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VOL. XXXII.]

OCTOBER, 1942.

[No. 2.

# Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.



"Eendracht maakt Macht"

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## Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.

VOL. XXXII.]

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### DISUSE OF THE DUTCH LANGUAGE IN CEYLON.

By J. R. TOUSSAINT.

From time to time the question is asked how it is that the Dutch language has ceased to be spoken by the Dutch descendants in Ceylon. The answer was given by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz some 35 years ago when the Dutch Burgher Union was first established; but as the question has recently been revived by the presence of Dutch speaking people in our midst, the time is not inopportune for going into the whole matter again. It is generally agreed that Dutch ceased to be spoken in Ceylon about a hundred years ago. Writing in 1859, Sir Emerson Tennant said:—"Already the language of the Dutch, which they sought to extend by penal enactments, has ceased to be spoken even by their direct descendants, whilst a corrupted Portuguese is to the present day the vernacular of the middle classes in every town of importance". It is worth while examining the causes which led to the gradual disuse and practical disappearance of the language.

The Portuguese language was well established in Ceylon at the time the Dutch took possession of the maritime provinces. It was freely spoken by the Sinhalese, and it was the language used in all interviews with the Kandyan Court. Written communications with the King were at first carried on by the Dutch in their own language or in Latin, but after some time Raja Sinha II expressed a preference for Portuguese, as he thought that in the course of translating from Dutch or Latin into Sinhalese inaccuracies might result, which would lead to misunderstanding. At this time there was also a strong feeling

that the Sinhalese Christians, who were Roman Catholics, would join the Dutch Church if the services were conducted in Portuguese, a language with which they were familiar. It will thus be seen that the Dutch began their rule in Ceylon with a heavy handicap against their own language.

During Dutch rule a well organized system of education was in force. In addition to the Colombo Seminary for preparing young men principally for the ministry, other schools were established for teaching secular subjects. There was a *Nederlandsche School* for the children of the Company's Servants and Burghers. There was a school attached to the *Weeskamer* or Orphan Chamber, and another to the *Armen Huis* or Poor House, while some of the other schools were known as Company's Schools and Free Schools. All the schools were held throughout the year, without terms and long vacations. The only holidays observed were Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Ascension Day, the anniversary of the taking of Colombo, and the days specially appointed for public rejoicing and for prayer and thanksgiving. All the six days of the week were school days, except that the afternoons of Wednesday and Saturday were observed as half holidays. The school hours were from 8 to 11 in the forenoon, and from 2 to 5 in the afternoon. In those days there was no question of sending children out of Ceylon for their education. According to a well known Dutch writer, Mr. F. Dekker, "there were high officials, even a Governor, who received no other education than that which the island supplied".

This, then, was the system of education in force at the time of the Capitulation, a system in which the Dutch language occupied the first place. The events which followed the Capitulation had a disastrous effect on education, as indeed on the whole social system, and when Governor North arrived in Ceylon in 1798 he found that the Dutch educational system had been allowed to fall into disuse by the military Governors who had preceded him. According to Cordiner, "Catechists and schoolmasters no longer received their salaries. The duties of public worship and the education of youth began either to be feebly discharged or entirely neglected, and memorials presented by the inhabitants on these subjects were considered, by

a military commander, either as objects in which he had no concern, or matters which he had not power to redress".

Governor North set about at once, according to his lights, to put matters on a more satisfactory footing. Separate schools were established for Europeans, Sinhalese, and Tamils, but Dutch was not one of the subjects taught. Curiously enough, it was Portuguese which formed part of the curriculum. In a statement issued at this time setting out the progress made by the pupils, we are told that "the two sons of Mr. Ludekens (a Dutch descendant) have learned about 170 phrases of English and Portuguese, 100 words of spelling, and they read and write pretty well".

It will thus be seen that the position in regard to the teaching of Dutch was bad enough, but worse was to follow. The Dutch in Ceylon did all they could, with the limited means at their disposal, to prevent the language from dying out. A few schools were maintained by the Dutch Consistories, but the persons employed as teachers were ill-fitted for their task. They were generally remunerated by the very inadequate fees paid by the pupils, and many of them had to pursue other occupations in order to supplement their income. The methods of teaching were crude and unsystematic, so that the knowledge imparted was of a very imperfect character. The abolition of the use of Dutch in the Courts of Law dealt another severe blow to the spread of the Dutch language, which was destined to suffer further hurt by the appointment of the Honourable and Venerable Dr. T. J. Twisleton as Principal of Schools.

For some inexplicable reason, this gentleman had conceived a rooted objection to the Dutch language and was determined that it should be suppressed. Writing in 1813 with reference to a school which the Consistory proposed to establish, he says: "At first I was apprehensive that this proposed school was for the purpose of perpetuating the Dutch language in Ceylon, a language which I think ought not to be encouraged here, but on the contrary should be allowed to die away". It must be said to the credit of the Rev. J. D. Palm, one of the first Ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon in British times, that he did all he could, even at the risk of being thought unorthodox, to prevent the language from dying out. He ex-

cluded from Communion all those of Dutch extraction who were unacquainted with the Dutch language - an action which called forth an indignant protest from Dr. Twisleton, to whom that language was anathema. As Mr. Anthonisz aptly remarks: "Matters must indeed have arrived at a forlorn state when the pastor of the Church had thus to use his influence to prevent the rapid disappearance of the national tongue".

But apart from official discouragement, there were other factors which operated against the continuance of the Dutch language. In the towns which the Dutch wrested from the Portuguese, there were a number of Portuguese women with whom the Dutch inter-married. There were also slaves and domestics of African and Indian descent, whose language was a corrupt form of Portuguese. This language the Dutch had perforce to acquire, as it was the language used for all domestic and ordinary purposes. As new arrivals came from Europe, they had in turn to learn this language, the acquisition of which was rendered easy by its liquid sounds, its freedom from grammatical restraints, and the facility with which it lent itself to the absorption of words from other languages. Dutch children, born in Ceylon, learnt it from their nurses, and used it as their home language with much greater freedom than their mother tongue. It became to a great extent the domestic language in Dutch households.

What was the reaction on the part of the Dutch to this supplanting of their own language? There can be no doubt that their intense national spirit was strongly opposed to this alien linguistic influence. It is but fair to them to assume that they must have made fitful attempts to preserve their own language; but the occasion called for more vigorous and sustained action than could be expected from a Community so unorganized as the Dutch were in those days of stress, when their very existence was threatened. The contest for mastery between the Dutch and Portuguese languages therefore ended in a compromise. While Dutch became the spoken and written language of polite society, the platform, and the pulpit, a form of Portuguese, in which a large proportion of Dutch words had found admission, mellifluous in articulation and forcible in expression, continued to be used as the medium of conversation in familiar gossip and in the most intimate relations.

Up to the Peace of Amiens in 1802, the only Dutch who departed from Ceylon were a few prisoners of war, who did so under compulsion. The civil servants and their families and the great bulk of the people still remained in the island. From this date a slow exodus began, and continued up to the year, 1807, when the last opportunity was offered to these now almost impoverished families, to remove themselves to Batavia. The British Government offered them a free passage, but were not in a position to give them a general assurance of employment on their arrival there. The Government called for lists of (1) those who were prepared to go away, and (2) those who had decided to remain. The Dutch were undecided whether to remain in the country of their adoption, or to break away from the ties which bound them to this island. At last, pressed by the Government to decide one way or the other, a number of them sent up their names, with those of their wives, children, and slaves, as being ready to leave in one or other of the two vessels then lying in harbour. An equal number excused themselves on various grounds. Those who elected to stay behind were required to take the oath of allegiance to the King, after which they obtained employment under the British, and set themselves to acquire a knowledge of English.

It followed, as a matter of course, that not only promotion and advancement in the service, but even continuance in office depended on the extent of this knowledge. Some of the Dutch gentlemen who received appointments attained such a high degree of facility in speaking and writing English that they rose to important positions. These set an example to the younger generation of the Dutch, which they were not slow to follow. Every opportunity was sought for acquiring a knowledge of the new language, and it is easy to understand how, in the eagerness to learn English, the cultivation of Dutch was neglected, and gradually fell into disuse altogether.

Another contributory cause of the disappearance of the Dutch language was the lack of Dutch books of instruction and Dutch literature. With the cessation of Dutch rule, the printing of Dutch books automatically came to an end, and when the supply then in hand was exhausted with the passage of time, the means of renewal ceased to exist. The Dutch descendants

had therefore to fall back on English literature, and naturally this language gradually gained the ascendancy over Dutch. As time went on, the Dutch came more and more into contact with the English, and they began to adopt English manners and customs, with the result that the Dutch language, as well as Dutch manners and customs, fell into the background and finally disappeared. Mr. Anthonisz expressed the opinion that if Dutch had continued to be used in Ceylon, we should probably have witnessed a state of things somewhat akin to that which took place in South Africa, and we should have had, instead of a hybrid Portuguese, a debased form of Dutch almost as bad as the Portuguese.

