship's Surgeon on a vessel eastward bound. At the Office of the B. I. Line, he similarly drew a blank.

Considerably crestfallen, he turned on his tracks and was taking his way back to his lodgings when the idea flashed on him that he would be in a position to shoulder his troubles the better by sharing them with one of the friends he had come to London to meet. Strangely, in this impulse, he dropped on a way out of his difficulty.

Directed by this friend of his, Dr. Elbro sought out a large firm of Chemists and Druggists who in addition held the agency of a line of ships.

Yes, said somebody to whom he had been directed, in reply to his enquiry. They wanted a surgeon to undertake a voyage and very badly at that, not exactly for one of their boats but for another

which had been chartered by a Company in Jeddah to carry pilgrims from that port to Penang and Singapore. The boat was in fact ready to sail immediately. There was ten pounds laid on for a surgeon who would do the trip and, under the circumstances, a free passage from Singapore to Colombo.

"Right! I'm your man," came the impulsive answer. But then...pausing a moment, he pulled himself up to consider how much longer the trip to Colombo would take compared with a passage avoiding such a detour.

"I'll sign on," he ultimately said, breaking on the pause.

Queer prank, ordained for what reason who may tell? On getting back to his lodgings he found a cable covering a draft for a sum of £ 40 to meet the expenses of his passage home.

However that might be, there was one definite course now marked ahead, and this lay by way of Liverpool and the steamship "Mogul."

She proved to be an unkept tramp, not of any such shape or size to claim particular attention, but which nevertheless evoked singularity in the way she had apparently dodged the breaking-up yards year after year.

Dr. Elbro was told that he would find the skipper in his cabin. Sauntering round the ship in search of this personage to whom he was directed to report, he heard himself hailed in a deep throaty voice.

"Hey! Look here mister," it boomed, "whom may you be?"

"The doctor, an' ye want the Caaptain, did ye say?"

"Man, you've no feeling, and a poor stock of compreehension!"

"A body might think fra the way ye came aboard that we ar'n't waiting for ye!"

His own appearance meant that the full official rating had assembled and that the boat which for hours had considerably helped in smearing the blue heavens with smoke trails while waiting for the surgeon, was at last able to sail.

The old Scotch skipper was not quite the type one would imagine he was from his preliminary greeting. He very soon became jovially communicative.

"Say Doc!" he expanded, "you've maybe got it that you've booked for something that is no likely t' be a pleasure trip!"

The fact was pretty plain enough, for the next moment he handed Dr. Elbro a cable received that morning from the Agents at Jeddah which stated that cholera was raging in the port.

This bit of news only meant that the ship was not permitted to sail till the City clocks had announced the passing of a third hour. Hurrying ashore, the new ship's surgeon laid in a goodly stock of cholera elixirs. The moment he got back, the Captain, who was anxiously watching from the bridge, gripped the handle of the telegraph.

Very soon Liverpool lay transformed into a smudge, hard astern, and the "Mogul" was pounding the Atlantic rollers into masses of spray.

Favoured with good weather she was soon well down the Bay. The Mediterranean offered skies of brilliant blue with here and there a few scattered flecks of fleecy whiteness. The surface of the sea—a deeper blue, was only ruffled by sparkling white-crested wavelets.

It seemed good to be alive with the world all pleasant and orderly, with little work to do and with cheerful company. Occasionally, in the evening watch, snatches of song were heard, to add to the harmony of which the ship's doctor lent accompaniment by strumming on his banjo.

But this part of the adventure had to end, and so it did when fifteen days of steaming found the "Mogul" riding at anchor, moored off Jeddah.

The Agent, a Mr. Houkke, soon came aboard, and in the Old Man's cabin drank glasses of Scotch as they talked things over and decided to face the task of moving in her human freight two days later. And in between—merely to pass the time; why not? What was wrong with the shore and a spot of lunch at his villa out in the suburbs?

From the moment the invited guests stepped on to the pier there was reason enough to ask: What was wrong with the shore? The very atmosphere of the place was typical of a cholera-stricken area. It was evident that the disease had attacked hundreds of homes and thousands of the pilgrim throng which had gathered from the far corners of the earth in this kingdom of Hejaz, the centre of Islamism and the gate-way to the birthplace of Mahomet.

Men and women, especially children, had veritably died like flies. They had all just given it up as something inevitable, resigning themselves to an unquestionable fate.



Through the stricken town the doctor, the chief and the skipper, hurried on their way to the agent's residence.

"Say Doc!" broke in the Old Man, "You'll no deny ther's some wurk t' be done with the deesinfectant, an' seeing we are hard by the Bar Light t' load up this crowd the old tub'll be wanting some too!"

"No! I'm no getting ma feet wet on that job, you'll h've t' leeck that show right, ma son!" he concluded with grim satisfaction.

But past the Captain's banter the sun was beginning to make things hotter than was really necessary. Nothing under these circumstances was more welcome than the beautiful villa in which the visitors soon found themselves ensconced.

Moreover, there were just those necessary luxuries awaiting them which would create sufficient impression to be long remembered in respect of association with a parched palate. There was a table laden with luscious apples and grapes and rosy pomegranates, and something vitally necessary—cooled liquid refreshment.

Mr. Houkke was a cheery fellow and the very soul of hospitality. Needless to say his guests pretty near saw the clock half round before they proceeded very slowly and cautiously down the porch steps, and along the dusty trail which ended perhaps two miles away at the wharf.

It is often advanced that everything concerned with the sea in particular, ever presents a mass of incongruities. The holds of ships are meant for cargo but there are diverse ways of interpreting such stowage.

When they did begin loading up the "Mogul," men, old and young, women with infants clinging to their necks, girls and boys in their teens, scores of them, a hundred—nearly two thousand were swayed and tossed in cages to the din of groaning derricks and rattling winches, to be incarcerated in the belly of this ocean tramp—Providence could only declare for how long.

With practically every available niche of the ship already filled, netful after netful of mats and bags of rice and varied assortments of cooking utensils and empty tins rose up over the steamer's sides, to blend on the moment it was unloaded on deck with a mass of jostling, scrambling, shouting humanity, all advancing claims to possession.

The Skipper, in the midst of these activities, saved a furtive glance occasionally for the Plimsoll marks of his ship. Mr. Houkke, on the other hand, who from the moment the loading began was very much the Agent of the charter-party and veritably the Old Man's shadow, was equally concerned in constantly making it clear that they had made no mistake with their bookings.

Considering this, does it not seem funny, apart from its not being very strange, that a man who has a task to perform which he comes to the conclusion is rather risky, often finds a way out of his difficulties through the portals of hospitality and by tickling another man's palate!

It was hours past her scheduled time of sailing when the rattle of anchor chains above and the rhythmic clonking of enormous cranks and connecting-rods below, broke in to tell that the "Mogul" bereft of its atmosphere of peace and happiness was setting out on her tramp seeking the deeper waters of the Red Sea. Is it any cause for wonder that hinging on the events of that day the conditions on board during the rest of the voyage conduced to long drawn out misery as happily the seas today rarely see.

For two days matters pursued a normal course with the medical duties on board limited to such sanitary measures as circumstances rendered possible. On the third day the utter hopelessness of the situation impressed itself. Two cases of small-pox were discovered among the pilgrims.

Not merely then, but many and many a time during the terrible days which followed, the young doctor asked himself the question: Why had he not thought to lay in a supply of lymph?

No doubt we think we are much cleverer, yet, how many of us even at that, ever trouble about our bridges before we come to them! This particular yawning chasm was meanwhile assuming enormous proportions as day followed day.

The second day of the out-break saw a dozen fresh cases. The third saw a score. The two cases first discovered had many hours since ceased to call for any attention. The bodies had with the least possible delay been cast overboard.

It was soon evident that the ship's staff could not cope with the rapid progress the disease was making. To add to the difficulties of the situation, the mass of humanity were getting panicky. Nobody on board was able to talk or understand their language.

However hopeless it seemed to check the spread, Dr. Elbro concentrated on his task. For perhaps a round dozen times he had given ear to the captain's enquiry: "Doc, mebbe you'll tell me c'n naething be done?"

At first the question drew a shrug of his shoulders, but run to this length pent up feelings lent themselves to explosion where experience would have taught that lesson of controlled silence.

"Yes, skipper," he answered, "run me to that laboratory round the corner—it's some lymph I'm after!"

Muttering something about "these young 'uns," the Old Man walked away.

But tired nature stretched to very limits of endurance by single-handed effort and strain, sleepless nights and jagged nerves, was beginning to claim toll. The epidemic continued to rage with unabating fury.

Locked up in his cabin Dr. Elbro wooed sleep with doses of bromide. Nevertheless, each time he slipped conscious hold of what seemed an endless trend of thought, he was awakened by the awful yells and vociferous supplications—whether made to god or devil, none could tell, which ever and anon rose to an ominous crescendo drowning the drone of the revolving screw and the swish of the moving ship.

Besides, there was that dreaded rapping at his door followed by the voice of his orderly: "Three more dead, sir!" Sometimes the report would convey information numerically more, sometimes less. But, with each report, dressed and on deck again he would proceed to view the bodies and authorise disposal. Then, regaining the sanctuary of his cabin, he awaited that tell-tale "Splash!" "Splash!"—"Splash!" which even familiarity failed to divest of fancies pregnant with menace.

Running from the Gulf of Aden into the Indian Ocean, the "Mogul" encountered thick weather. Those who were versed in seafaring were naturally well aware what this would mean with an overloaded ship and the massed humanity on board her.

Very soon she was at grips with it, the wind blowing hard, the "Mogul" taking a head sea full on her bow and pushing her way into it, mountainous waves raised in whitened fury beating on her bridge, her decks awash.

It was no time to think of the experiences of the human freight, of the epidemic or of the rules of segregation. The fury of wind and sea increased and the hope that anybody would survive their devastating lash was little enough. The ship was slugged by the force of the elements.

In between seas and the battery of sound raised by the orgy of fury, there rose, brief as a flash, a deafening din and clatter from the bottom of the ship, suggesting as it were that her very plates were being wrenched and thrown one on another. Nevertheless, this interlude merely recalled the fate of the medley of tins, cans and cooking utensils, which some days earlier had been lowered into the holds, in the process of being dashed from one side of the ship to the other.

Every passing minute was pregnant with menace, and crowding into one such as these a wave larger than any other lurched itself over the hapless ship and the water descended gurgling down hatches and into cabins.

Hearing somebody shout to the chief engineer: "Barton! Barton!" Dr. Elbro, suggesting that he but waited this moment, sprang out of his bunk. In the alley-way, he almost ran into the person who had been calling out.

It was the skipper. He looked dog-tired, having spent weary, anxious hours on the bridge manoeuvring the craft which rolled and tossed in the trough of the angry seas. Handing over to his First he had left the post for a while to see how it went with the rest of the ship. Even the murk, intensified by the clinging veil of spray, revealed him wet and miserable, bleary-eyed and with encrustations of brine in the furrows of his face.

Confronting the form which endeavoured to pass him, he stood blocking the narrow passage. "Get ye back!.... Back to the cabin man!" he shouted through funnelled palms to make himself heard, "the deck's n' place for ye."

Abashed, nevertheless with determination behind it, Dr. Elbro bellowed in reply, his voice hardly carrying above the crashing tumult: "No skipper, if this rat-trap is doomed for Davy Jones', I'm going to be up and not cooped in my cabin."

There was something in the way the skipper peered into the other man's face which seemed to brook no thwarting. There was a ring in his words which indicated how far he had been stretched.

"Look here, mister!" he boomed, "there ma'be a heap o' sense in what ye say.....but Blimy! we're howt on the hocean and I be the only mon who orders on this ship. Naw, back ma son, back t' ye're cabin..... and, thank Gawd weh've a Japanese crew o'board—we'd never h've got any other Eastern crowd up and would proobably by now h've foundered."

The blow lasted two days. After this last grand terror which veritably marked the climax of the storm, there followed at first an almost imperceptible slackening of the wind, and later, low sweeping combers which hissed past the battered sides of the ship, tossing their white caps in the air astern.

With the weather hourly becoming milder the tramp gradually settled down to steam on an even keel. The faces of officers and crew were wreathed in smiles, since, incredible though it may seem, the epidemic on board seemed also to have abated with the storm. Apart from the surviving cases in segregation there had been no fresh outbreak of the disease.

It was a day before they drew near to Penang that the Captain sought to break through the estrangement which had sprung up between himself and his surgeon.

"Say Doc!" he exclaimed, accosting Dr. Elbro, "Let's c'll b'gonas as b'gonas! Nerves is no' oot o' the way, giving men as appens we did get."

Then, leaning over the rail and drawing his man into conversation, he gradually led confidential talk into such channels as helped him to expand his plan.