In discussing the question of the disuse of the Dutch language, critics who have not studied the question are apt to impute blame to the Dutch descendants for this regrettable state of things. As I have attempted to shew, the Dutch were the victims of circumstances and had no choice at all in the matter. It is inconceivable that the representatives of a people with such strong national instincts as the Dutch would willingly have allowed their language to disappear. They were surrounded on all sides by influences which were not favourable to the perpetuation of their language, and it would have required qualities more than human not to have succumbed to these influences.

But it might be argued that in later times at least, when circumstances were more favourable after the Dutch descendants had secured an assured position for themselves in the land of their adoption, an attempt might have been made to resuscitate the Dutch language. Such attempts have in fact been made, but they have ended in failure because of the lack of facilities for conversation. Lorenz himself, when in Holland, was at much pains to acquire a conversational knowledge of Dutch, and he has given us many humorous anecdotes of his attempts to speak the language. But when he returned to Ceylon, he found no occasion for making use of his knowledge, as the facilities for conversation were non-existent. Attempts in more recent times to revive the language in Ceylon have, for the same reason, ended in failure.

In the course of a lecture recently delivered in the Union Hall, the implication was made that "Ceylon historians" have not made any appreciable use of the 7000 files on the Dutch period accessible to them in the Ceylon Archives owing to their ignorance of Dutch. This is only stating a part of the truth. The fact is that until about the year 1900, the Dutch Archives were not accessible to "Ceylon historians". It was due to the labours of a member of the Dutch Burger Community, Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, that the Dutch Archives, which were scattered in offices in various parts of the island, uncared for and unappreciated, were centralised in Colombo and carefully catalogued and numbered. It was Mr. Anthonisz's masterly report on the Dutch Archives which gave the first indication of the rich store of information which they contained; and it was his first volume on the Dutch in Ceylon, based on his study of the original Dutch records, which has furnished the only authentic history of the period of which it treats. Mr. Anthonisz's example was followed by other Ceylonese research workers, and if more has not been accomplished, it is not due to indifference but to the lack of facilities for carrying on research work.

As we have already seen, the disuse of the Dutch language is not due to one cause but to a variety of causes. To those already mentioned may be added the fact that the Dutch, for reasons connected with their own personal security, were careful not to spread a knowledge of their language among their domestic servants. J. W. Bennett, a member of the Ceylon Civil Service, and author of the book "Ceylon and its Capabilities", mentions that in his day it was a subject of general remark that very few Sinhalese, and then only members of the higher castes, were able to understand the Dutch language. The explanation given to him of this curious fact was that the Dutch would not employ in their homes any domestics who were acquainted with their language, as they would thus get to know the subjects of conversation at their masters' tables. In our own day we get over this difficulty by not discussing private topics at table, but the Dutch had doubtless very good reasons for the practice they adopted. At any rate it had the effect of circumscribing the number of those who knew the language, and this gave an impetus to the speaking of Portuguese, which in process of time supplanted the Dutch language.

When we come to look at the matter closely, it will be seen that from first to last Dutch had to maintain an unequal contest against severe odds, first with Portuguese and next with English. The nature of the contest in the two cases was different both in character and in circumstances; but the ultimate result, viz., the retirement of Dutch from the field, may be traced to the combined influence of both adversaries. It is the fashion to treat the disappearance of Dutch as if it were a circumstance without parallel in the history of a race; but careful investigation will show that the Dutch are not so blameworthy as they are held to be. Sinhalese and Tamil had held the field for more than 2000 years before the English language came into competition with them; but within the short period of 150 years are there not already signs that English is to some extent at least displacing these languages? Do we not know of people belonging to these two races who have become so anglicized that they can hardly speak in their own language, much less write it—people, moreover, who have exchanged their manners and customs for those of another race? Then why blame the small remnant of Dutch for the loss of their language in circumstances far more unfavourable to them, when the means of reading and writing were far less diffused than they are at present? It is to be doubted whether any race, let alone the Dutch, would in the circumstances in which they were placed, have been able to resist the influences that were brought to bear against them.

At the outset of this article I quoted an extract from Sir Emerson Tennant's work regarding the inability of the Dutch to preserve their language, even with the aid of penal enactments. This is a point often stressed by unfriendly critics, both with the view of magnifying the severity of Dutch rule and of shewing the failure of their efforts to preserve their language. Let us see what these penal enactments were. All that can be traced is a solitary regulation ordering that every proprietor of slaves should cause the hair of all his male slaves who could not speak the Dutch language to be cut off close to their heads, and that all slaves who could speak the language should be allowed to wear long hair. It was at the same time ordered that all proprietors of slaves who failed to carry out this instruction should be punished by the imposition of a fine. The

main object in view was undoubtedly the diffusion of the Dutch language; but the punishment, considering the times, cannot be said to have been unduly harsh. Up to a very recent period, it was the practice to cut the hair of all prisoners in our jails in a similar manner, but no inference unfavourable to British rule was ever drawn from this.

The main causes which led to the disuse of the Dutch language in Ceylon may now be summarised as follows:— (a) Portuguese was the medium of conversation between rulers and ruled when the Dutch arrived in the island; (b) it was the language spoken by the Portuguese women with whom the Dutch intermarried, and also by the slaves kept by them; (c) the perpetuation of the Dutch language was not regarded with favour by the British; (d) the Dutch found it impossible to maintain Dutch schools and to obtain Dutch literature; (e) a knowledge of English was indispensable for employment under the British; (f) the absence of facilities in later years for reviving the study of Dutch. In the face of such an overwhelming combination of adverse factors, it would have been a wonder indeed if the language had survived. It is interesting to speculate whether Dutch will ever be re-established as a medium of conversation in Ceylon; but such an inquiry is outside the scope of this article.



## THE PEOPLES OF CEYLON:

### A HISTORICAL SURVEY.

BY L. E. BLAZE, B.A.

A visitor to Ceylon is naturally desirous of knowing something about the people he meets in public places and possibly in their homes. He usually looks upon, and refers to, the non-European peoples as *natives*—a word which in itself is proper enough, but resented when used as a term of contempt. The better word is *Ceylonese*.

Our visitor is often misled—one might say *usually* misled—by the conflicting statements made to him by different people. Ignorance, prejudice, and indifference are as prevalent here as everywhere else, and there are always people who habitually speak disparagingly of one community or another, or who exalt one community above another.

But apart from these petty rivalries, our visitor cannot help being puzzled by the different types of Ceylonese he comes across. He will wonder at the colour of their skins, varying from white to shades of brown, and then to black. He will wonder at the different styles of dress—ordinary coats and trousers, shirts and shorts, folds of cloth in place of trousers, frocks and graceful *saris*; heads covered with hats, turbans, and caps of many shapes and colours; heads closely cropped, clean shaven, or with long hair knotted at the back, which, with the *sarong*, or cloth, makes it difficult to distinguish at once the sex of the person he meets.

Then, there is the Language difficulty. Several languages are spoken which are entirely different from the English, though in the towns and their neighbouring villages, the English language is understood and spoken.

The Religions are another difficulty. Besides Christian places of worship, you will see Buddhist *dagabas* (mounds containing relics) and *viharas* (monasteries), Hindu temples, and Muhammadan mosques. Sacred shrines of religion may be found by the wayside, and the bo-tree is an object of worship.

My purpose this evening is to tell you about the origin and characteristics of the peoples in this Island, to help you in your judgments of them; and this I shall do from a historical point of view, as national characteristics depend so largely on origin and tradition.

Ages ago, long before recorded history begins, this Island of Ceylon formed part of the adjoining continent of India. When it broke off, some of the primitive tribes of Southern India were left in Ceylon, and these are taken as the first known inhabitants of the Island. They are now represented by the people called the *Veddas*, a term meaning *hunters*, from their former ordinary occupation. These Veddas are now about 6,000 in number, and are found chiefly in a district of the Eastern Province. In the course of twentyfive centuries they have become largely mixed with the other Island races, but they are regarded as people of the highest social caste. They live in their own villages, but the original Veddas lived in caves and rude shelters made of the branches and leaves of trees. Their hunting was done with stone implements and bows and arrows. They preserved their meat in honey. Their only clothing was a piece of cloth, somewhat like a modern bathing-suit, which, it is said, "begins nowhere, and ends at once." They worship the spirits of the dead, and attribute a living soul to hills, trees, and other natural objects; but many of them have accepted Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity.

Five hundred years before the Christian era, there descended on these primitive people, living in their simple way, bands of roving invaders from Northern India, Aryans by origin. Legend and tradition give the name of *Vijaya*, i.e., the Conqueror, to the most prominent leader of the invaders. His family claimed to be descended from a *siha*, or lion, and his followers and their descendants were thus the first *Sinhalese*, or lion-race. Their chief settlement was in the north-west, with their capital at Anurādhapura. They built cities, and artificial lakes, known as tanks, to hold water, and established a serviceable form of government with the Veddas as their allies.

But long before their arrival in Ceylon, there had been a vigorous outburst of religious activity in Northern India. The Brahmins, the priests of Hinduism, had long dominated the

religious and social life of the Indian peoples. Against the tyranny of their requirements and the restrictions they imposed there were several revolts. One of these revolts was led by a religious reformer known later as the Buddha, and his followers were and are known as Buddhists. Nearly two and a half centuries after the Buddha's death a powerful Emperor of India, Asoka by name, was converted to the new religion and he made Buddhism the State religion of India. He was full of missionary zeal, and about the year B.C. 246 he sent his son Mahinda to convert Ceylon to Buddhism. The mission was fully successful, and an annual festival, called *Poon*, celebrates the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon. A few years later Asoka's daughter arrived in Ceylon bringing with her a branch of the bo-tree under whose shade the Buddha found his way to salvation. Buddhism was now made the State religion of Ceylon as of India, and a new era of civilization began, closely connected with the civilization of India, in which the arts of painting, architecture, and poetry, with the sciences of medicine and grammar, were cultivated, Buddhist temples and monasteries arose in old and new towns, especially at Anuradhapura which became a "Holy City", and later at Polonnaruwa, 60 miles south-east of Anuradhapura.

That is the accepted account of the origin of the Sinhalese people, who form the majority of our population.

It is advisable to lay some emphasis on the fact that the Sinhalese (I may add, the Tamils) should not be thought of as an inferior race unworthy of the consideration paid to people of the West. Westerners are apt to look upon the dark-skinned peoples of the East as ignorant, uncivilized, and depraved. That is a serious mistake in regard to the Sinhalese who had their own culture long before the first European set foot in this Island. That culture, different from the Western as the East is from the West, began, as I have said, two thousand years ago, and it continues to this day unaltered in essential respects, though adapted in external matters to the changing conditions of different times. Ceylon had learned men, poets, historians, scientists, and capable leaders, rich and populous cities of its own, ages before the Middle Ages of Europe. The very ruins of its ancient cities are so astonishing

that they still draw inquirers and admirers from all parts of the modern world. The Buddhist religion—some call it a philosophy rather than a religion—holds sway over millions, disputing with Christianity the first place in numbers, and it is keenly studied by learned men in the West.

The Sinhalese people to-day—of whom there are over two and a half million in the low-country, or coast districts, and over one and a half million in the Kandyan provinces—are the outcome of four hundred years of contact with European nations—Portuguese, Dutch, and for the last 140 years the British. This contact has naturally influenced native customs and ideals. When, therefore, in the towns especially, you come across dark-skinned people, dressed usually in European clothes, talking English with enviable fluency and understanding, and meeting you squarely in discussing any subject you introduce—do not be surprised. Some of those you speak to have visited England and the Continent, and have come back to tell us all about life in England and Europe, and the information they bring spreads widely. All whom you meet have been educated, more or less, in schools where English is the language of instruction. They habitually read English newspapers, magazines, and books—not novels only. Their conversation among themselves is commonly in English. It is a significant fact that the two most widely-read English newspapers in Ceylon are owned and managed by Sinhalese.

Let us return for a moment to the mainland of India. The Aryan people, from whom the Sinhalese claim descent, established themselves in Northern India, along the banks of the Indus and the Ganges rivers. When they first arrived in India, they found already settled there a different, non-Aryan people, known as *Dravidians*. We may refer to them roughly as *Tamils*, since the Tamils form the largest section of the Dravidians. These Dravidians were a highly civilized people, and a connection has been traced between them and the ancient peoples of Mesopotamia; but they were weaker as a people than the Aryans, and they were driven by the Aryans to the South of India, which is still their home.

The Tamils, or Dravidians, of South India had constant intercourse, commercial and other, with the new Aryan Sinhalese colonists of Ceylon, and they soon considered it desirable



to annex our green, fertile plains for themselves. Constant military inroads from South India followed, and the history of Ceylon for sixteen centuries, from 170 B.C. to A.D. 1505, when the first Europeans invaded Ceylon, is largely the record of a struggle for ownership between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Sometimes one nation would prevail, sometimes the other. The Tamils, more adventurous and perhaps more given to war than the Sinhalese, would invade Ceylon and hold it for a time; in the eleventh century, when the Normans invaded England, they occupied Ceylon for over sixty years as a province of South India. The Sinhalese would retaliate by sending armies across the intervening seas. But Tamil influence in Ceylon was never removed. It was consistently penetrating and pervading. Tamil mercenary troops were kept in the pay of Sinhalese kings. Tamil arts, customs, and ideas crept into the king's court, into the villages, and even into the temples of Buddhism. In the end we find a Tamil kingdom securely established in the Northern and Eastern provinces of the Island with Jaffna and Batticaloa as their chief towns. But there is scarcely a town, a Government office, or a mercantile office, in Ceylon where you will not find Tamils well established.

The Ceylon Tamils—those born and permanently resident in Ceylon—number nearly 700,000. They are an enterprising, hardworking, thrifty, and notably clannish people. They are more conservative in matters of caste than the Sinhalese.

The Indian Tamils—who are temporary residents—number 800,000. Most of them are labourers on the tea and rubber estates upcountry. So long a fairly contented lot, they have lately begun to be stirred by the leaven of the new Democracy.

Of the other Indian Tamils there are two prominent classes. One class consists of the *Chetties*, whose principal occupation is, or used to be, money-lending. Their rates of interest are high, but their dealings are usually honest. They do not marry in Ceylon or settle here, and they ignore English education on the ground that it unfits young men for business. The other class of Indian Tamils is largely composed of traders and shopkeepers.

Next to the Tamils, the Muhammadans, or Muslims, form the largest of the "minority communities". They number

about 400,000, and of these 380,000 are known as *Moors*. This name was at first given by the Portuguese to the people of Morocco in North Africa, but since then all Muhammadans were called Moors by them. The Ceylon Moors claim to be descendants of Arab refugees who fled from Arabia and settled on the south-western coasts of India and Ceylon. One of their earliest settlements in Ceylon was at Bernwela, between Kalutara and Galle. These Moors are somewhat distinct from the Indian or *Coast Moors*, who work here for a time as seamen or small traders, and then return to their homes on the coast of India. The Ceylon Moors are mainly merchants in shop goods and jewellery. Some of them are large owners of property, chiefly of houses, in Colombo and other towns. They formerly swarmed in the Pettah of Colombo and still have a considerable hold there. Others go about the suburbs of big towns and the villages, hawking the small wares that no housewife can do without. You come across them unexpectedly in remote districts; hence the Sinhalese saying: "There is no place where the Moorman and the crow cannot be found".

The Moors despised education in English till lately, like the Tamil Chetties, and for the same reason: that this education made their young men theoretical rather than practical, and consequently unfitted them for a business career. But that prejudice is dying out, though they remain strict Muhammadans, adhering to old habits and customs as closely as modern conditions allow. Their home language is Tamil, their original Arabic being reserved for religious purposes.

The other Muhammadan community consists of *Malays*, who are chiefly descendants of the fighting regiments whom the Dutch brought over from Java and the other islands of the Dutch East Indies. When the British took Ceylon, many of the Malays were drafted into a Ceylon Rifle Regiment, which was afterwards disbanded as unnecessary. The Malays were settled mostly at Slave Island, which is known to the Sinhalese as the "Company's Street". There is a colony of Malays at Hambantota, on the south-east of the Island.

The Malays take advantage of every opportunity for educational and political advancement. They number some 18,000. From them we have borrowed the *sarong*, or cloth worn round

the waist, and the hot curries which give a relish to our dishes of rice.

It is interesting to note that seven hundred years ago, when Java was a Buddhist country, the Malays twice raided Ceylon,—“like flashes of lightning with floods of thunder”, according to the Sinhalese chronicler.