If the details of the epidemic were told, it would mean going into quarantine, considerable delay in completing the voyage, and an appreciable loss of profits on the charter hire. Suppose they hush the matter up, saying what was just sufficient and little at that?

Dr. Elbro fixed his glances on the face of the skipper. There was little doubt about it—he was dead serious. He felt sorry for him as he was a likeable fellow.

"There is a deal more than imagining we can play that game off, captain" he broke in; "there's too much intrigue behind it to my liking."

"How do you propose to keep the thing quiet with a shipful in the know?" he asked.

"Leave that t' me! Leave that t' me!" remarked the skipper, as he walked away. Turning his head, he threw back over a shoulder: "It's no the first time it 'appens t' be done!"

Tied up in the Penang roadstead with yellow flag at mast-head, the "Mogul" waited the arrival of the Port Surgeon. All eyes were focussed on the little boat flying his flag, which had set out from the shore two miles away.

Dr. Elbro, with the skipper shadowing him, met the Port Authorities at the top of the accommodation ladder. Not giving the former a chance to open on the subject, the skipper ventured to discourse on the bill of health of the ship.

"About half a dozen cases of small-pox.....Well under control did you say?" Then, turning to Dr. Elbro—"The ship's doctor, I presume?" said the Port Surgeon. Introduction over, "Let's get the facts from your diary," he added.

"Diary?" came the reply, with unmistakable tone of surprised enquiry: "I haven't got one.....never kept one," he broke through incoherently.

"Board of Trade rules!" he exploded, in echo, desperately angry at the merry twinkle he noticed in the skipper's eye—"I was entirely ignorant of any such rule," then, looking the Captain full in the face, with laboured sarcasm behind his words, he added..... "nor does it seem that there was anybody on this boat aware of Board of Trade rules!"

It was clear that the Old Man's subterfuge was not going to cut much ice. The "Mogul" went into quarantine, the pilgrims bound for Penang were taken ashore for segregation, the rest on board together with the entire rating were vaccinated, and the ship put through a thorough process of disinfection.

Tempers of one and all were chafed to breaking-point by the delay which these measures necessitated. Such a state of things was no doubt aggravated by the circumstance that the ship lay in an unsheltered roadstead, and that there was a town a few miles off which all aboard were forbidden to set foot in. There possibly was many a sigh of relief when at length they hove up and made for Singapore.

But, "The Epic of the *Mogul*" had reached this destination before she did. Naturally the Port Authorities there were all alert.

This meant hanging the ship up yet longer when she arrived. Luckily, however, there was not added to these delays the trouble of facing a Board of Enquiry—such Boards were slow at forming themselves in far-gone days.

At any rate, with Singapore, the ship's surgeon's contract was over. Summoned by the steward to the Captain's cabin, Dr. Elbro was greeted by gestures and a provocative laugh he had schooled himself to detest. He perceived that the easy way the skipper had got out of his worries had aroused within him a distinct sense of amusement.

"Was n' it eesy 'nough, Doc!" he chuckled.

Holding himself in with difficulty and summoning a nonchalant expression, notwithstanding that the perfidy of the old salt galled him, he sat down on a settee.

"Look here, Captain", he at length blurted out, "You have puzzled me a good deal.....the matter of that diary....."

"Naw! Naw!" interposed the skipper cutting him short, "we might as weel forgit that.....it's what ye might c'll a priceless error o' o'mesion!"

Very deliberately he changed the subject and led conversation into pleasanter channels. Berthed alongside the "Mogul" there was a passenger liner sailing on the morrow for Colombo. He had arranged for the reservation of a passage by her, he informed Dr. Elbro, and when a few minutes later they parted, there was a ring of sincerity both in his grip and in the words: "Good-bye, and good-lu'k to ye—Doc!"

The dour Scotsman, as has been previously remarked, was not all bad. He had taken stock and fallen upon a very expressive gesture by way of atonement for much that was bad in the scheme of things. The arrangements for his passage to Colombo—so Dr. Elbro, later found out, was through some mystic agency which excited enquiry as to whether there did exist some secret understanding between those who lived their life on ships which wandered over the seas—were all that he could desire. He was allotted a luxurious berth and a ticket at a greatly reduced rate!

Travelling on a P. & O. liner which moved at the rate of knots presented a strange contrast to the business of sailing across the

waters in an old-timer tramp. Too soon, she slipped behind the single jutting breakwater which afforded shelter to the port of Colombo.

There were friends to meet the wanderer, for a cable from Singapore had told of his impending arrival. Between rapid question and answer, he learnt that all was well. His father had made a good recovery—and what sort of a trip had you? he heard himself being asked.

"Well.....not too bad!" suggested a laconic reply.

A quarter of a century later, a tall, burly and jovial person, a doctor by profession and a senior officer in the Colony's Medical Service, was bidding *au revoir* to his nephew, who was filling in a gap with an opportune appointment as ship's surgeon.

Naturally, on the face of a remarkable personal experience, he had many observations to make and much advice to offer. Nevertheless, there was one point he seemed particularly intent on stressing. Small wonder that he repeated it as his final words of warning.

"Now, don't forget—insist on it, and see that you have a fresh supply of lymph on board!"

R. L. B.

## THE DR. DE HOEDT MEDICAL SCHOLARSHIP.

This Scholarship, which entitles the holder to a course of studies at the Ceylon Medical College, is now vacant. Only children of members of the Union, living or deceased, are eligible for the Scholarship. Applications addressed to the President, Dutch Burgher Union, Reid Avenue, Colombo, will be received up to the 15th October, 1931. Further particulars may be obtained at the Union Hall.

L. A. PRINS,  
Trustee.

20th September, 1931.



## THE COCONUT TREE TAX.

BY J. R. T.

On the cession by the Dutch of Colombo and their other possessions to the English in 1796, the administration of Ceylon devolved on the East India Company, the immediate management, however, being confided to the Governor and Council of Madras. Mr. Robert Andrews, who had been sent by the Madras Government on an embassy to the Court of Kandy in 1795, was appointed Resident and Superintendent of Revenue in Ceylon. He immediately swept away the old administrative system which had been built up by the Dutch, and introduced what was known as the Madras Revenue System, the chief feature of which was the supersession of the native Mudaliyars by foreigners from the Malabar Coast, who were entirely ignorant of the customs, language, and prejudices of the people. These minor officials, not being subject to proper control, launched out on a career of cruelty and oppression, which so exasperated the people that they rose up in revolt, and the disturbances which followed had to be put down by military force. This outbreak "had the instant effect of deciding the policy of Mr. Pitt and the Government at home, as to the future disposal of the island. It was resolved to administer the colony direct from the Crown, and in October, 1798, the Honourable Frederick North, afterwards Earl of Guildford, landed as the first British Governor."<sup>1</sup>

One of Andrews' most unpopular measures was the introduction of a tax on coconut trees of "one silver fanam" per tree per annum. In the opinion of Colonel de Meuron, the tax was both unjust and impolitic, as the value of trees varied greatly according to their situation, &c., and the tax was sometimes greater than the produce.<sup>2</sup> Among those who were affected by the new impost were the late Dutch Governor of Ceylon, Mr. J. G. van Angelbeek, and several other officials who had held high office under the Dutch. These took steps at once to submit their views to the Military Governor, Major-General Doyle, but receiving no redress, they addressed a memorial to the Government at Madras. The Committee of Investigation which was subsequently appointed to inquire into the whole question of Andrew's government were of opinion

1. Tennent II., 173

2. Turner, *Collected Papers*, p. 104.

that the tax was one of the contributory causes of the disturbances, and it was accordingly abolished by resolution of the Committee on 2nd September, 1797.

The Memorial presented by Mr. van Angelbeek and other Dutch residents, a copy of which we give below, contains several points of interest. The first thing that will strike the reader is the phraseology in which the Memorial is couched. The English language could not have been spoken and written by the Dutch residents of that day with the same facility as it is in our day, and the drafting of the Memorial must have been a very labourious task and one which imposed a heavy tax on the powers of expression of the signatories. The association of a number of persons who had held high office under the Dutch in a common cause is also a circumstance of some note. As the last Dutch Governor of Ceylon, Mr. van Angelbeek must naturally have occupied the leading position among the members of his community and enjoyed their respect and esteem. His experience as governor entitled him to express a considered opinion on an administrative measure involving far-reaching consequences, and his signature to the Memorial must have given it a special importance. On the capitulation of Colombo he had retired to his private residence in Grandpass, but continued to take an active interest in the political events which ushered in the new administration. He seems to have possessed a small coconut estate near the Kelani River, for in the Memorial reference is made to "the farm of Biagama, which is the property of the first undersigned, and on account of its favourable situation at the river gives the most of profits". Mr. van Angelbeek did not long survive the stirring events which marked the new regime, his death taking place on 2nd September, 1799.

Mr. Pieter Sluysken, the next signatory to the Memorial, was a member of the Dutch East India Company's Civil Service, and was employed at the Factory at Surat. At the time of the capitulation he had come down to Colombo for the benefit of his health, and on 13th February, 1796 when the fort of Colombo was invested, he wrote to Colonel Stuart for permission to leave the fort with his family. On this being granted; he "withdrew to a country house on the Grandpass road". He belonged to Amsterdam, and was Commandeur of Galle and thereafter *Gezaghebber* of Surat. Mr. W. S. Christoffelsz, in an article which he contributed to a local

periodical, says:—"The house where Cargills have their shop, before it was entirely rebuilt, was the residence of Captain Sluysken, a Dutch Military Officer. He lived there with his family for many years, and being a man of means, frequently entertained British officers in his house".

Mr. Sluysken died on 13th September, 1813, full of years and honours. The event is thus referred to by the Government Gazette of the day:—

"On Monday evening, the 13th instant, in the 74th year of his age, the Hon. Peter Sluysken, Esq., late of the Dutch East India Company's Civil Service, and formerly of their Factory at Surat. His remains were accompanied to the grave by the whole of His Majesty's Civil and Military Servants—a token of respect which he amply deserved, not only from the general integrity of his character, but from his unbounded hospitality to the British officers at the period of the capture of the Colony in 1796, which is still remembered with a melancholy pleasure by a few of the elder residents in this Island."

The third signatory to the Memorial, Christiaan van Angelbeek, was the son of Governor van Angelbeek. He was born in Batavia on 2nd July, 1757, and arrived in Ceylon in 1780, where he successively held the offices of *Koopman*, *Fiskaal Provisioneel*, *Dissave of Matara*, and *Hoofd Administrateur*, Colombo. He married in 1772 Maria Aletta Van de Graaff, sister of the Governor of Ceylon bearing that name. On 17th January, 1804, in his capacity as Executor of his father's Last Will, he transferred to Government the site of the present Queen's House, which belonged to his father, in part settlement of a debt of some £10,000 which was owed to Government by the Hon. George Melville Leslie, Paymaster General, who had married a niece of Governor Van Angelbeek.

We have only space to notice one other signatory, viz. J. Burnand, who is no other than Jacob Burnand, who, after a distinguished career as *Opperhoofd* of Batticaloa, retired from service and settled down in Colombo, where he died in March, 1816, at the age of 64. A full account of his life appears in Vol. XIX, No. 5, of this

The Memorial reads as follows:—

To His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir John Shore, Bart,  
Governor-General of the English Territories in India,  
residing at Fort William.

Right Honorable Sir,

We the undersigned beg leave to state to Your Excellency for ourselves and for the further inhabitants of the district of Colombo with due reverence—

That the Superintendent and Collector of the Revenue, Robert Andrews Esqr., has imposed by a bill of the 8th July in last year a tax of one silver fanam being four stivers or two-fifths of a Rupee upon every fruit bearing cocoanut tree, with the exception of gardens which contain less than fifty trees.

That we have stated our grievances as to this tax which was not only an innovation, but also not adequate with the benefits of our cocoanut plantations, to Major-General Doyle as our Governor, who thereupon deferred the collection of the said tax and forwarded our address to the Government of Madras, but that our application of being relieved from the said tax was refused by a letter to the said Major-General of the 29th April last, who has furnished us with an extract thereof.

And as the said tax is not only a novelty but also so exorbitant that we will thereby be oppressed beyond measure and thousands of inhabitants ruined, we are necessitated to address on the subject to your Excellency and to pray for maintenance against it.

With this view, we beg to add hereunto all the papers relating to the matter, consisting in the following copy of our address to the said Major-General with the annexes thereof—letter A. ‡

Copy of the bill of Mr. Andrews by which the said tax is published—letter B ‡ and

Copy of the extract Madras Government letter to the said General, by which our request to be relieved from the said tax is rejected—letter C ‡ and we take the liberty from the said documents to represent the following:

In our address is exhibited

1. That the tax of four stivers upon every cocoanut tree in comparison against the profits thereof is so high fixed that some of the owners should lose the moiety, many of them the whole, and the most part not only the whole income, but be obliged to add some money to it.