We come now to modern times. In the latter half of the fifteenth century Europe was alive both with religious excitement and with the spirit of adventure created by the discovery of sea-routes to India and also to America. The earliest explorers were the people of Portugal, “seamen by nature, conquerors by descent, and crusaders by tradition”. The Portuguese came to Ceylon in 1505 and were opposed both by the Sinhalese and by the Moors who then carried on a profitable trade between Colombo and India. But they gradually established themselves in the coast districts. They brought Christian Missions to Ceylon, and it is noteworthy that of the four or five thousand Christians in Ceylon, nine-tenths are Roman Catholics. The Portuguese intermarried freely with the Sinhalese and Tamils, and gave Portuguese names to their converts. A corrupt form of their language still survives among their descendants in the country.

The arrival of the Portuguese caused a number of the low-country inhabitants to seek refuge in the Hill-country, where a strong Kandyan kingdom had been formed. Then began a separation of the two communities, for access to the Kandyan country was barred by mountains, rivers, and impenetrable jungles. Though the differences are slowly breaking down, the Kandyans differ from the low-country Sinhalese in dress and social customs and ceremonies. They have their own laws of marriage and property, and are jealously conservative in their traditions and their attachment to Buddhism. Kandy may, indeed, be regarded as the centre of the Buddhist faith, and the Kandyans are justly proud of the fact that their Kingdom was not conquered by the British, but ceded to the British by treaty.

After the Portuguese came the Dutch, 300 years ago. They too occupied only the coast districts. Galle, Matara, Colombo, and Jaffna were their principal headquarters, and in

each of these towns you will find an old Dutch Church where, except in Jaffna, Divine worship continues to be regularly observed to this day, though not now according to the old Dutch forms, for the Dutch Language has ceased to be spoken by the Dutch descendants of Ceylon.

There were two classes of Dutch people in Ceylon, and among the Dutch must be included Germans, French, Swedes, and others who became naturalized Dutchmen. One class consisted of the Dutch *Company's* *Servants*, corresponding to the British Civil Service. The rest were *Burgers*, i.e. citizens, who were not in Government service. When in 1796 the Dutch possessions in Ceylon were ceded to the British, some of the Dutch inhabitants went away to Holland or Batavia. Those who remained here were all *Burghers*, since there was no Dutch Government to serve under. Their descendants are the *Dutch Burghers* of Ceylon. “Most of them,” wrote Bishop R. S. Copleston, “are of unblemished, and some of noble origin”. Thirty-four years ago they established a “Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon” to preserve and continue their inherited traditions and culture.

The word “Burger” is a Dutch word, of Dutch origin, but otherwise it is not an indication of race; and it has taken, or has been given, a much wider application than it had in Dutch times. It has been appropriated by very many who are not of Dutch origin, and most of whom do not bear Dutch names. Of the 30,000 entered in the Census, fewer than a third are historically entitled to the name.

That the Burghers wear European clothes is true, but it need not excite surprise, for European clothes are what their fathers and forefathers always wore. That they speak English, Sinhalese and Tamil is not really astonishing, for they are permanent inhabitants of the Island, and speak the languages of the Island just as any Englishman would do, and would have to do, if he settled in Ceylon and had dealings with its peoples.

The Europeans, mostly British, number about 11,000; as they are better known to you than to us, much need not be said about them. They are largely merchants, planters, and clergy. The Ceylon Civil Service was formerly a reserve for the

British, but their number has been greatly reduced, and is being further reduced by the substitution of Ceylonese.

There are 29,000 persons who are classed in Census Reports as *Others*. These are mostly Afghans, Arabs, Americans, Australians, Chinese, Japanese, and Kaffirs. You will easily recognize the *Afghans* (who are not really Afghans but from Baluchistan) by their dress—"a loose tunic, baggy drawers, and thick boots. Their headdress is wound in rolls round the head, generally over a small skull-cap." They are "petty money-lenders," and on pay-day they congregate round the Fort offices to collect their dues.

And now my task is done—which was to give you a general survey of the different peoples in Ceylon from a historical point of view. It remains only to remind you of the danger of generalities and hasty judgments. "Are there," you may ask, "no bad men among these peoples in Ceylon—no criminals and profiteers, no snobs, sycophants, and opportunists, no poor, illiterate, ignorant, and down-trodden?" There are,—plenty of them. And I will ask you in return, "What country, which people, in the world is there of which the same cannot be said?" On the other hand there are plenty of honest, sociable, and God-fearing men and women here, as elsewhere, whom it is a privilege to know. Your great Edmund Burke, the "greatest political thinker" of modern times, declared that he did "not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." There are others, however, not quite so great, or so modest, as Edmund Burke, who pretend to superior knowledge. Nor is it fair to judge a whole people by the conduct, or by the opinions, of the particular person or persons you happen to be acquainted with. It seems wiser to take men everywhere as you find them. In the East especially, people are acutely sensitive in their contact with strangers. They are resentful of condescension and discourtesy, but they recognize and readily respond to fair treatment and good manners.

## THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN CEYLON.

1642—1796 and After.

By DR. H. U. LEEMBRUGGEN.

As the Dutch were the first Protestant people who occupied Ceylon, a short historical survey of their efforts to introduce the Reformed Religion to the island is necessary for our understanding of the life history of the Dutch Reformed Church. When the Dutch wrested the Maritime Provinces from the Portuguese, they found three chief religions already established in the island, viz, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Roman Catholicism. Buddhism, the religion of the Sinhalese, had been established for nearly 2000 years, and was the chief event of their history and the pride of their nation. It flourished mostly in the southern and western parts of the island. Hinduism had been brought to Lanka by the Dravidian invasion of the 13th century, and it had been well established in the northern kingdom of the Tamils.

On the background of these two national religions the Portuguese during their rule of 150 years endeavoured to graft their own national religion—Roman Catholicism. History tells us that the early violent methods, typical of the age, did not meet with much success, though "wholesale burning down of temples from Dondra (Dewi Nuwara) to the 1000 pillared Hindu temple at Trincomalee" lit the first fires of persecution. Thereafter, the Jesuits, we are told, fell back upon a policy of persuasion and adaptation of the ritual of the Romish Church to the practices of the Buddhist and Hindu religions. In the north of the island, more or less isolated from the rest of the country by lack of communications, they were able to work more or less unhampered by opposition, and the Hindus found the gorgeous ceremonial of the Romish Church much to their taste, and the "pomp of processions, festivals, barbaric music, images, statues, etc.," akin to their own practices. The Tamils also gladly availed themselves of the material advantages offered to converts, and large numbers were baptized into the new religion.

The Portuguese conquerors brought with them large numbers of priests from India. These missionaries were prepared to devote their lives to convert the people and to work among them, and it was not long before four religious orders were established in the North, viz., Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. A vigorous policy of building was set afoot, and numbers of monasteries and colleges were founded, churches built in all centres, and the foundations laid of that vigorous and progressive Church establishment which has remained and flourished up to the present day.

In the Sinhalese kingdoms of Kotté and Kandy greater difficulties were encountered, but here the efforts were directed towards converting the upper classes. The Kings of Kandy and Kotté embraced Christianity and received baptism at the hands of the clergy at Colombo and Mannar. The Rajaveli records that many of the nobles of Kotté were baptized likewise. Following these examples, large numbers of the lower castes in the Maritime Provinces received baptism. Don Dharmapala, King of Kotté, went so far as to grant many temple lands to the Roman Catholic Church, which thus became a powerful and well-organized body. On the King's death in A.D. 1597 he bequeathed his kingdom to Don Henry, King of Portugal.

### Introduction of the Reformed Religion.

In the face of the determined opposition of the three firmly established religions above-named, the efforts of the Dutch to introduce the austere Dutch Reformed faith were to prove very tentative and feeble. At no time was a sufficient number of Dutch ministers sent to Ceylon, and the Government even thought that a dozen ministers were sufficient for the whole island. During the early years of the Dutch occupation, the only ministers available were those attached to the military forces. The first minister to arrive was Mr. Hornhövius, who was appointed to Galle on 6th October, 1642. This may be looked upon as the beginning of the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon three hundred years ago. When the Dutch had conquered the Maritime Provinces, and Colombo fell in 1658, the first Consistory was established there, and this body has continued to function uninterruptedly from that date, and it can claim to be the oldest established Christian Court in the East. In due time other Consistories were established in Galle and

Jaffna, and these formed the three chief Consistories in the island. The Colombo Consistory, however, occupied a position of seniority and authority, and it was responsible for transacting all ecclesiastical business with the Government of Ceylon and their High Mightinesses the Seventeen in the Netherlands.