2. That as according to the bill, the intention of introducing the said tax was to relieve the low casts from paying the head and office money, therefore the tax upon trees which was ordered instead of it ought to have been imposed upon those who were relieved from their ancient charges, but not upon other inhabitants and especially not on Europeans.

3. That the Collectors of the said tax committed extortions by demanding it from people who possessed less than fifty trees, and

4. That the gardens within the four gravets or in the vicinity of Colombo have already in the year 1751 been exempted from every tax by the Supreme Government of Batavia.

We have built our application upon the said four arguments to be relieved from the said tax, and we have merely added to it superfluously, that we put as much confidence in the equitable, generous and liberal treatment of the Colonies of the British Government so as not to think it necessary of referring to the 7th article of the capitulation, by which private property were ensured free and safe, that by the said tax would be considerable injured and in part wholly destroyed.

The Government of Fort St. George has on the contrary in their said letter observed:—

1. That they had not introduced the said tax without mature deliberation, and that from our side nothing was supported to enervate the grounds of their resolution.

2. That the capitulation was extended against reason and experience to be thereupon exempted from all blame.

3. That the said tax was political, as it falls on those who can bear it the best, and that it was at the same time compassionate, as the most poor and miserable class of the people were thereby liberated from the cruel and oppressive head taxes and bodily services and

4. That the supplicants in the said petition had omitted to state the profits upon the free sale and exportation of the arrack, against their pretended loss.

This is the true matter in question upon which we beg leave to make the following observations.

Our first point of grief that the said tax was exorbitant and to the ruin of thousands of men, is by the answer of Madras not noticed.

Upon our second argument that the very class of people who were liberated from the head tax, ought to pay the charge of the tax upon trees substituted instead thereof is only answered that this matter was political and philanthropic.

Upon our complaint of extortion neither upon the privilege of the gardens within the circumference of Colombo no notice is taken at all.

But the latter paragraph of our address in which the 7th article of the capitulation is slightly quoted with a declaration that we did not think it necessary to support our request by it are lucrated (sic) from its coherency, insulated and in a quite other view placed, in order to give a turn to the affair, as if we had laid the principal foundation of our complaint on the capitulation.

Our first argument: That the tax upon trees is exorbitant and ruinous composes however the most principal foundation of grievances, and it rests on the statement that the owners of the gardens beyond the four gravets or boundaries (for of the gardens within the same is hereafter spoken at large) if they are to pay the said tax, must lose some of them the moiety and some others the whole of their income, and further that the greater part of them must add some more money to satisfy this tax. We have proved the said

argument in our address merely by a couple of examples, and did not think it necessary to enlarge on the subject, because Governor Doyle by local knowledge was convinced of it; but as we now must experience that our said statement was deserving of no credit in Madras, and as we must principally ascribe it to the false information of the one or other projector, who had extended the profits of the cocoanut trees considerably, and fixed it on one Rix dollar of 48 Stivers, by which Mr. Andrews and together with him the Government of Madras is deceived, and as we must fear that the said false information might have found its way to Your Excellency, we will treat on this subject here more copiously.

The profits of our cocoanut plantations from the number of nuts which a tree produces and by fixing the prices which they are sold for accurately is impossible, as well because the trees differ remarkably in condition and are in the one year more fruitful than in the other, as also because the price of sale is considerably falling and raising, but this point can however along with the undermentioned way be brought to a very high degree of probability.

There are few trees found which produce 50, 60 and more nuts in a year, but their number is not many if compared with a great number, which give only 5 or 6 nuts, and from the middle sort of which the number is the greatest can be had no more than from 10 to 15 nuts annually, consequently can the product of a proper plantation calculatively be computed on 20 nuts for every tree one with another, but we will fix it upon 25, being the most what the best of plantations ever can produce.

The price of sale differs also very much in the one year from the other. The purchasers of the nuts paid now a few years ago no more than 4 or 5 Rix dollars for every thousand; we must give now 12 and 13; it would therefore not be too little if the average rate is fixed at 8 Rix dollars, according to which 25 nuts for the produce of a tree would come to  $9\frac{3}{4}$  Stivers, but we will take the round sum of ten stivers for it.

It is natural that the planting of the trees, the management of the gardens, the repairs of the fences for the preservation against animals and thieves and so on are attended with expense to the owners, but not to be very particular in this respect, we will take the leaves, branches &c. in compensation for the same, tho' they never can be adequate to the said expenses.

The greatest point deserving of attention, however, is the transport of the nuts from the gardens to town, the expences whereof increase after the rate of distance and situation of the plantations, and this is the real cause that the pure remainder decreases proportionately and on such a manner, that the gardens laying deep in the country cannot find the expence of the transport from the produce of the sale, and therefore will only tend to the food of the poor possessors.

We will therefore explain this point attentively. The nuts from the gardens laying close by the river are carried by water, till the Little Pass, and from thence in carts to Town. For the transport by water we compute merely 40 Stivers for 1000 nuts, which makes 1 stiver for 25 nuts the produces of a tree. A bullock cart loads no more than 250 cocoanuts with shells (and those that come down by water are almost all of them with shells), and gets

20 stivers hire from the Little Pass to Town; consequently for a thousand nuts 80 Stivers, which come to the charge of every tree at 2 Stivers each, and leaves 7 Stivers profits to the owner, but if he is to pay 4 out of it, he keeps only 3 Stivers, and the said tax should take away from him more than the moiety of his income.

The nuts of the gardens not laying close by rivers but at the high ways and a short distance beyond the Gravets are carried down in carts, which contains 500 nuts without shells, but what is saved here of the freight must be laid out to get the nuts shelled, which amount to 6 Stivers per hundred, and consequently on every freight of 500 nuts, 30 Stivers, and to carry the nuts from the gardens to the carts costs every load of 500 nuts, 6 Stivers, and the cart hire to town comes to 30 Stivers, so that the total of these expences amount to 72 Stivers on 500 nuts and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Stivers on 25, and the owner should only have  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Stivers, if he is to pay 4 Stivers tax from the  $6\frac{1}{2}$  Stivers remaining, and this would then come to upward of 60 per cent annually.

The gardens situated at about one hour's distance beyond the gravets must already pay 12 Stivers more for a cart, and will consequently have left only 6 Stivers, while the tax upon trees will devour annually two-thirds of the income.

On such a manner raises the freight gradually with the distances so that the last of them should have not 4 Stivers left, and the owners of gardens laying but 3 or 4 hours beyond the gravets will employ the whole of their income to defray the freight of the transportation, and consequently pay the tax upon trees out of their other property.

And this is yet to be understood only of Europeans and other owners of gardens possessing some property, who can defray the expence of fencing their gardens and keeping them properly. The poor Chingaleese stand worse with their gardens, and must let the same to others for a trifle if they do not occupy them themselves, and this will be almost doubted of credit if not verified by experience.

We trust that by this our representation the exorbitancy of the tax upon trees is brought to such a high degree of probability as the nature of the matter allows, and we now proceed to our peremptory proofs.

The first is derived from the amount of the rent which the owners enjoy for their gardens. We have quoted in our address to Governor Doyle only three examples thereof, *Viz.*, the farm of Biagama, which is the property of the first undersigned, and on account of its favorable situation at the river, gives the most of profits, which however amounts merely to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Stivers or a quarter of a Rupee from every tree, and therefore if the tax must be paid from it, more than the moiety should be lessened. The second example is a garden of the Interpreter Mohanderam of the Provincial Court, Horonymus De Zilva, who has let his garden of 200 cocoanut trees for 6 Rix dollars, and should be obliged to pay 16 Rix dollars and 22 Stivers for the tax on trees. The third example was stated by the heirs of the late Deputy Fiscal Charlot, but could not be detailed in our said address to our Governor Doyle, because the information which we demanded from them was not sent in due time. We will now mend that deficiency from a statement made to us by the

said heirs in writing, and say that a garden of the estate lays about Panture containing 3000 trees which is given in rent at 115 Rix Dollars per annum and the tax amounts to 240 Rix Dollars. They should consequently not only lose the whole of the income, but also add 125 Rix Dollars to it. Another garden of theirs laying about Dildowe and containing 650 trees, is let for 40 Rix Dollars rent, tax on trees amounts to 54 Rix Dollars and 8 Stivers, and consequently 14 Rix Dollars more than the whole of the income.

We can point out hundreds of such instances, but not to impose on Your Excellency's precious time, we will annex hereunto a separate list of a few of them marked letter D.\*

The second proof which we beg to insert here deserves also a very particular attention.

The Dutch Company has imposed a tax on cocoanut gardens which were erected on their ground without leave and fixed it at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Doits or  $\frac{3}{8}$  Stiver per tree. Should there be the least probability that the said Company, who has possessed this Island for 140 years, and that so many Governors and land Regents, who have grown old and grey in their offices upon this Island, would have been and remained as much ignorant of the value of the cocoanut plantations, so as to take 3 instead of 32, and that even in cases that the clandestine appropriation of the Company's property was intended to be punished, which could competently be done with the greatest severity.

The following will tend as a third proof:

The Dutch Company has possessed many gardens as their own property and sold them in the year 1795 publicly to the highest bidders, and to prevent needless extension we will merely quote one which is situated in the village of Galkisse.

In it were found according to the report of the sworn Surveyor, who shortly before the sale has surveyed the said garden and registered the trees, and which report is deposited in the Secretary's office:—

5325	fruit bearing
2856	indifferent
924	old
202	blooming
965	almost blooming and
4796	young, or total

15068 cocoanut trees, and this garden is by public auction sold for 13250 Rix Dollars. If the cocoanut plantations on this Island produced that great profits that should be supposed from the tax, if they were equitable and tolerable, the said garden must have fetched 5 or 6 times more, even if the computation was made only on the fruit bearing trees, without regarding the rest of trees, which nevertheless promised in 2 or 3 years a considerable increase of profit. Suppose one-tenth of the income is fixed for the tax, and we do not think that a conscientious Government will demand more from the income of their subjects, and such tax is only computed on the fruitbearing 5325 trees, the annual income thereof will already amount to

\* Not reproduced.



4437½ Rix Dollars, and suppose the purchaser wishes to lay out his principal at 5 per cent, for which the landed property are in general purchased here as they are only purchased on account of the Revenue, then the purchase money must have amounted to 88750 Rix Dollars.

Moreover is there a convinced proof from the rent which the Company enjoyed of the said garden annually in support of our argument. It amounted in the latter years according to the contract of rent deposited in the Secretary's Office to 784 Rix Dollars per annum. If the said rent is only computed on the said 5325 trees, it comes to 7¼ Stivers each tree, and consequently should the said tax devour more than the moiety of the income of this plantation.

We have already detained Your Excellency's attention on this our first argument much longer than we would have wished, and must however still speak briefly of the profits which can be obtained by drawing the Toddy from the cocoanut trees, for if we were to remain totally silent on this subject, the person, who by his false statement to Mr. Andrews has caused this enormous tax, and consequently is responsible for the mischief or harm which has already existed, and further is to be feared would make the exception that this gives the greatest profits, and that we purposely have concealed it. We therefore beg to observe in this regard:—

1. That very few trees are fit to be drawn.
2. That a tree can only be drawn from for six months in a year, and gives no fruit in the other six months.
3. That the preparations, the tools and the pay of the drawers, carry away a great part of the profits.
4. That only the gardens situated close to passes or in the vicinity of Arrack distillations, convert their Toddy to cash.
5. That all others, whereof the number is upwards of a hundred times as great, cannot sell their Toddy.

These observations are sufficient to refute the said exception, but we will add here some nearer arguments.

The said garden of Galkisse renders an evident proof how little can be depended on this profit, for the renter was at liberty to draw from as many trees in it as he chose, and the Company had to furnish him with the people to that purpose, who are otherwise scarcely to be engaged without this had caused any increase in the rent.

In order to settle this point finally, the Director Mr. Sluisken, who is the present owner of the said garden, and the Captain of the burghers, Mr. Kuilenburg, who has also a large garden next to it, in which toddy may be drawn, do hereby declare, that they will assign all their trees as well that are drawn from, as that bear fruits, at 10 Stivers each, or the computed value of the profit before, to him who has stated the revenue as high, and all of us undertake to procure him one hundred thousand fruit trees in the districts of Salpitty and Hina and of course close to Colombo at the rate of 4 Stivers each. If therefore his statement and computation are true, he can gain by this traffic much more than he ever could have promised himself from his plan.

To clear up our second argument, namely, that we may not be charged with a tax, of which the meanest sort of men are liberated, and at the same time the exception of the Madras Government that this was political and philanthropic, we beg leave to observe—

That the people who are liberated from head taxes and official services are either strangers or natives of the country.

The strangers are the Moormen, and the Chittys, who have settled themselves here and under the protection of the Company, and earn their subsistence on various manners. Many of them are brokers and merchants in jewels, gold, silver, cloth, rice and several other important articles, among whom are many rich and opulent fellows, others are keeping shops of every Europe and India wares, others again purchase the products of the country everywhere, and re-sell them again in Colombo with good profits. Many of them are tradesmen, to wit stone-cutters, goldsmiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, shoemakers and so on, who have also a good livelihood. The rest of them attend as conicoplys, shroffs and managers of affairs to the Europeans or to their own opulent countrymen, and the lowest of them earn their bread by some hard work or serving as journeymen and coolies, and along the said ways every one found under the protection of the Company his proper subsistence, and the most part attained by their industry to richness and wealth, so that the epithet of most miserable and poor men is not at all applicable to them. For the said protection, the male upward of 16 and under 60 years of age paid to the Company one Rix Dollar or 1½ Rupees per month each, with the exception however of the chiefs and their whole family, the conicoplys and others who were in the service of the Europeans, and also all the sick and infirm, and all of them who could or would not pay the said land tax could work for it by attending the shipping and landing of cargoes of ships and vessels, or in the warehouses, rope yard and so on, and every day is 6 Stivers of one-fifth Rupee allowed to them for it.

Whether it would be political to liberate the said people from such a moderate head tax, which never deserves to be called cruel and oppressive, to which they were accustomed since immemorable times, and from which the English Company could obtain a profit of half a lac of Rupees, we will not enquire into, but that it would not be political, not compassionate and not just to lay this burthen of the said strangers upon us and upon the Chingaleese subjects, who are possessed of gardens, is already proved by the nature of the matter itself, for as we enjoy not the least benefit by this change, and have not the least connection with that people, we cannot be put in their room and charged with a burthen of which they are relieved arbitrarily; but the injustice of this treatment will show itself evidently, when we have made our remarks as to the second class of inhabitants who are pretended to be relieved from a heavy burthen.

This second class of people are the natives of the country, namely, the Chingaleese, but the said relief has with respect to this nation as it must be supposed from the bill aforesaid not confined itself to the poorest and lowest class, but to the whole of the nation, by which the management or rule of the country is totally changed.

If we would give a clear description of the said change with all the consequences thereof, we will be obliged to make a radical representation of the whole Chingaleese Government, which differs from all the forms of Government in India known to us, as broad as the heaven, and which is so much attached to the morals, customs, prejudices and the whole manner of thinking and living of this nation, that no alteration can be therein made without tearing the said bands and upsetting the whole constitution of the country. We will therefore merely say here, as much as absolutely necessary to make our interest with regard to this point intelligible.

The Portuguese, and we after them, have left the Government of the Provinces conquered on this Island, on the same footing as it was under the Chingaleese Kings, doubtless to engage a new subdued people by lenity to them, and not to fill them with despair, terror and aversion by a sudden change of their constitution against their new masters. The Dutch Company retained ever since the said Native Government form, not for the sake that it could not be improved but because the Chingaleese were as much attached to it, that the reform could not well be done without bringing the whole of the country in a stir.

According to the said ancient form are all the Chingaleese from the highest to the lowest cast obliged to certain service, for which they possess some lands for their support. The principals of the best casts are headmen of a whole Corle or Province, and rule over the district with the assistance of several inferior but respectable servants, the rest of the inhabitants take care of the agriculture, the plantation, the forests which produce the timber, the Revenue of the Company, and of every duty of their subordinates, who are divided in a great many classes and are obliged to very various services adequate to the same, of which we will merely quote a few.

Some were obliged to cultivate the fields of the Company, others were fixed for the elephants' service, others formed the militia under the name of Lascareens, who guarded several watch stations in the country under their officers or at the gates of the Governors, Dessaves and other Land Regents, as also at the dwelling of reputable Chingaleese headmen, and were further employed as conveyors of all sorts of messages and of letters, others were coolies employed to carry down the cinnamon, and timber to burn the Chunamb, and to perform other services, and to all the said people were spots of paddy fields allotted for their services from the Company's ground upon which they supported themselves and their families, and which they considered as their property, because their ancestors left them behind to them, and at their decease the said fields devolve upon their heirs.

But as the letter of Madras speaks only of the poorest and lowest class and thereby intends to allude to those who must perform dependant work, among whom the Lascareens and coolies can be principally understood, we beg to observe that even such servants have their lands of subsistence, and when they are to attend any service beyond their limits, they receive daily an allowance of rice and cash for their food, that such sort of people work for the Company only three months in a year, and that from each family only one man is sent for to the duty, notwithstanding that most of them

have two, three or more fullgrown men in their families, so that there remained time enough for them to cultivate their gardens or fields of subsistence, and by many other ways and means to earn the support of themselves and their families, and therefore is this form of regulation benevolent to them, and above all doth not deserve the name of cruel and oppressive.

All the said work of duty are now by the new Government done away with. But at the same time has the English Company appropriated to themselves and rented out by public sale the lands of subsistence, not merely from the lowest class, but also from the principal and reputable inhabitants, and in one word from the whole of the Chingaleese nation, by which the old constitution is entirely made void and cancelled.

Whether this is political and whether it would not have been better to let all this remain on the former footing behoves not us to enquire into, but that in this regard no philanthropy is shown we dare to defend freely, because the English Company has taken away from the Chingaleese their lands of support and rented them, out of which they enjoy now much more profits than the liberated office services ever could amount.

But the only pretence which Mr. Andrews has brought forward to justify this new and oppressive tax, or at least to set a gloss upon, has also become void, namely that it was an adequate compensation for the official services and head taxes, for this compensation is abundantly refunded by the renting out of the lands taken away from them.

We hope that it will not be considered a concealment on our side for not speaking here of the Revenue in cash levied from the Chingaleese. Those Revenues consist in a number of trifles which had place already under the Chingaleese Kings, and whereof the origin can be found out now with difficulty; all this amount together but to a sum of 335 Rix Dollars 35 $\frac{3}{4}$  Stivers, as per annexed extract of the compendious account of Hulftsdorp or Regent's Quarters marked letter D.† We would therefore not impose upon Your Excellency's precious time with a narration of this insignificant and fruitless statement.

Our third argument contains [details] of the extortions which the collectors of the tree tax commit to some innocent and timid natives, who have in their little gardens less than 50 and some of them merely 5 or 6 trees and are exempted by the bill itself, but who are compelled by the said collectors thro' threatenings to pay the tax.

This is public and requires therefore no further proof than that which the mischief itself furnishes. To that purpose are the names of the people to whom such injustice was done delivered in by a list, together with our address to General Doyle, who may be heard on the subject.

Our fourth argument confines itself particularly to the gardens within the gravet, which by the lawful Government are exempted from all taxes.

We have proved this privilege by the Extract of a letter of the Supreme Government of Batavia bearing date the 7th December, 1751, which is produced with our address aforesaid.† The question is therefore only this, whether the English Government being now the Master of this Island, ought to regard the said privilege, and we suppose that this question can easily be decided.

This privilege meliorates (sic) the said gardens and composes a real part of its value, upon which till now the sale and purchase were computed. Should this privilege be taken away from the said gardens, the value thereof is consequently diminished, which in the present case should amount to two-fifth or 40 per cent according to the value of the produce afore computed, of 10 Stivers every tree, which we now enjoy, but of which 4 Stivers must be then given away, whereof the consequence will be that a cocoanut garden sold with the said privilege for 1000 Rix Dollars should be worth without it 600 Rix Dollars. This question therefore does not differ by its nature from another question which might be substituted, namely, whether the English Government has a right to take away from us two-fifths of our possessions. At least we do not see any difference in both instances of bad effect.

This leads us naturally to the 7th article of the capitulation which we have quoted in our address to General Doyle merely as a Carol (sic) but which we do now plead as a decisive reason to prefer thereupon our claim to the abolishment of the said taxes on trees, yea, if necessary, to establish our protest against this oppressive tax as a public breach of the capitulation without being puzzled by the observation of the Madras Government that we extended the capitulation too far, for the question is not here whether the Government, notwithstanding the said article, may impose new moderate taxes upon us; tho' we could upon very good principle of reason and equity even to this question answer in the negative, but the question is in our present case, whether they may impose upon our property, warranted by the capitulation *free* and *undiminished*, such enormous taxes by which those who are the least oppressed should lose the one half, and the greater part the whole of their income and consequently their possessions, for how can it be said that our property remains *free*, if new taxes are imposed upon them? How can it be substantiated that they remain *undiminished*, when they are charged with such enormous taxes, which devour the half and even the whole of the income? for nothing is surer than this in the latter event, that our property is to be diminished for the one half or to be lost entirely, as the income which is enjoyed thereof is the only foundation whereupon their value can be estimated, and which is then to be lost.

We ought lastly to answer to the remark, that we had omitted to place the actual benefit which we enjoyed from the free exportation and sale of the Arrack against our pretended loss.

The profit of this free exportation and sale consists of the duty, which was paid during the Dutch Government for rent, and is now done away with.

† Not Reproduced.

It amounted to Six Rix dollars for each leaguer, which makes now as the arrack costs 25 Pagodas or 100 Rix Dollars, copper money to 6 per cent.

This illustration should have tended to nothing else but to justify our complaints the better, and to explain it more fully by a simple statement that we are on the one side obliged with 6 per cent, to be on the other side oppressed with from 50 to 100 per cent. And even the said 6 per cent do not turn to our advantage, but are enjoyed by the purchasers and sellers here and on the coast.

Perhaps is by the said observation designed also the high price of the coconuts, which is caused by the dearness of the arrack. We have ourselves not only admitted this higher price as beforesaid by stating that every thousand nuts had cost before 4 R. Dollars and could now be fixed at an average upon 8 Rix Dollars, but we have laid the said high price as the foundation to compute the profits of our plantation. If, therefore, any objection was intended to be derived against us by the increase of this price, it should have served to confirm the sincerity and open heartedness of our statement even from that side.

We are very sorry of being obliged to trouble Your Excellency with this affair, but we are pressed so to do not only to turn the loss which threatens us, but also to save thousands of natives, who by the said tax should be totally ruined.

We therefore request that Your Excellency may be pleased to issue the necessary directions to the Madras Government to liberate us and the further inhabitants from the said hard and oppressive tax upon trees, and to cause the money, which on account thereof is exacted from several people, to be repaid to the owners.

We have the honour to be with the greatest respect,  
Right Honorable Sir, Your Excellency's  
Very humble & very obedient servants,

J. G. Van Angelbeek, P. Sluysken, C. Van Angelbeek, J.  
Reintous, A. Samlant, D. Meyer, J. Burnand, D. D.  
Van Ranzow, O. Andringa, H. W. A. Keuneman, A. W.  
Cuylenburg, P. H. Cuylenburg, Jean Stephens, R.  
Hendriksz, G. W. Van Sohsten.

Colombo, the 1st June, 1797.

## PRINCE CRUMPTY-PIPPIT AND GOVERNOR VAN ECK.

Prince Crumpty-Pippit, the son of a Siamese king by his favourite supplementary wife, was one of those persons who spontaneously exhale an atmosphere of treason in which conspiracies breed. The hearts of malcontents and assassins warmed to him instinctively and, almost without effort, he would find himself becoming the nucleus of some revolutionary movement. On the death of his father in the year 1757, a period of turmoil ensued in Siam during which Prince Crumpty's two brothers struggled against each other for the throne. Crumpty rashly espoused the cause of the younger claimant and busied himself with intrigues on his behalf. Unhappily, the elder brother prevailed and, for some time, it seemed certain that Crumpty's days were numbered. The new king, however, was disposed to be merciful, and Crumpty was spared on condition that he emigrated to Ceylon and spent the remainder of his life in praying for his late father's soul.<sup>1</sup> Had he been content to pursue this laudable though monotonous career, he might have enjoyed a comfortable and secure existence. But, in Ceylon, where he appeared towards the end of 1759 in the robes of a Buddhist high priest, his talent for intrigue found a congenial environment and the amplest scope.

Kirti Sri Raja Siuha, King of Kandy, had ceased to interfere with vigour and authority in the affairs of his kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, he resembled "a whipped top, spinning under the alternate lashes" of the Sinhalese aristocracy on the one hand and of his own Malabar kinsmen on the other. The Dutch Government were unable to discern any prospect of maintaining permanent peace with a monarch so situated, and would not have regretted his removal and the substitution of a more stable successor. It was at this auspicious juncture that Crumpty emerged from seclusion and made common cause with the anti-Dravidian faction at Kandy. The Moors and the Malabars, he pointed out, were becoming too powerful at Court, and it was time for the pure Sinhalese nobility to assert themselves more

1 "Indien de Prins, naer 't Eiland Ceilon wilde vertrekken om daer altijd verblijf te houden; ten einde voor de ziele huns overleedenen vaders Gode te bidden."—Vol. D. 2901. Govt. Archives.