The Dutch have never been a proselytising nation, although their Home Government considered it one of their chief duties to spread the Gospel in their colonies by such means as were open to them. We may consider here the steps taken by the Dutch Government to introduce the Dutch Reformed Faith to Ceylon, and also some of the causes underlying their actions. We should firmly bear in mind that the Dutch at this period of their history had only recently emerged from their desperate struggles for religious freedom in their own homeland, and their poignant and bitter recollections of the Eighty Years War were very fresh in their memories. "They had already discovered in their settlements in the East that no security could exist for them where "the Roman Catholic Church and clergy exercised any influence". The above statement is made by Sir Emerson Tennant in his book "Christianity in Ceylon", and it should be borne in mind that Tennant was no apologist for the Dutch in Ceylon, but on the contrary an uncompromising critic of their regime.

He considers that the reasons for the measures taken by the Dutch at a later period to ensure the retirement of all European ecclesiastics of the Roman Church were based on political motives even more than on religious grounds. He says further that the Dutch found that in all places in India which they had won from the Portuguese, "their interests had suffered injury from their intrigues". For like reasons the Dutch in Ceylon banished all the Romish priests in the island as soon as they had completed their occupation. In their Treaty with the King of Kandy in 1638, a clause was inserted by which the King bound himself to suffer "no priest, friar, or Romish clergy to dwell in his dominion, but to oblige them to depart as the authors of all rebellions and the ruin of all Governments".

These severe measures against the clergy, so typical of the age and so inconsistent with the spirit of a nation which had been the first to fight a long and desperate war for freedom,

personal and religious, were not too successful, as also the various "plakaats" or proclamations stringently forbidding "the concealing or harbouring of a Romish priest" (1658), and other edicts prohibiting public assemblies or private conventicles under heavy fines for the first and second offences, and chastisement at the discretion of the magistrate for the third offence (1715). A Catholic clergyman was forbidden to administer baptism under any circumstances. These "plakaats", though often repeated, met with slight success, as the Portuguese descendants left in Ceylon continued the practice of their religion, and large bodies of Sinhalese and Tamil adherents continued their religious observances in private. The Dutch persecution was directed against the Romish clergy rather than against the natives themselves. No extreme action was taken against the people, and the penal "plakaats" were only half-heartedly carried out, and the last three Dutch Governors largely modified them.

Meanwhile the Dutch proceeded steadily with their efforts to spread the Dutch Reformed Faith. They took possession of the Roman Catholic churches and monasteries, and converted the buildings to the use of the Reformed Faith as schools, alms-houses, etc. The spirit and principle of the Dutch East India Company was "not merely to exploit their island possession for its products, but also to spread education and religion". In most of the places conquered a teacher of their religion was stationed, not only for the service of the soldiers and "Company's servants", but also to propagate Christianity among the natives, "that God may use the victories of the Dutch arms to extend His Name and Kingdom among the people that live in darkness".

#### Church Establishments.

As mentioned above, the Dutch Reformed Church of Ceylon was split up into three large divisions, viz, Colombo, Galle, and Jaffnapatnam. In quite a hundred places inland there were native congregations whose interests were watched by the Church Councils. Only Colombo, Jaffnapatnam, Galle, Negombo, and Matara had their own Church Councils and ministers ('predikanten'). The oldest and most important congregation was that of Colombo, which from its position and

influence became a sort of Executive Ecclesiastical Council for the island. In the Colombo District there were in 1681 twenty-four churches and schools. In 1684 there were reported to be 24,753 native Christians, including 4,033 children. In the thickly populated northern areas, it was recorded in 1665 that in Jaffna and Mannar there were 104,000 Christians, of whom 16,000 were children attending school. The number of teachers was very fluctuating owing to irregular supply from Holland and to vacancies caused by death, etc.

In 1670 Matara and Mannar each had one minister. This scanty supply of ministers was a great handicap to the work of conversion. The Government considered a dozen ministers sufficient for the whole island, whereas in Portuguese times many scores and hundreds of priests and teachers officiated in the Roman Catholic churches and schools. Owing to the dearth of Dutch ministers, most of whom did not possess a knowledge of the vernacular tongues, it may easily be understood that the education and religious instruction given was very elementary and meagre. In each school was kept a Register of the names of local Christians and scholars and their parents, and these Registers were carefully made up each year. In 1688 it was recorded that there were more than 180,000 Christians, and in 1696 some 200,000, but it was admitted, with a note of sadness, that the majority were only nominal Christians. Those who could repeat the Lord's Prayer, the ten Commandments, and the Articles of Faith were baptized, and the protection of Government was promised only to those who embraced the Reformed Faith. At the peak of the Dutch influence, it is probable that the number of so-called converts never exceeded half a million.

It must moreover be borne in mind that the Dutch were the first to translate the Bible into Sinhalese and Tamil, and to set up printing presses for publishing the books of the Bible. Most of this work was carried out by Dutch ministers who had set themselves to learn Sinhalese and Tamil, and used their knowledge of these tongues to provide "those that sat in darkness with the glorious light of the Gospel". In addition, Johannes Ruël, minister of Colombo and first Rector of the Sinhalese Seminary published a Sinhalese Psalm Book. Hen-

drik Philipsz, a Sinhalese Minister, was responsible for a great amount of translations of the Bible, especially the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. The Classis in Holland encouraged and helped these publications in every way.

### Ecclesiastical Institutions.

It is interesting to note that the church organization laid down in Dutch times was very similar to that which obtains in the Dutch Reformed Church today. Thus, in the three chief circuits of Colombo, Galle, and Jaffnapatnam, each had a Consistory consisting of the Minister (who was *ex officio* president), and four elders and six deacons. The Consistories exercised a general supervision over religious matters, and made all the arrangements for the weekly services and the Sacraments of the Church, and attended to all ecclesiastical business. In addition to the Ministers (who were always ordained and nominated by the "Classis" in Holland, chiefly Walcheren), there were European and native proponents (or probationers) and European and native catechists, and a special class of officers styled "krank bezoekers" and "zieken troosters" (visitors and comforters of the sick), whose duties lay in visiting hospitals, teaching orphan children, and holding religious meetings in the Prayer Hall.

The European Ministers (predikanten) nominated by the "Classis" in Holland were appointed by the Dutch East India Company, and sent out by them with letters of recommendation to the Colombo Consistory, which settled the station to which they should be sent, and the formal appointment was made by the Governor in Council. Often the ministers came from Batavia or exchanges were arranged. Ministers were also appointed to Matara, Trincomalee, and Negombo, when circumstances permitted. It is interesting to note that in Dutch times the Ministers, like the parson in Oliver Goldsmith's poem, the "Deserted Village", could be described as "passing rich on forty pounds a year".

The monthly stipend of a predikant was 56 rix dollars (approximately £ 3.15), a free house, and allowances of butter, wine, cheese, bacon, rice, oil, etc., which he drew from the Government Stores. Colombo had four ministers (besides the

Rector of the Seminary) who preached once a fortnight. Jaffna and Galle also had four ministers, except when a separate minister was lacking for Matara, and one had to be spared from Galle. The Colombo Consistory had also the supervision of the Tuticorin Church, and the Colombo minister had to visit Negombo and Calpentyn every quarter to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper. On the return of the minister from these circuits, he had to submit a report to the Consistory setting forth the state of the Churches visited. The Minister of Galle supervised Matara (as at the present day), except when Matara had its own predikant. The Jaffna minister paid periodical visits to Kayts, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Mannar. These were arduous visits considering the difficulties of transport, bad roads, and the dangers from wild beasts, such as elephants. During these circuits the schools were also inspected and examined, and baptisms and marriages solemnized. The need for the European clergy to learn the native languages was emphasised, and the Colombo Consistory often urged the "Classis" in Holland to select young men as ministers, as "they would be more likely to take pains to study the native languages."

A few of the predikants were outstanding men in their knowledge of Sinhalese and Tamil, e.g. Revds. Conijn of Matara, H. Specht (twice minister of Colombo), de Meij, Joh. Voogd, John. Ruël, Simon Kat (a Ceylon-born minister), Bronsveld, Wemelskircher, Fybrandsz, Ferreira, Almeida (who translated the New Testament into Portuguese), Wetzelius (who supervised the casting of Sinhalese type.) Other ministers who were noted for their knowledge of the vernacular tongues and could preach fluently in them were Baldaeus (in Tamil), Adolf Cramer, Philip de Melbo, the Ondaatjes, etc.

### The Consistories.

Each Consistory was a self-elected body, half the elders and deacons going out of office after a fixed term of service. Government exercised a right of veto on these elections; and to prevent a deadlock, it was usual to submit the names of twice as many as were required, for Government sanction. Besides the elders and deacons, a member of the Political Council (called the Commisaris Politiek) had a seat on the Colombo Consistory. This member watched proceedings on



behalf of the Government, and was the medium of intercourse between it and the Consistory,

The Consistory met twice a quarter and the business done was classified under two heads, viz., Ordinary Meetings, in which Church establishments were discussed, and (b) Censura Morum meetings, for discussing matters of Church discipline, and the spiritual state of the congregation and the individual conduct of offenders were brought forward. At these latter meetings, the dates on which the Sacraments were to be administered, and the allocation of ministers, elders, and deacons were arranged.

#### Correspondence with the "Classis."

This was done by the Colombo Consistory in all church matters. In their annual reports complete statistics of the religious and educational establishments were furnished. The "Classis" always shewed the greatest interest in the spread of the Reformed Faith in the island, and the letters from it to the Consistory were always full of encouragement, sympathy, and practical help.

#### Ordination of Ministers.

The Consistory had no power to ordain ministers, unless the candidate had special qualifications and authority from the "Classis", and an act of authorization from the Dutch East India Company to the Governor.

#### Proponents.

The efforts of the few predikants to convert the heathen being insufficient for the needs of the country, native proponents from the Colombo Seminary were, after due examination, appointed by the Government to work among their own people. These acted as lay helpers, and preached on Sundays, examined candidates for Church membership, made house to house visits, etc., but they were not allowed to administer the Sacraments. They were answerable to the Consistory and had to submit reports on the work done by them. Though many of them were estimable men, "the majority were Laodicean in their calling", and the Consistory often had to censure them for indolence and lukewarmness. Rev. Hofstede's criticism of their work noted that "they could not catechize", and

Baldaeus and other predikants reported that many of them were still "pagans at heart", and only took up their calling as a "means of livelihood".

With such indifferent material for conversion of the adults, the Dutch Government and the Consistories concluded that their best hopes lay among the young, and considerable efforts were made to use education, which consisted largely of teaching the rudiments of Christianity in free schools. Attendance at these schools was made compulsory, and a system of fines for non-attendance was introduced by the Government. These fines (often considerable) were used for the upkeep of the schools, in addition to other resources.

Let us now look at the organization of this school system. The school buildings taken over from the Roman Catholics were used for this purpose and others were built as found necessary. The proponent or schoolmaster held Divine Service, which consisted of reading of the Scriptures, the ten Commandments, and the Creed, to which were added Reading and Writing. In early days cla texts were used until such time as printed books—translations in Sinhalese and Tamil of the gospels, and later of the whole Bible—became available. Annually visits were made to these schools by the minister of the District and an official known as the Scholarch. At their visits all the children attending school, and their parents and adult Christians, were summoned by beat of tom tom and with the help of the Village vidahns, and after the school examinations, baptism was administered to the children of professing Christians, and marriages solemnized between parties whose banns had been published. Catechumens who had been prepared for membership of the Church were also formally admitted. When a small congregation had thus been formed, a proponent was appointed to further extend the missionary work, and when his Church was found to be flourishing, one or two leading members of the Church were selected and appointed as elders and deacons. These, however, never formed a separate Consistory.

#### Scholarchale Vergadering.

This was an Educational Commission for the general supervision of education both religious and secular. This body con-

sisted of the Dissave (the second highest official of the Dutch Government), who was ex officio President, the clergy of Colombo, one of whom was appointed Secretary, and three or four other members of the civil and military establishments of the service appointed by the Governor. "The functions of this body were more extensive than those of a School Board as we know it today, e.g. they exercised supervision over the whole body of native Christians, took cognizance of all matters relative to native marriages, examined and appointed schoolmasters and thombo-holders (who had charge of marriage and baptismal registers), settled disputes in matrimonial questions, and granted licenses of marriages where consanguinity came into question. The decisions of this body were subject to the final sanction of the Governor and Political Council."

Educational institutions under the Scholarchal Commission were of four classes:—

(1) The Seminary, where classes for the preparation of candidates for the ministry were trained before they were sent to Holland, at the expense of the Dutch East India Company, for completion of their theological course.

(2) Dutch schools, where Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and Geography were taught.

(3) Orphan schools, where orphans and Dutch descendants received free education.

(4) Vernacular schools, for the benefit of native children. There were special schools for slaves.

Of native schools there were 47 in the Colombo District in 1786, with 28,867 pupils. The number of schools in the Galle and Jaffna Districts was not ascertainable, but they had 8,532 and 41,090 children respectively. In 1722 there were 19 schools in Matara and 18 in Galle. Female education, though not widespread, was attended to in the principal towns. The school-leaving age for girls was limited to ten years, as a safeguarding measure, we are told. Higher education for females was not thought desirable in those times—nor was it desired by the parents.

### Seminaries.

With regard to the two Seminaries which were established in Colombo and Jaffna, these institutions for training local men for the ministry had chequered careers, and produced some ministers who, after completion of training in Holland, made good on their return to Ceylon. Rev. J. Meijer was one who was considered to be learned enough to be made Rector of the Seminary in Colombo. He was a Doctor of Divinity of Leyden. Others sent by the Dutch East India Company to complete their studies in a Dutch University and who returned as ministers were Dominicus Vinsema, Franciscus Wijngaerts, Jacob Corf, L. Hemling. Among the Ceylonese ministers of note was Philippus de Melho, who never left Ceylon, but was famed as an eminent divine, Orientalist, and poet. Hendrik Philipsz, student of the Seminary and afterwards at Utrecht, was a most industrious and capable translator, and published numerous translations of the Bible into Sinhalese. Others were William Juriaan Ondaatje and Manuel Ondaatje, Johannes de Sylva, Manuel Morgappa, J. D' Melho and Petro de Melho, Louis Pieris, Philip Emmanuel, Franciscus Jansz (Janszé), Andreas Spoor, and Bernard Giffening.

### Dutch Ministers.

It is recorded that about 900 ministers came out to the East Indies, but it is probable that not many more than a third of these came to Ceylon. Among them was Baldaeus, who was appointed predikant of Jaffna in 1658 and served there for three years. He wrote a much lauded work on Brahmanism, but he is best known to us by his book on Ceylon. Petrus Hofstede wrote some trenchant criticisms on the conversion of natives in Ceylon. Rector M. Wetzelius (1744) supervised the casting of the first Sinhalese and Tamil types for the printing of the translations of the Bible, made by Dutch and Ceylonese missionaries. Other predikants of fame were Adrian de Meij, Petrus Synjeu, Ruël, Conijn, Eybrandsz, and Johannes Roman. The last-named succeeded De Meij as Rector of the Seminary.

For records of these pastors, we are indebted to the Rev. Troostenburg de Bruyn, who was predikant of Batavia, and by whose industry a detailed account of the Dutch Reformed Church in the East Indies was published many years ago.

Extracts referring to the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon were made by the late Mr. F. H. de Vos, President of the Dutch Burgher Union. His painstaking and scholarly translation, made 40 years ago, remained unpublished until 1940, when as a result of the enterprise of a member of the Union, these valuable and interesting records were published in the issues of the Journal from July, 1940 to October, 1941.

De Bruyn notes that not many ministers remained more than four or five years in Ceylon. Batavia was considered more desirable and ministers who did not care to return to Europe settled in the Indies.

### Salaries of Predikants and Proponents.

By resolution of the XVII dated 2nd May, 1661, and 14th September, 1662, proponents were to be paid 60 to 70 guilders a month until they obtained the rank of predikant. Native proponents received only ten rixdollars a month, in addition to the usual food allowances, free house, etc. With the simple standards of living which prevailed in Ceylon at this period of history, it is to be assumed that these small salaries, compared to more modern standards, were reasonably sufficient to ensure modest comfort, though it has been noted that many ministers who had no private means suffered poverty and privation when they retired owing to age or ill-health. The ordinary routine of a minister's life in the chief circuits of the island must have been a busy one where many congregations had to be looked after by one minister. Baldaeus records that he had twenty-four congregations to look after, including places so difficult of access as Mannar, Delft Island, (where he was once marooned for eight days by bad weather and lack of provisions) Tuticorin, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, and adjoining congregations.

Travel was difficult and often hazardous, and transport was by palankeen or on horseback or by sea. Ministers in charge of large circuits had to visit all their congregations quarterly, examine the schools with the scholarch, administer baptism and the Lord's Supper, admit new Church members and attend to disciplinary measures, and preach often to large congregations. Baldaeus is reported to have preached to over 2000 on one occasion. Services on such occasions, and also owing to hot weather conditions, were held in the open. A large

tamarind tree in the Trincomalee District is still shewn as the place where such meetings took place.