2 Vol. D. 248. Govt. Archives.

aggressively. Before long, therefore, a plot was afoot to murder the king and place either Crumpty or his son on the throne. Instead of resorting to poison or some equally unobtrusive mode of assassination, the conspirators, so it is said, foolishly planned to inveigle His Majesty to the edge of a pitfall into which he was to be pushed. The design was betrayed; the ringleaders perished at the hands of the executioner, and Crumpty's life once more seemed to be hanging by a thread. But again, for some inscrutable reason, he survived. To be sure, he protested his innocence, alleging that there never had been a plot, and that the Malabars and Moors, animated by hatred of the Sinhalese, had fabricated the evidence;<sup>3</sup> but his denial was unconvincing. The clemency displayed towards Crumpty by Kirti Sri was all the more commendable inasmuch as the king had been seized with panic and was ready to believe the worst. According to Governor Schreuder,<sup>4</sup> so great was His Majesty's alarm that for a long time he never dared to put his face outside, or touch any food except such as was prepared for him by his own father—still less, sleep two successive nights in the same room.

It was now impossible that Crumpty should continue to enjoy the hospitality of these shores, and the Dutch were accordingly invited to repatriate him. To this invitation they were under no temptation to respond. Their relations with the Siamese Court were friendly, but the cordiality of that friendship would, they knew, undergo a swift diminution, if through their agency, Crumpty were to reappear in his native land. For, not only would the King of Siam be greatly incensed at having to receive him back, but he would also regard it as a personal affront that his half-brother, a prince of the Siamese blood royal, had been deported as an undesirable alien. Nevertheless, after much diplomatic fencing, they consented; and on December 7th 1760, Crumpty was shipped across to Tutucoryn and thence via Batavia towards Indo-China where he vanished.

Nearly four years later the figure of Crumpty again began to loom large over the political horizon of Ceylon. Governor van Eck received a communication from a certain Fre Manuel de St. Joachim, a Portuguese of questionable antecedents and unsavoury appearance,

3. Letters to Batavia, Feb. 1st 1761. Vol. D. 327 Govt Archives.

4. Secret Minutes of the Political Council, 28th Dec. 1760. Vol. D. 242 Govt. Archives.



who had been a Roman Catholic priest but had apostasised and turned Protestant. This engaging person now came forward and made a declaration in the Latin language to the effect that he had been in touch with Crumpty who was living under close surveillance at Mergui, near Siam, and was eager to return to Ceylon in order to make a further bid for the Kandyan throne with Dutch assistance. It must here be remarked that the otherwise contemptible Fre Manuel possessed one notable gift—a wonderful power of investing with an aspect of plausibility any story which he chose to relate. Availing himself of this faculty, he formulated a scheme for bringing Crumpty to Ceylon as the future King of Kandy, and painted the prospect in colours so vivid and so sanguine that van Eck was impressed. Already, more than two years earlier, the Dutch had begun to toy with a plan for deposing Kirti Sri and installing Crumpty in his place; and at the suggestion of van Eck an embassy had, in 1762, been despatched by the Governor-General from Batavia to the King of Siam to ask for the person of Crumpty. French influence at the Siamese Court, had, however, been exerted against the Dutch, and the envoys were compelled to return empty-handed. Among the Sinhalese too, the memory of Crumpty was still fresh and his popularity undiminished. At intervals there would occur at Kandy, in the ranks of the so-called Siamese party, an efflorescence of pro-Crumpty feeling, which would find practical expression in a treasonable correspondence with the Dutch.<sup>5</sup>

Under the direction of Van Eck a determined attempt was now made to secure Crumpty for the Kandyan throne. The converse proposition, that of securing the Kandyan throne for Crumpty, remained, of course, yet to be grappled with. Onderkoopman Damast Limberger and his assistant Arndt received secret orders to proceed to Mergui in company with Fre Manuel and endeavour by stealth to remove Crumpty from prison. They were strictly enjoined to conceal the true purpose of their visit and, if questioned, to invent some plausible fiction in reply. Damast and Arndt duly reached their destination, but the hopes held out by Fre Manuel failed in their promise. It is true, the Portuguese ex-priest stole ashore each night, and returned with messages purporting to emanate from Crumpty, which seemed to encourage the belief that the

5. Vol. D 327. Also D. 243 Govt. Archives.

plot was maturing. But, as the days lengthened into weeks, and Crumpty failed to manifest himself in visible and tangible shape, suspicions and misgivings began to arise in the mind of Damast. He prosecuted independent inquiries and presently the truth was out. Crumpty had, indeed, been at Mergui, but, sometime before the arrival of the secret mission, he had been moved further inland to Tenasserim, the seat of the Siamese Viceroy, where he was guarded by seven picked mandarins who prevented all access to him. Manuel, at the time when he was supposed to be concerting schemes and communing closely with Crumpty, had, in reality been disporting himself in the bazaars in very un-priestly fashion. His alleged recent conversations with the Siamese prince were, therefore, a myth. Recognising that he had been duped, Damast turned with imprecations<sup>6</sup> to deal suitably with Manuel, but the rogue had absconded.

Meanwhile, the Siamese officials at Mergui, mistrustful of all strangers, and prone to regard them as spies, had begun to follow the activities of the Dutch with close interest. Damast and Arndt, bereft of their ready-witted and mendacious ally, were confronted with a choice between two evils, either to abandon their enterprise altogether, or to make an open avowal of their real designs. They determined on the latter course, and addressed themselves to the Viceroy of Tenasserim who happened just then to be at Mergui.<sup>7</sup> The Viceroy, though sympathetic, shrank from the responsibility of yielding up Crumpty without a special warrant from his sovereign; while the king, when appealed to in his turn, again gave ear to the sinister promptings of the French and declined to entertain the Dutch request. Thus the second mission also ended in failure.

Yet, so strong was the hold established on the imagination of van Eck by the scheme for placing a Siamese dynasty on the Kandyan throne, that, even with his dying breath he dictated a letter<sup>8</sup> to his Council on March 27th 1765, urging them to make one more attempt to secure Crumpty. But, after the death of van Eck and the advent of his successor Falck, other counsels prevailed, and the figure of Crumpty finally receded from the stage of Ceylon history.

J. H. O. P.

6 "Vervloekte booswigt"—"helsche bedrijven"—"eervergeeten schelm"—are some of his expressions. Vol. D. 2901 Govt. Archives.

7 Letter dated Jan. 12th 1765.—Vol. D. 488 Govt. Archives.

8 Vol. D. 248. Govt. Archives.

## OUR DUTCH CORNER.

### INDRUKKEN VAN EENE HOLLANDSCHE VROUW IN CEYLON.

Met de "Johan van Oldenbarendvelt" kwamen mijne dochter en ik den 2den Juli l. l. in Colombo aan, rechtstreeks van Amsterdam. Deze boot is eene der nieuwste van de Maatschappij Nederland en zij is buitengewoon mooi ingericht. De Nederlandsche sierkunstenaar Lion Cachet verzorgde de geheele aankleding van de boot en het is een wonderlijk fraai geheel geworden waarvan wij drie weken genoten. Maar wij waren toch zeer blij Colombo te zien en de boot te kunnen verlaten, en wij bewonderden de mooie haven en de ligging der stad. Wij logeerden twee nachten in het Galle Face Hotel, waar de Sinhaleesche boys met kamen op (ik kan niet zeggen *in*) het haar ons al dadelijk zeer amuseerden. Verder was er in de Oostersche stad zoo veel dat voor ons geheel nieuw was en daardoor interest bekoorlijk. Ik zou wel willen weten of de Europeanen, die lang in Ceylon gewoond hebben, nog zoo intens genieten van de schilderachtigheid om hen heen, als wij dat doen. Wij zagen in Colombo o. a. de markt "Weliwatta", dat was eene kleuren weelde van vruchten, groenten en visschen in de wonderlijkste soorten. En dan de prachtmenschen ertusschen, die Sinhaleezen met hun bronzen lichamen en hun pikzwarte oogen en haren! Er zat daar temidden der groenten een jong moedertje, dat haar kindje voedde, dat was een plaatje! Wij bezochten ook de oude Nederlandsche kerk; daar en later in Galle werden wij getroffen door de vele Nederlandsche namen van vrouwen en kinderen, die heel jong gestorven waren in het verre, vreemde land, waarschijnlijk ten gevolge van onverstandige levenswijze en onvoldoende medische hulp. Wat een tragedies zouden die oude grafsteenen ons kunnen vertellen, indien zij praten konden!

Van Colombo naar Hambantota is wel een der mooiste tochten die ik ooit in mijn leven gemaakt heb! De Indische Oceaan aan de rechterhand, die met zijn sneeuwitte branding tegen de rotsen dondert, en aan den anderen kant de tientallen dorpen, die men doorrijdt, het is alles een groot prentenboek, en men heeft geen oogen genoeg om te zien. Al die dorpelingen, die voor hun hutten of huizen zitten of staan of liggen, gehuld in de schitterendste kleuren, oranje, groen, rood, of het rose, en daartusschen de buffeltjes, de goiten en de prachtige kinderen, die veel mooie zijn dan onze

Europeesche bleekneusjes, en dan die allergrappigste winkeltjes, waar men steeds iets nieuws ontdekt, het is onder de gouden zonnestralen, van een ongekende schoonheid.

Galle is heel interessant; als men binnen komt, is het precies het oude fort van Naarden bij Amsterdam, die oude Hollanders hebben er wel degelijk hun eigen stempel opgedrukt.

Hambantota ligt beeldig aan den oceaan en "resthouses" zijn uitstekende inrichtingen in een land als Ceylon, waar groote hotels niet overal kunnen bestaan. De weg van Hambantota naar Ohiya is heel nieuw voor ons. Wij maken kennis met de jungle, met jungle-boomen en jungle-bloemen, en met apen, de in de wildernis oneindig amusanter zijn dan hun ras-genooten in den beroemden Zoologischen Tuin in Amsterdam. Eindelijk bereiken wij West-Haputale, de tea estate van mijn zoon. Met de auto rijdt men tot de fabriek, het laatste eind klimmen gaat te voet of te paard of men wordt naar boven gedragen. Voor het eerst van mijn leven schommel ik in een draagstoel, het is een aller wonderlijkst gevoel. De bungalow ligt heel hoog en heeft een schitterend uitzicht. Alle wandelingen zijn prachtig. Wij gaan naar de Hortons waar de forellen rivier doorstroomt. Dat is ander visschen dan met pieren hengelen in Holland. Dit is echte sport en men kan er niet rustig bij gaan zitten.

Op de plantage zelve is altijd iets interessants to zien. Er wordt een nieuwe rijweg aangelegd en een olifant trekt den zwaren roller. Is het niet wonderlijk hoe slim en handig het groote dier dien roller hanteert alsof het een lucifer was? Er wordt ook een nieuwe tempel gebouwd en een nieuwe fabriek en de werklieden werken zoo heel anders dan de Nederlandsche. Men zou zeggen dat ze nooit klaar zullen komen en toch gaat het vlug en keurig. De nog in werking zijnde fabriek en de thee-fabricatie is alleraardigst om te zien, even als het kleine ziekenhuis met apotheek en Maternity Ward. Nederlandsche a. s. moeders, zelfs de allerarmste, zouden schrikken bij de gedachte een kind te moeten krijgen op de harde houten bank, waar zelfs geen kussen op ligt!

De Tamils, die hier werken, interesseeren mij nog meer dan de prachtige natuur. Het spijt mij maar dat ik niet met hen kan praten. Ze zijn lang zoo mooi niet als de Sinhaleezen, maar vroolijk en vriendelijk en wat zijn zij met weinig tevreden als men ze vergelijkt

met Hollandsch werkvolk! Ik zag een paar kamers in een cooly-line; wat moet dat een makkelijke verhuizing zijn, als zij naar een andere estate trekken! Ik woonde ook een Poosy-feest bij, met dansers en kransen van tempelbloemen en wierook en tom-tom muziek. De god, Ramasami, die twee nachten de estate met zijn tegenwoordigheid vereerde, moest verblyfhouden in de school, omdat de tempel nog niet klaar is. Hij stond daar tegen een fluweelen achtergrond, geflankeerd door een portret in kleuren van Z. M. den Koning van Engeland en een kartonnen schoolklok, waar de kinderen den tijd van leeren. De Hindoes stonden allen in een vóór en om de school, en toen er een belletje weerklonk, bogen zij de hoofden en vouwden eerbiedig de slanke handen, tot zelfs de kleine kinderen toe. Daarna begon het feesteten, rijst en curry op bananen-bladeren, het was alles als een sprookje.