On each pastor's return to headquarters, detailed reports of the schools and congregations had to be sent to the Colombo Consistory and to the Government. Extracts were forwarded to the Central Government in Holland and to the "Classis". William Juriaan Ondaatje is reported on one visit to Jaffnapatnam to have baptized in 1776 on one single journey 1600 natives. The minister on these journeys had often to subsist on presents received, such as vegetables, grain, poultry, etc., as his salary was too small for his support on such occasions, often lasting weeks. "The ministers of Ceylon had at the end of the 17th century to visit outstations once in five weeks or at least once a quarter to sustain interest in Church affairs, and to guard against the rise of heathenism and the influence of Roman Catholicism". Official life to most of the ministers meant a round of travelling and a continual going hither and thither by land or sea, and often service with the army or the fleet. Thus Baldaeus accompanied Governor Ryclof van Goens in 1665 in his expedition against the Malabar Coast. Owing to the poor salaries paid to the ministers, their widows were often left destitute. But some of the ministers who possessed private means even owned houses and slaves—c.f. Valentyn, Baldaeus, etc.

### Ministers' Costumes.

Some wore a short waistcoat with lappets and loose trousers. Over these, the ministers' gown and bands were worn. The three-corner hat, lapel rok, tailcoat and short trousers were much in vogue in Ceylon. Native proponents were not allowed to wear this dress, but had their own distinctive costume.

### Languages needed for the Ministry.

It was laid down that four languages were necessary for effective missionary work in the Indies, viz., Dutch, Portuguese, Malay, and one of the Ceylon vernaculars—Sinhalese or Tamil. Portuguese was a *lingua franca* in the East, and was used by Dutchmen in Batavia and in Ceylon, where a very pure form was used.

### Dutch Churches.

The only ecclesiastical buildings which have survived from Dutch times are the grand old Churches of Wolvendaal, Galle,

and Jaffna, small Churches at Mannar and Matara, and the ruins of the Church at Calpentyn. Wolvendaal is looked upon as the Westminster Abbey of Ceylon, as it contains the remains and tombstones of nearly all the Dutch Governors and high officials who died in Ceylon.

With regard to the native congregations, when there were no clergymen available, the following was the practice for the services. In the Churches, the Ten Commandments were written in large letters on a board in Tamil or Sinhalese and put up on tables, with the Lord's Prayer and the Articles of Faith to the right and left of it. These were repeated by the catechist or proponent and the congregation, and readings from the Scriptures took place. In the latter part of the 18th century, when translations of hymns in Sinhalese and Tamil, set to music by Ceylonese, were available, these hymns would also be sung. The liturgy and practice of the Dutch Reformed Church at that period followed the simple and austere Calvinistic model, and was not such as could attract or impress native congregations used to the emotional decorative service of the Romish Church, with its "incense, candles, Gregorian music sung by trained choirs, images, processions, and endless festivals and Saints' days." The Roman Catholic priests were well versed in the native languages, and this, with their large numbers, enabled them to obtain and keep a hold on their converts and flocks in a way not possible to the few Dutch ministers of the Reformed Religion. In addition, it must be borne in mind that the period of the Dutch occupation was one of continuous conflict with the Sinhalese kings. The Dutch East India Company insisted on the development of the trade and profits of the exports of cinnamon and other products of the island, and the question of conversion of the natives was much overshadowed by this policy.

The Dutch, however, did all they could to raise the moral standard of the people, forbidding polyandry and not recognizing marriages not registered in the Dutch Church. They introduced the Roman-Dutch law into the island, and hoped by education of the young to raise the people to a higher standard of living. They raised an imposing facade of religion to such an extent as was possible under the adverse conditions mentioned above. If all the efforts made were not crowned with permanent success, we must attribute the failure to the

moral weaknesses of the people, and to the circumstances following the British occupation and the collapse of the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church. The ministers all left for Batavia, with large numbers of the most prosperous families, and the practice of the Dutch Reformed religion was not encouraged, from political motives.

Considering the dark period which ensued for the Reformed Religion in Ceylon, it is a source of great thankfulness and joy that in Colombo alone there are to-day five Churches of the Reformed Faith, with flourishing schools attached to them. This growth of the Church has taken place within the last fifty years, thanks to the devoted efforts of the pastors and the Consistories who brought about a revival of the Dutch Reformed Church. Galle (and Matara) are the only outstations with a permanent minister to-day, and it is noteworthy that all the ministers of the Church on the active list at the present time are Ceylonese, who have had their theological training and obtained their diplomas in the United States of America or in the Theological College of Bangalore.

The missionary spirit has been revived in the last generation, and a mission to the Sinhalese village community at Yak-kala, in the wilds of the North-Central Province, has been at work for many years. A Tamil mission was also started in Wolvendaal district a few years ago. The Dutch Reformed Church has also joined hands with the Scottish Presbyterians to form a common Presbytery for Ceylon, and its relations with the other religious communities in the island have been marked by a cordial and fraternal spirit.

Owing to the unsettled conditions in the island due to the War, the Tercentenary Celebrations planned by the Consistories have been postponed for more settled times, and only a thanksgiving service will be held in October 1942—three hundred years after the first missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church was appointed to Galle.

Spes est—Regerminat.

## GENEALOGY OF THE AUWARDT FAMILY OF CEYLON

(Compiled by Mr. D. V. Altendorff).

### I.

Jan Baptist Auwardt, born at Ghent in Vlanderen, arrived in Ceylon circa 1750 (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. I, page 37) married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 28th November 1751, Catharina Ferdinando, and he had by her:—

- 1 Johannes Cornelis, baptised 13th October 1754.
- 2 Wilhelmus, who follows under II.

### II.

Wilhelmus Auwardt, baptised 3rd October 1756, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle:—

- (a) 11th June 1786, Helena Cornelia Sohlinger of Jaffnapatam.
- (b) 1st December 1793, Susanna Lourentia Wolff of Tutucorin.

Of the first marriage, he had:—

- 1 Wilhelmina Cornelia, baptised 28th February 1788, married Cornelis Van Houten, son of Jan Johannes Van Houten and Helena de Silva.
- 2 Angenita Cornelia, married Arend Wynandus Martensz, baptised 23rd July 1769, son of Johannes Wynandus Martensz of Meenen and Petronella Visser.

Of the second marriage, he had:—

- 3 Johannes Cornelis, who follows under III.

### III.

Johannes Cornelis Auwardt, baptised 15th December 1798, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 16th October 1823, Ersina Wilhelmina de Silva, and he had by her:—

- 1 Arthur Martinus, who follows under IV.
- 2 Albert Gerrardus, who follows under V.
- 3 Angenita Fredrika, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 6th November 1851, Ezekiel Alexander

Jansz, born 20th November 1826, son of Pieter Carolus Jansz, Crown Proctor and Notary Public, Galle, and Margarita Dorothea Wittensleger.

- 4 Johanna Carolina, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 10th January 1855, Charles William Jansz.
- 5 William, died 1879, married Eliza Ersina de Zilwa, born 2nd January 1833, died 2nd July 1914, daughter of Johannes Wilhelmus de Zilwa and Helena Gertruida Beyer.
- 6 John, who follows under VI.
- 7 Henry married . . . Wootler.

### IV.

Arthur Martinus Auwardt, baptized 17th July 1825, married Maria Elizabeth Sela, daughter of Albertus Wilhelmus Sela and Eliza Elizabeth Bell. He had by her:—

- 1 Alan William, who follows under VII.
- 2 Maria Amelia, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 28th June 1882, John Alfred Rodrigo.

### V.

Albert Gerrardus Auwardt, Chief Clerk, Kachcheri, Matara, baptised 16th July 1827, married Johanna Susanna Jansz, and he had by her:—

- 1 Eugene Gerard, who follows under VIII.
- 2 Richard Edward, born 3rd April 1863.
- 3 Ada Hester, born 10th September 1864.
- 4 Arthur Horace, District Engineer, Public Works Department, born 26th February 1866, married:—
  - (a) In St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 26th December 1892, Lillian Ludovici, born 1872, died 1893, daughter of James Rudolph Ludovici and Emma Ebert. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. III, page 61, and Vol. VI, page 81).
  - (b) In the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 22nd October 1896, Florence Alberta Jansz, born 2nd

October 1868, daughter of Albert William Jansz, and Charlotte Margaret (Lily) Poulter. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. XXIV, page 28).