Toen de god afgereisd was naar een andere estate, werd de school weer in eere hesteld, en het was een genot daar een uurtje door te brengen. Om de kleintjes hun alfabet te hooren opzeggen, terwijl zij de lettertjes met hun vingertjes in het zand schrijven, is het aardigste wat men bedenken kan, en telkens sta ik verwonderd over hun aangeboren beschaving. Laat een paar Tamil vrouwen met goud in den neus en sari's aan een Hollandsche klas binnegaan en alle kinderen zullen gaan fluisteren en giechelen, daar ben ik zeker van. Doch hier keken de kinderen de Europeesche vrouwen vriendelijk aan en er was geen quaestie van onbeleefd gelach. Zij hebben manieren waar de z. g. beschaafde volken een voorbeeld aan kunnen nemen. Ik zag een menigte coolies bij een vuurwerk hier op de estate; er was geen gedrang, geen geduw, geen gegil, allen stonden in volmaakte stilte te genieten van het ongewone schouwspel. Mogen zij nog lang zoo blijven!

Ik zag Kandy ook met den wonderlijken Tempel van de Tand van Buddha, en de tempelolifanten en de prachtige Peradeniya Gardens en Nuwara Eliya en nog zooveel meer moois en interessants, maar ik durf dit artikel niet langer te maken door dat alles te beschrijven. Ik moet alleen nog mijn bewondering uiten over de schitterende autowegen in dit onvolprezen land. Ze maken het reizen hier tot een volmaakt genot.

Binnenkort keeren wij terug naar Holland, maar ik verzeker u dat ik Ceylon en zijn inwoners nooit zal vergeten en dat ik hun van harte Gods besten zegeningen toe wensch.

P. A. TUTTIN NOLTHENIUS VAN HALFTEN.

West Haputale Estate,  
Ohiya.

## THE IDENTITY OF "PHILALATHES."

Most students of the early history of the island are familiar with "The History of Ceylon" by Philalathes, A. M. Oxon, which was published in 1817. Sir George Barrow, in his "Ceylon, Past and Present" which appeared in 1856, attributed the authorship to the Revd. C. Bisset, Private Secretary and son-in-law to General Sir Robert Brownrigg, the then Governor of Ceylon, and Sir Emerson Tennent, whose valuable contribution to the history of Ceylon appeared two years later, adopted this view without due investigation. The Revd. Mr. Bisset therefore enjoyed the distinction of being the author of the book until the year 1870, when Mr. William Skeen, in an Addendum to his able work entitled "Adam's Peak", conclusively proved that the writer who assumed the *nom-de-plume* of Philalathes was not the Revd. Bisset but another cleric of the name of Revd. Robert Fellowes, L.L.D. The proof adduced by Mr. Skeen is so convincing, and the article itself contains such a deal of information relating to the period in question, that we make no apology for reproducing it, more especially as Mr. Skeen's book is now comparatively rare. This is what Mr. Skeen says:—

"The work published under the above name having been frequently quoted in the preceding pages, the following remarks upon the identification of the author may not be deemed out of place.

"The authorship of the History of Ceylon by "Philalathes", published in London in 1817, has been attributed to a variety of individuals. Sir James Emerson Tennent, in the introduction to his work on Ceylon, says that "the author is believed to have been the Rev. C. Bisset"; and in a note at page 90 of the second volume, on the subject of the Kandian Campaign of 1815, he remarks, "from the identity of the materials of 'A Narrative of events which have recently occurred in Ceylon, written by a gentleman on the spot', (published in London in 1815,) with the 25th chapter of the History of Ceylon by PHILALATHES, the two statements appear to have been written by one and the same person, and evidently by one who was present whilst the occurrences he describes were in progress". This is however by no means conclusive, for the work of Philalathes consists, to a very great extent, of quotations and translations, and the "narrative of events" is only freely made use of by the author who so chose to designate himself. There is reason to believe, as

I shall afterwards shew, that the two works were not from the same pen. The Rev. R. Spence Hardy, in the "Jubilee Memorials of the Wesleyan Mission, South Ceylon, 1864" says in a note, "It appears strange that authors (as in Barrow's Ceylon Past and Present, 1851,) will persist in attributing to Mr. Bisset the work on Ceylon by PHILALATHES, whose initials are H. W. B., and it is evident that he never was in the island. It has been supposed by others that Mr. Bennet is the author of this work, but his initials are J. W. B.

"Now, on looking at the end of the preface to the work by PHILALATHES, that name will be seen to occur at the right hand corner of the page,—the usual, if not the invariable position in which a writer places his name, in print as well as in manuscript. The initials, "H. W. B." stand at the left hand corner immediately above the date "November 13, 1816." They therefore seem to indicate the initial letters of a place of residence, rather than the name of an author. In Clark's Summary of Colonial Law (1834), p. 439, it is stated that "the History of Ceylon, published under the assumed name of PHILALATHES, is, in the copy deposited in the British Museum, attributed to Mr. R. Fellowes.

"My attention was originally drawn to Mr. Clark's work by Mudaliyar Louis De Soyza; and Mr. W. N. De Abrew Rajapakse hinted to me that Mr. R. Fellowes was probably an officer serving in the Ceylon Rifles at the time the work by PHILALATHES was written. Following up the clue thus given, I examined the Ceylon Government Almanacs and the General Orders of the Ceylon Command, for the year 1815 and onwards. The result was that I found Lieut. Robert Fisher Fellowes (also spelt Fellowes) served in the 4th and 2nd Regiments of the Ceylon Rifles from March 16, 1810, to April 10, 1826, when he died in the Seven Korales, to which place, after serving on the staff at several outstations, he had been appointed Commandant. In the course of his service he went to England on leave on the 6th September, 1814, and remained in England until the 24th March, 1817. In the General Orders of April 29, 1817, notifying an extension of leave, his name occurs as Fellowes. He was therefore in England during the whole of the years 1815, 1816, and part of 1817; and the work by PHILALATHES was completed by the 13th November, 1816, and published at the commencement of the following year. But, notwithstanding this

coincidence, it seemed scarcely credible that if he was the writer, he could have avoided intimating so much at least as would have sufficed to show that he had written from personal recollections of the events described, or have refrained from dropping hints here and there of having been an actual participator in them. Nothing of the sort is however to be found in the books. I therefore wrote to England upon the subject, requesting information upon certain points, and, in particular, that the copy of the work in the British Museum should be examined, and an exact transcript sent me of any manuscript that might be found to warrant the statement made by Mr. Clark.

"In reply to my inquiries I received the following particulars, kindly furnished under the hand of George Bullen, Esq., the Superintendent of the Reading-room in the British Museum, who also produced the book for the satisfaction of the friend who was good enough to make the inquiry for me. "In the Museum copy the name R. Fellowes, written in pencil, follows the words, 'by Philalathes, A. M. Oxon.'" Mr. Bullen further informed my friend that Mr. R. Fellowes was one of the superior officers in the British Museum at the time the work was written; that it was written by him at the British Museum; and that he himself wrote his own name in the Museum copy. There can therefore be now no more uncertainty upon the subject. The initials 'H. W. B.' unquestionably refer to the name of a residence, possibly Holly Wood, Blackheath.

"From subsequent enquiries I have learnt the following further particulars concerning PHILALATHES. The Rev. Robert Fellowes, L.L.D., was born in Norfolk in the year 1770, perhaps at Haverham Hall, near Norwich, which is the seat of a family of that name. He went to St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, was ordained a Clergyman of the Church of England in the year 1795, and obtained the degree of M. A. in 1801. From 1799 to 1807 he published several theological works—"Religion of the Universe," "Christian Philosophy," "Guide to Immortality," "Religion without Cant," &c., which received high praise from the celebrated Dr. Parr, with whom he was on very friendly terms, as well as with Baron Maseres, who is said to have left him £200,000. He also published in 1806 a volume of poems. The History of Ceylon, by PHILALATHES, in 1817, is apparently his last work. He was a staunch partizan of

Queen Caroline during her prosecution, and he also took a prominent part in the establishment of the London University, where he founded two annual gold medals—called the 'Fellowes' Medals.' He was Editor for many years of the London Critical Review, at least up to the year 1820. In his later years he seceded from the Church of England, and joined, it is said, the unitarian body. He died in 1847.

"The fact that Dr. Robert Fellowes was the writer who assumed the *nom-de-plume* of PHILALATHES accounts for the hitherto puzzling difficulty evidenced throughout the work, that that writer had never himself been in Ceylon. From whom then, beyond the authors he quotes, did he derive his information, which has evidently come from some one who was intimately acquainted with the country and the contemporaneous events described? I cannot but think, from the similarity of name, and the coincidence already noticed, that Lieutenant R. Fisher Fellowes, of the Ceylon Rifles, must have been a relative or connection, who, during his stay in England, communicated to him the information which a service of four years in the island could not fail to have furnished him with; and that the actual writer of the work chose to attach his name "Philalathes" to his book, rather than appear before the world as the author of a volume, the substance of which had been placed in his hands by another, and that other a relative of his own. And that Lieutenant Fellowes was neither the author of, nor the furnisher of the facts contained in the "Narrative of events which occurred in Ceylon in 1815", is clear, inasmuch as he was in England at the time, having left Ceylon the previous year."

J. R. T.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

### EMIGRATION FROM CEYLON.

To the EDITOR of the Journal of the  
Dutch Burghier Union of Ceylon.

Dear Sir,

I have read Dr. Spittel's address at the special meeting of the D.B.U. held on 26th March, 1931, and which appeared in the July number of the Journal. While I think that much of the advice he gave worthy of careful consideration by the members of the community, I strongly feel that the outlook he takes about emigration from the Island is wrong and likely to mislead those who are in a position to help in such a worthy cause.

If England, Germany and Holland have their emigration schemes, and give serious thought to this all important question of finding suitable homes and occupations in other lands, where competition is not so great for their sons, then there are still more cogent reasons for the Dutch Burghers of Ceylon to seriously organise and produce a scheme to assist those of the younger generation of their community who, through no fault of their own, are faced even with the loss of their European heritage and are desirous of founding new homes in a more suitable environment.

The principal reason for such an organisation is the fact that there is not, and never can be, a labouring class among the Dutch Burghers in Ceylon. Even a skilled workman can have no place in the Island for he has to compete with the working man of other races whose style of living is unthinkable to even the least cultured of our community.

Dr. Spittel, as a leader of the community, should take a broader view of this matter, and not confine himself to the consideration of the cultured few, who in the face of keen competition have to their great credit made successful careers for themselves.

During my last visit to Ceylon I was forcibly struck by the utterly colourless and hopeless outlook for the future which so many young men of our community have to face. This is very true in the outstations. Perhaps the position is worse in Colombo, but I do not know Colombo as well as I do the outstations. These young men have been brought up according to the ideals of a great European race. These ideals we value, and it is for their preservation and growth that the Dutch Burghier Union was primarily intended. Are we to see these young men gradually slip away from the community and its traditions and merge with the illiterate Eastern masses? I think not. It is our obvious duty to organise some scheme to save this class and preserve in them and for them our European heritage.



It may be very nice for the leaders of the Community to cultivate a pride in calling themselves Ceylonese and, politically at least, in combining with the other races, but I am afraid that the preaching of such a doctrine to the younger members and to those who are struggling for a bare existence, and yet striving to maintain those Western ideals they had inherited, can do much harm. It will, I am afraid, encourage them to take the line of least resistance, to give up their pride of race, and to take the down hill course.

Humility, as Dr. Spittel advises, sounds very nice, but we must not forget that it is pride of race that has helped and preserved the Community in the past, and has prompted many when they found that their birth-right of being European was denied, to leave the place of their birth to enjoy this privilege in other lands.

I am not quite clear what Dr. Spittel means when he says that he knows of many men who had gone out of Ceylon and he could not say that they had done very well for themselves. I do not believe that any of these men left Ceylon with the idea of making a fortune. They left, I believe in most cases, with the idea of just making a comfortable living, but above all of preserving for themselves and their children their European heritage, and in securing these and a fair measure of happiness they have in nearly every case succeeded. But the position of even the failures, if such exist, must be far preferable to the colourless existence which so many of our young men are forced to face in Ceylon.

I hope, Mr. Editor, you will find room in your next number for the publication of this letter, although I find it not too easy to express my thoughts in just a few well chosen words, being just a very ordinary medico making his living as a common or garden farmer.

My reason to have this letter published will be obvious to many. The position of many of our young Dutch Burghers in Ceylon to-day is desperate, and there is a hope that if the leaders of our Community will organise and produce a workable scheme, that much can be done for these youngsters both in Ceylon as well as out of it, and if out of it what better land can they choose than South Africa, where more than half of the Europeans are people of their own race with similar ideals.

I must stop now for I feel that I am being threatened with writer's cramp. The association of a farmer with writer's cramp is unthinkable.

A. H. ERNST.

"Allesbeste",  
Tzaneen,  
Northern Transvaal.

2nd August, 1931.

## ONE CHANCE MORE.\*

1

Once upon a midnight dreary, in the month of February,  
As I sat in Baillie Street, thinking of the days of yore,  
While I nodded, nearly napping, suddenly there came a tapping,  
And a flapping and a rapping,—rapping at my office door;  
" 'Tis some correspondent," said I, "some unthinking idle bore—"  
"Only this and nothing more."

2

Ah, distinctly I remember, it was in the bleak December  
That I left, with all my lumber, quiet Southampton's murky shore;  
Eagerly I rushed to Lanka, where my well known warmth and  
rancour,  
And the pass-book of my banker, claimed my presence evermore,  
Claimed the rare and radiant powers, which my paper lacked  
before—

And I said "I'm game for more!"

3

And the voice of one who knew me, outside in the passage gloomy,  
In a perspiration threw me, and my head was very sore;  
So that now, to still my panting, I was thinking of recanting  
All the ranting and the canting which had raised my fame before,—  
All the bluster and the bombast, which had raised my fame before,  
In the good old days of yore.

4

Presently my soul grew stronger, hesitating then no longer,—  
"Burgher, Beast or Bat," said I, "pray forgive me, I implore,—  
But the fact is I was writing on a subject so exciting,  
All about the J. P.'s fighting,—seizing coolies by the score;  
Pray come in and sit beside me,"—here I opened wide the door;  
And—I could not utter more;—

\* This parody of Poe's "Raven", by C. A. Lorenz, appeared in the "Ceylon Examiner" of 12th March 1864. The speaker was supposed to be Mr. A. M. Ferguson, Senior Editor of the "Ceylon Observer", and "Johnny" was Mr. John Ferguson, Junior Editor. The "Ceylon Raven" was C. A. L. himself, who at that time was "bearded like a wilderness", and whose caricatures in the "Muniandi" excited much comment.—ED.

5

For, with many a flirt and flutter, many a bow and croak and splutter,  
 In there stepped a Ceylon Raven, bearded like a wilderness,  
 And with looks of milk and honey, staring hard at me and Johnny,  
 In he stepped, so blithe and bonny, perching on a Printing Press,  
 Perching on a double-action, patent, Eagle Printing Press :  
 Perching sat, and nothing more.

6

And this Bird of wicked omen, smiling with a grave decorum,  
 While we stood in awe before him, quietly scanned us o'er and o'er ;  
 Then in anger I harangued him, and with wicked names I slanged  
 him,  
 Till I thought I'd nearly hanged him, and destroyed him evermore,  
 So that he and I should never meet each other as before—  
 Quoth the Raven—" One chance more !"

7

Much I marvelled this ungainly fowl should dare to speak so plainly  
 To a man whose efforts mainly helped his countrymen of yore ;  
 For you cannot help agreeing that no living human being  
 Ever thought of disagreeing from my published thoughts before ;  
 And I clenched my fists against him, and a terrible vow I swore ;  
 Quoth the Raven—" One chance more !"

8

But the Raven sitting lonely, on that Printing Press, spoke only,  
 Those unmeaning words, as if their force would simply knock me  
 over ;  
 Nothing further, save a croaking while his feathers he kept stroking,  
 As if inwardly a-joking,—till in desperation sore  
 I addressed him—" Leave me, Raven ; leave me,—there's the open  
 door !"  
 Quoth the Raven—" One chance more !"

9

" German, Dutch or French descendant," said I—" still so independent,  
 With a train of friends dependent on your merest beck alone ;  
 Tell me, is it in your nature, day by day to caricature  
 Every face and every feature in the Legislature of Ceylon,  
 Till your victims writhe in anger as they never writhed before ?"  
 Quoth the Raven—" One chance more !"

10

Still with wrath and anger seething,— " Was there ever Scotchman  
 breathing,"  
 Said I, all my soul bequeathing to the Night's Plutonian shore,  
 " Was there ever such a donkey, such an everlasting flunkey,  
 As would ever be so funky, as to read your wicked lore,  
 As to let your wicked paper ever cross his chamber door ?"  
 Quoth the Raven—" One chance more !"

11

Then in mortal perspiration, uttered I an exclamation,  
 " How about your circulation,—is it less or is it more ?  
 For the Planters at Badulla, will not be your punkah-puller,  
 For to make your List the fuller, and your rivals to ignore ;  
 And your graceless, grumbling, greedy growling rivals to ignore."  
 Quoth the Raven—" One chance more !"

12

Then with sundry nods and winkings, shoulder-shrugs and shoulder-shrinkings,  
 I reminded him of Jenkins, keeper of a Coffee-store ;  
 And I spoke of all he'd said of him, and of all the fun he'd made of  
 him,  
 And I fondly begged and pray'd of him, not to do so any more,  
 Lest the angry Jenkins should attack him as an anti-English bore ;  
 Quoth the Raven—" One chance more !"

13

Then I could no longer bear him, and I thought it best to scare him,  
 By naming, Drieberg, Morgan, Saram,—men who'd stood by me  
 before :  
 And I thought, by this manoeuvre, I should win the Burghers over  
 For to look on me with favour, as they'd done in days of yore,  
 But the dodge was unsuccessful, for they laughed at me the more,  
 Slyly adding,— " One chance more !"

## 14

Lapsing into wrath and panic, with a prompting most Satanic,  
I gravely called him a "Mechanic," thinking that would knock him  
o'er ;

And I sent for little Dickson, with his well-known predilixon,  
And I set that little vixen to correct his English lore ;  
But the Raven laughing loudly, rising, higher still did soar,  
Always croaking—" One chance more ! "

## 15

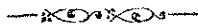
While this Bird was round me flying, all my wrath and slang  
defying,

Tried I then a little lying ;—I could really do no more !  
For when low abuse and slander, from the kitchen's back-verandah,  
Failed to raise the Raven's dander, lies might bring him to the floor,  
Lies might vex him and annoy him, uttered daily by the score ;—  
Quoth the Raven—" One chance more ! "

## 16

And the Raven still is croaking, always joking, always joking,  
Flitting o'er my Printing Presses, right before my office door,  
And his eyes above me gleaming, often rouse me in my dreaming,  
Till they set me almost screaming, and I tumble on the floor ;  
And I sometimes think it better, looking back to days of yore,  
To accept the—" One chance more ! "

Caltura, March 10, 1864.



## BY THE WAY.

## NOTES BY NIEMAND.

Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands is now the senior Sovereign of Europe. She became Queen in 1890. King Alfonso XIII of Spain began his reign four years earlier, but his departure from Spain and the loss of his royal power give her Majesty of Holland the seniority. Our own King George V reigned from 1910, and he has four kings senior to himself. There are now only twelve reigning sovereigns in Europe, one of whom is the Grand Duchess of Luxemburg.

\* \* \*

The agitation for a "national dress" is only a part of the larger movement for "national reform". There is, or appears to be, a wide-spread desire for the revival of forgotten or neglected customs and other signs of national life. The prevailing practice of "aping the West" is rightly condemned, and national individuality is to be asserted.

\* \* \*

It is towards this larger general aim that the particular movements are directed. That a national dress is cheaper and better adapted to a tropical climate may be good argument, but the more important consideration is that it is an indication of a separate national life. The wider use of the Sinhalese language may or may not encourage a new and inspiring Sinhalese literature ; but the desire is that a new spirit of national self-respect should be encouraged.

\* \* \*

I am not equally impressed by, or in sympathy with, the less clamant demands for national games and a national religion. Religion is independent of nationality, and when games become popular, they cease to be specially national. No one thinks of chess and polo as Eastern games, or of cricket and football as Western games.

\* \* \*

It will be seen from a study of the agitation going on around us that the movement is practically a Sinhalese movement, to revive the Sinhalese nation. The end is entirely laudable, whether the means proposed are practicable or not. Those who preach "inter-

nationalism" should see that there must be "nations" first; and when our Sinhalese friends seek to maintain their identity, and to conserve their ancient history and traditions, no one ought to be so selfish as to deny them all the support and encouragement in his power.

\* \* \*

If dress and language are essentials of separate nationality, then, it is plain that national dress and national language must come into general use. Whether these are really essential or not is still to be seen. There is the *Saree* for ladies, but proper national garments for men have still to be evolved. Many suggestions have been offered, but the matter is still undecided, and individual tastes have plenty of room for public display.

\* \* \*

There is also a general awakening in regard to the words in common use. The word "native" has been formally expunged from the official vocabulary, but there are other words which are held to be objectionable. *Cooly* is one of them, and the reservation of that word for a labourer in the East is not conducive to national self-respect. The use of the word *Colony* has now been officially given up, in favour of *Island* as a description of Ceylon.

\* \* \*

Again, new Sinhalese words are wanted for political and scientific terms, and that may foretell a far wider use of Sinhalese than most people anticipate. It is difficult to conceive of Sinhalese becoming ultimately the vernacular of our State Council and of our State University. But more unlikely changes have taken place here and elsewhere.

\* \* \*

It is interesting to note, in connection with the dislike of certain words in common use, that Oxford has set its face against the vulgarism "Gent" for Gentleman. An Oxford hair-dresser has been told he must not exhibit a sign announcing "Gent.'s Hairdressing", but must alter Gents. to Gentlemen's or Men's. Imagine a cricket match between "Gents. and Players". And, by the way, a protest has also begun against these names. "Are not professionals gentlemen? What are the gentlemen if they are not players?"

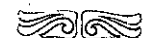
Towns in Europe are being re-named. Petrograd, Leningrad, Oslo—how many can say at once for what old towns these new names stand? It is comforting to think that places in Ceylon generally retain Ceylonese names, though many of them have been partially Anglicised. The exceptions are chiefly in the planting districts,—Hatton, Rozelle, Brookside, &c. In Colombo, Kotahena has triumphed over the attempt to make it Cotton-China.

\* \* \*

This awakening of national feeling, it will be seen, is not confined to India, China, and the East. It is a world-wide reassertion of the "Rights of Man", of man in national groups as well as of man as an individual. Why should any nation ignore and lose its ancient traditions and lose itself, as the Ten Tribes of Israel have been lost?

\* \* \*

One sign of a genuine national awakening is a revival of national literature, expressing national ideals, hopes, and feelings; not dwelling overmuch on the past, but burning with enthusiasm over the new aspirations of the present.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

**Dutch Rule in the Colonies.**—To lash a dead lion is not a heroic pastime, but it attracts a certain type of minds, some of whom have unfortunately undertaken the task of writing history.

The Dutch were and still are a great colonising nation. But the courtesy found in the field of sport between competitors from different nations does not extend to the realm of commerce and national advancement. With ceaseless iteration we are told that the Dutch Colonial rule of the past was an inferior rule and that the only concern of the Dutch was their trade.

I give below an extract from "The Dutch in Malabar", one of the papers printed by the Government Press, Madras, which should go far to correct the prejudiced and partisan views of many of our "standard" historians.

[Extract referred to:]

"The Directors of the English Company long held the Dutch system up as a model to their subordinates in the chief offices in their settlement, and sometimes their designations were borrowed from the Dutch system. In the early days the advisability of imitating the Dutch was freely acknowledged and many Dutchmen were induced to enter the English Company's service. So in 1687 Governor Yale of Madras (afterwards founder of Yale University) having sent the Director "a book containing the Dutch methods", they observed that they had found in it "not much more than some of us understood before of their affairs, but as there appears in this great wisdom and policy we recommend to you the frequent reading and consideration of what is contained in these papers which the oftener you read, the more you will discover the wisdom of those persons who continued those methods. *Our design in the whole is to set up the Dutch Government among the English in the Indies (than which a better cannot be invented)* for the good of posterity and to put us upon an equal footing of power with them to offend or defend, or enlarge the English dominion and unite the strength of our nation under one entire and absolute command subject to us; as we are and ever shall be most dutifully to our own sovereign.

But this distinction we will make that we will always observe our own English terms viz:—Attorney-General instead of Fiscal, Alderman instead of Sepin, Burgesses instead of Burghers, Sergeants instead of Baillies, President and Agent instead of Commander, Director, Commissary, &c.

What specially provoked the admiration of the English Directors in the Dutch conduct of affairs was that they placed administration before trade. "The wise Dutch" wrote the Directors in 1689 "in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade."

E. H. V.

[We are much obliged to Mr. VanderWall for drawing attention to this unstinted tribute to the excellence of the Dutch system of administration.—ED.]

**Mr. Thomas Farrell:**—The late Mr. J. P. Lewis in his book "Ceylon in Early British Times" states that Mr. Thomas Farrell, Fiscal of Colombo, was shot while sitting in the upper verandah of his house which overlooked the Pettah Burial ground, and is now known as No. 115, Main Street. Mr. W. S. Christoffelsz joins issue with him on this point and states that Mr. Farrell's house was not in Main Street but in First Cross Street, opposite the building now occupied by Messrs. F. X. Pereira & Sons. Mr. Christoffelsz adds that Mr. Farrell's house and the ones adjoining it were pulled down many years ago to make room for more modern buildings. We shall be glad if any of our readers are able to throw any further light on this matter.

**Mr. J. E. Theile:**—In the JOURNAL for October, 1930, there appeared an article on "Sitting Magistrates", and among those who held office between the years 1815 and 1830 the name of Mr. J. E. Theile was included. We are now in a position to give some further interesting particulars regarding this gentleman. Mr. W. J. S. Boake, in his Monograph of the Mannar District, has the following humorous reference to him:—"1816. Orr is back again as Collector. He falls foul of Theile, already referred to as Sitting Magistrate of Vidaltivu, and who seems also to have been Collector of Customs there, for interfering with the headman, and reports



him to Government. The Governor rather snubs them both, telling Theile that he is "an assuming young man" and advising Orr that he should have sent his instructions to the headman through Theile; so that I suppose a Sitting Magistrate in those days was regarded somewhat in the light of a sitting hen. He might "sit", but was not to be sat on."

Another and more personal reference to this gentleman appears in Mr. J. W. Bennet's book "Ceylon and its Capabilities". "Formerly" says Bennet, "the Sitting Magistrate at Point Pedro was a Prussian gentleman of the name of Theile, who had served under Frederick the Great. He was a fine specimen of the Prussian grenadier of the old school, being not less than six feet, three inches in height. Mr. Theile entertained the late Sir William Coke (Puisne Justice of the Honourable the Supreme Court) and myself, upon our landing at Point Pedro from Trincomalee, with the greatest hospitality; and after dinner, a few extra glasses of Sir William's champagne took a pleasant effect upon the old gentleman, who was eighty years of age; for instead of shouldering a crutch "to show how fields were won", he desired his daughter, a very pretty girl, to play a favorite Prussian March, and "advancing arms" with my gun, marched about the room as erect as if he had been sixty years younger than he really was."

**The History of Ceylon.**—"According to a report in the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union, the Governor of Ceylon has appointed a Commission to make investigations regarding unpublished MSS. which are in the possession of private persons or of institutions and which could throw light on the administrative, ecclesiastical and scientific history of the island. The Commission will advise on the collection, preservation and, where necessary, the restoration of important documents, and will suggest the means of making them more easily accessible to the reader, of translating and of publishing them. The Chairman of this Commission is Professor S. A. Pakeman."—From "Neerlandia."

**The Study of Dutch in Ceylon.**—"Following a humorous account of the experiences of a Dutch Physican, Dr. Danielsz, at the hands of a certain wealthy and capricious Sinhalese king in 1739, the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon gives gratifying news regarding the study of Dutch. It was announced

at the annual general meeting of this Union that, thanks to the unflagging insistence of Dr. Prins, a much larger number of persons are now studying Dutch than ever before. Last year a course of studies was vigorously pursued under the tutelage of Dr. Prins, Dr. Leembruggen and Mrs. Lourensz, while a fresh class at another centre in Colombo was added to the conversation and reading classes already held in the Union building. A number of students have made excellent progress and will soon, it is hoped, in their turn, advocate the study of Dutch among the other Burghers."—From "Neerlandia."

**A Slaafbrief.**—In the *Journal* for April, 1925, there appeared under "Notes and Queries", a short explanation of the uses served by a *Slaafbrief* in Dutch times. Through the courtesy of Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz we are able to give our readers a translation of a *Slaafbrief* in the possession of Mr. R. L. Brohier and which he has kindly placed at our disposal. The fact that one of the parties to the transaction was Count van Ranzow gives the document an added interest.

No. 866.

The Hon. August Count of Ranzow, Boekhouder in the Company's service here, has asserted and proved before me Gerrard Joan Fybrands, provisional onderkoopman and First Sworn Clerk in the Political Secretariat of this town, and in the presence of the witnesses Lambertus van Der Linde and Fredrik Justinus Schrader, that he has bought for the sum of eighty-nine rix-dollars the lawful possession of the slave boy named Mercurius, viz—at the auction held on February 13th last at the house of the young Miss Fonseca (where the boy was put up for sale on account of the Rev. the Predikant Carl Fredrik Schroter) vide certificate of the auctioneer's clerk Sievers bound up with earlier certificate in the Protocol. And thereby his ownership of the said youth is declared to be lawful and the certificant is authorised to sell, exchange or alienate him according as he may think fit (except to heathens and Moors) provided that the papers for this purpose are first passed in due form by the Secretary or other authorised officer, under this restriction that he may not transport the said youth without special sanction from the Government of this island, under pain of suffering the punishment prescribed therefor by statute. The record hereof is sealed with a stamp of twelve stivers.

Colombo, 5th April, 1791.

(Signed) G. J. FYBRANDS,

First Sworn Clerk.

I, the undersigned, acknowledge that I have sold and transferred my slave boy Mercurius, mentioned in this document and now re-named Spadieljie, to the Boekhouder and Secretary of the Landraad at Mature, the Hon. Fredrik de Niese, for the sum of one hundred and twenty rix dollars, thereby resigning all right and claim that I have hitherto had to the said youth. And this I confirm with my usual signature.

Colombo, May 24th, 1793.

(Signed) A. G. V. RANZOW.

I the undersigned acknowledge that I have sold and resigned the above mentioned youth Mercurius for one hundred and twenty rix-dollars to the Boekhouder and member of the Hon. the Landraad here, the Hon. Ernestus Nicolaas Weemeyer, and having duly received the money I hand this document to his honour.

Mature, June 10th, 1793.

(Signed) DE NIESE.



## NOTES OF EVENTS.

### SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

*Tuesday, 21st June, 1931* :—(1) The President moved a vote of condolence on the death of Dr. I. E. Meier. (2) Mr. VanderWall, on behalf of the general Committee, congratulated Dr. Prins on the honour conferred on him. (3) Considered report of Sub-Committee on Youth Activities. Resolved that it be placed on record that the movement on the lines indicated by Mr. C. L. Beling had the full support of the General Committee, and that it be confined to the children of members and those eligible for membership of the Union. (4) Resolved that certain unserviceable articles be sold and the proceeds utilised for the purchase of new furniture. (5) Approved the letting of the two rooms upstairs to a member at Rs. 45/- per mensem. (6) Considered two proposals to give Cinema Shows in the Union Hall. Resolved to give the proposals a trial on condition that 50 per cent. of the nett collection is paid to the Union.

*Tuesday, 28th July, 1931* :—(1) The President moved votes of condolence on the deaths of Messrs. H. A. Collette and R. A. H. de Vos. (2) Read letter from Dr. J. R. Blazé submitting proposals for making good the sum misappropriated by the late Clerk. Resolved that Dr. Blazé be informed that his terms are accepted with thanks. (3) The Secretary intimated that the Building Coy. had reduced the rent from January to September 1931 to Rs. 150/- per month without taxes, and that on payment of all arrears the matter would again be considered. (4) The Honorary Secretary made a statement regarding the activities of the Union and tabled a statement showing the balances handed over to the Treasurer for credit to the Entertainment Fund. (5) The Honorary Secretary reported that he had engaged Mr. A. B. C. Fernando as Clerk of the Union on Rs. 40/- per mensem. Resolved that Mr. Fernando do deposit Rs. 50/- in the Savings Bank as security and make further deposits of Rs. 5/- monthly until Rs 250/- is reached. (6) Read letter from Mr. W. E. V. de Rooy resigning his membership in the Union. Resolved that as a mark of appreciation of Mr. de Rooy's invaluable services to the Union from its inception, he be allowed to remain an honorary member without payment of subscription until further consideration. (7) The Honorary Treasurer was authorised to remit 20 guilders to the Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond as sub-

scription for 1931. (8) Read letter from Miss Grace van Dort suggesting that steps be taken to dispose of the books in the Lending Library, and to use the sum realised for the purchase of books of lasting value relating to Holland and Ceylon. Resolved to leave the matter in the hands of Mr. J. R. Toussaint and the Honorary Secretary, who would go through the collection and put aside those worth preserving.

**D. B. U. Lecture.**—Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala of the Colombo Museum delivered an interesting lecture on "Varsity Days" on 5th August. The Chair was taken by Mr. E. H. VanderWall.

**Our Successes.**—Mr. R. L. Brohier, Assistant Superintendent of Surveys, has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

Mr. C. A. L. Prins of Pembroke College, Cambridge, son of Dr. L. A. Prins, has been designated to receive without change of emoluments the following title:—"Livesey and Hobbs Exhibitioner for Modern Languages".

Mr. A. E. Christoffelsz, C. C. S., has been appointed Assistant Government Agent, Kegalle.

Dr. E. L. Christoffelsz has been appointed District Medical Officer, Nuwara Eliya.

Mr. L. T. Hepponstall of the Ceylon Medical College has completed Part II of the Second Professional Examination.

Mr. J. R. de V. Toussaint of the Ceylon Medical College has passed Part I of the Second Professional Examination.

**Obituary.**—We regret to record the death, which occurred on 30th June 1931, of Mr. Gladwin Koch. The deceased was the eldest son of the late Mr. Ellis Koch, and after a creditable career at the Royal College took to the study of Law. He passed out as an Advocate in 1900 and like many other members of the Bar started gaining his first experience of work at outstations. In Colombo he practised in all the Courts for many years, and about ten years ago he was appointed Commissioner of Requests. From that time up to recent years he held various positions on the Bench. From the Court of Requests he went to the District Court and held an acting appointment for some time. Later on, for some years, he was Police Magistrate of Gampaha.

He retired from judicial work two or three years ago and settled down in Kandy.

Mr. Gladwin Koch was a very loyal member of the Union and took a large share in its activities. He was always in great demand either at Bridge or at Billiards, in both of which he excelled. He was a member of the Committee for many years, the deliberations of which he did much to assist by his sound advice.

Another death which we have to deplore is that of Mr. H. H. Bartholomeusz. The deceased gentleman was to all appearances in good health, and his sudden death on 3rd September came as a rude shock to his friends. Mr. Bartholomeusz held a leading position at the Bar, and had he been spared a little longer there is no doubt that he would have risen to high office on the Bench. While paying the highest tributes to his qualities as an Advocate, his friends at the Bar as well as the judges before whom he appeared all expressed the fact that never even in the heat of argument did a harsh or an unkind word pass his lips. Mr. Bartholomeusz was a great Churchman and rendered invaluable service as Registrar of the Diocese. He was a member of the Dutch Burgher Union for many years and the community is all the poorer by his death.

Yet another death which occurred last month is that of Dr. Cyril de Vos, retired Provincial Surgeon. The deceased traced his descent to Olivier de Vos of Brugge who came out to Ceylon in 1673. After a distinguished service in the Medical Department, the deceased retired about ten years ago and took up his residence in Kandy and later on in Colombo where his death took place. Owing to his being stationed during the greater part of his service in outstations, Dr. de Vos could not take an active interest in the affairs of the Union, but he was nevertheless a firm believer in its usefulness.



## EDITORIAL NOTES.

**Notices of Births, Marriages and Deaths.**—Members of the Union are entitled, free of charge, to the insertion of notices of domestic occurrences. These notices must be restricted to a bare statement of the name or names, place, and date of occurrence, and must be sent to the Honorary Secretary of the Dutch Burgher Union.

**Standing Committee for Ethical and Literary Purposes.**—The attention of members is invited to the need for co-operation in carrying out the object laid down in sub-section (f) of Rule 2 of the Constitution. Any suggestions on this subject are to be addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the Committee for Literary Purposes, Mr. L. E. Blazé, Arthur's Place Bambalapitiya.

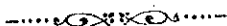
The Journal will be issued at the end of every quarter, post free, to each member of the Union who pays a subscription of Rs. 5/- per annum towards its cost of publication. Literary and other contributions are invited and should be sent to Mr. J. R. Toussaint, "Muresk", Clifford Place, Bambalapitiya, to whom also all remittances on account of the Journal should be made.

**Changes of Address.**—All changes of address (especially within the last three years) should be notified without delay to the Honorary Secretary of the Union, Dutch Burgher Union Hall, Reid Avenue, Colombo, or to the Honorary Treasurer of the Union. This will ensure the safe receipt by members of all notices, invitations, reports, etc.

**Remittances.**—Remittances, whether of subscriptions due to the Union or contributions for special objects, must be made to the Honorary Treasurer of the Union, Mr. Rosslyn Koch, Havelock Road, and not to the Honorary Secretary.

Remittances on the account of the Social Service Fund must be made to Mr. Wace de Niese, Bambalapitiya, the Honorary Treasurer of the Standing Committee for purposes of Social Service.

**Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon Buildings Co., Ltd.**—All communications should be addressed to G. H. Gratiaen, Esq., Secretary of the Company D. B. U. Hall, Reid Avenue, Colombo.



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