- (c) In Holy Trinity Church, Colombo, 1898, Esther Wilhelmina Newman, born 5th April 1874, died 14th May 1905, daughter of Joseph Newman and Anne Elizabeth (Nancy) Andrée. (D. B. U. Journal, Vol. X, page 17).

- 5 Albert Henry, who follows under IX.
- 6 Wilfred Henry, who follows under X.
- 7 Ida Susan, born 10th February, 1873.
- 8 Frances Rose Elizabeth, born 7th June 1874.
- 9 Theodore Robert Stephen, born 11th February 1876.
- 10 Evan Herbert, who follows under XI.

#### VI.

John Auwardt, Auctioneer and Commission Agent, born 10th July 1835, died 11th August 1908, married Sophia Melder, and he had by her :—

- 1 Edward, born 29th October 1861, died 19th February 1894.
- 2 Julia, born 18th November 1863, died 26th February 1937, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendael, 7th July 1886, Donald Ezekiel Jansz, born 8th March 1860, died 11th October 1923, son of Ezekiel Alexander Jansz and Angenita Frederica Auwardt (vide III, 3, supra).
- 3 Thomas, born 2nd August 1867, died 4th February 1878.
- 4 Joseph, who follows under XII.
- 5 Benjamin, born 26th September 1875.
- 6 Angela Kate, born 29th August 1876.
- 7 William, born 22nd July 1878.
- 8 Blanche, born 11th October 1880, married in Christ Church, Galle Face, Colombo, 25th June 1921, Edward

Kingsley Berenger, born 21st February 1895, son of Edward James Berenger and Augusta Hope da Silva.

- 9 Minna, born 27th September 1881, married in the Baptist Church, Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo, Julian Nugara.

#### VII.

Alan William Auwardt, born 15th February 1855, died 5th February 1917, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 14th January 1875, Harriet Jane Balkhuysen, born 12th May 1859, died 25th April 1921. He had by her :—

- 1 Arthur Alan, who follows under XIII.
- 2 Millicent, born 18th May 1878, died 11th February 1933, married in the Methodist Church, Matara, 24th March 1909, William Edward Ernst, born 4th May 1879, son of George Edward (Charles) Ernst and Catherine Eliza Sela. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. XXIII, page 92)
- 3 Colin Shedwel, born 7th December 1880.
- 4 Hilda Elaine, born 1st April 1883.
- 5 Charles Edward Ducat, served in the Great War, 1914—18, in the Australian Army. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. XIV, page 3).
- 6 } Triplets, died in infancy.
- 7 }
- 8 }
- 9 Florence, born 29th March 1889, died 2nd October 1941, married in the Methodist Church, Matara, 28th December 1916, Paul William de Zilwa, son of William de Zilwa, Proctor, and Charlotte Jansz.
- 10 Ethel May, born 18th May 1890, married in St. Mary's Church, Bambalapitiya, 1926, Roy Pereira.
- 11 Grace, born 1st February 1892, married in the Methodist Church, Kollupitiya, 13th February 1931, James Joseph Balthazar, widower of Lilian Jansz.
- 12 Elsie Jane, born 20th June 1893, died young.
- 13 Bertram, born 24th April 1897, died young.



## VIII.

Eugene Gerard Auwardt, Proctor, born 7th April 1862, died 19th July 1919, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, 17th December 1894, Mabel Constance Bogaars, born 16th August 1870, died 8th September 1941, daughter of Charles Llewellyn Bogaars and Charlotte Emelia de Zilva. He had by her:—

- 1 Marjorie Constance, born 10th June 1897, died 15th August 1934, married in Christ Church, Tangalla, 23rd March 1921, Charles Alfred Rodrigo, son of John Alfred Rodrigo and Maria Amelia Auwardt. (vide IV, 2, supra).
- 2 Bertram Eugene Bogaars, who follows under XIV.

## IX.

Albert Henry Auwardt, Land Surveyor, born 28th March 1868, died 27th September 1925, married in Christ Church, Kurunegalle, 12th September 1898, Ella Winifred Kate Daniels, born 29th October 1873, daughter of Jacobus Valantinus (James Valentine) Daniels and Arnoldina Carolina Eusonia Carron. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. XXVIII, pages 51 and 134). He had by her:—

- 1 Henry Frederick Nell, born 24th November 1900, married in St. Thomas' Church, Matara, 16th September 1933, Veronica Victorine Ernst, born 3rd July 1915, died 12th September 1941, daughter of Hugh Victor Ernst and Erin Veera Vollenhoven. (D. B. U. Journal, Vol. XXIII, pages 92 and 94).
- 2 Liele Stephanie, born 30th March 1902, married in Christ Church, Kurunegalle, 27th December 1937, Bertram Alexander Van Dort.
- 3 Dorothy, born 4th July 1904.
- 4 Marjorie, born 20th July 1905.
- 5 Edward Leonard, born 17th September 1907.

## X

Wilfred Henry Auwardt married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 5th July 1898, Mildred Arabelle Van Eyck, and he had by her:—

- 1 Wilna Iris, born 31st October 1899.
- 2 Albert Henry William, born 28th May 1901.
- 3 Esmé, born 16th March 1903.

## XI

Evan Herbert Auwardt, born 14th April 1879, died 31st March 1915, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Bambalapitiya, 22nd December 1906, Una Toussaint, born 27th December 1879, daughter of Colin Henry Toussaint and Frances Bridget Weinman. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. IV, page 39). He had by her:—

- 1 Frances Una, born 10th August 1903, died 30th August 1908.
- 2 Valerie, born 31st January 1910.
- 3 Colin Herbert, born 24th May 1912.

## XII

Joseph Auwardt, born 29th December 1868, married in St. Lucia's Cathedral, Kotahena, 27th October 1909, Frances Muriel Vida Bertus, daughter of John Lawrence Bertus and... Rulach. He had by her:—

- 1 Josepha Beatrice Vida, born 9th July 1911, married 8th February 1932, Denis Alexander Jansz.
- 2 Constance Marian, born 13th February 1913.
- 3 Noel Patrick
- 4 Christie Samuel } born 25th December 1915.

## XIII

Arthur Alan Auwardt, Superintendent of Post Offices, born 23rd December 1876, married in St. Lucia's Cathedral, Kotahena, 23rd July 1912, Florence Winifred Ludowyk, born 24th July 1880, widow of Frederick Nicholas, and daughter of John Henry Ludowyk and Matilda Mortier. He had by her:—

- 1 Noble Florence, born 16th May 1913, married in St. Mary's Church, Bambalapitiya, 1st February 1935, Louis Jansz, born 24th May 1906, son of Walter Jansz and Mary Jaakie.
- 2 Flora Dulcie, born 8th August 1915, married in St. Lawrence's Church, Wellawatte, 28th December 1940, Eric Patrick Corteling, born 13th May 1903, son of

Edward Lawrence Corteling and Mabel Charity Robertson.

## XIV

Bertram Eugene Bogaars Auwardt, born 3rd November 1899, married in St Stephen's Church, Negombo, 4th June 1932, Christobel Yvonne Moses, born 25th May 1912, daughter of Samuel Maxwell Moses, Government Apothecary, and Franklin Winifred Gersse. He had by her:—

- 1 Ivor Maurice Gerard, born 7th February 1934, died 20th December 1936.
- 2 Yvonne Marjorie, born 7th March 1935.
- 3 Carmen Winifred Dawn born 14th July 1936.
- 4 Arlene Therese, born 23rd February 1938.
- 5 Adrian Cedric Bertram, born 16th June 1939.
- 6 Pamela Yvette, born 15th August 1940.

## CEYLON IN MAPS.

By

R. L. BROHIER, F.R.G.S.

*(Continued from Volume XXII. No. 1.)*

The map of Jaffna, or "Japahanapatam," in the Portuguese collection, is more a fantasy than a cartographical production. It extravagantly depicts a large island which is named Ilha Docais, and leaves imagination to picture the principal town on its southern coast-line. Immediately below this, divided by a convention indicating water, the mainland of Ceylon is depicted, and named "Terra firme Do Reino."<sup>1</sup>

To the east of Ilha Docais, some islands are dotted over a sea which is conventionally shown to be shallow. The largest of these islands is named Cardina, and is presumably intended to represent the island the Portuguese called Cajos, modern Kayts. Forts are shown to have been erected on the island Cajos, and at Japahanapatam.<sup>2</sup>

The harbour of "Japahanapatam" is described in the report which is appended to the map, as "suitable for small ships, because it has many reefs, the bar having only 2 fathoms of water."<sup>3</sup>

The capture of the forts at Manaar<sup>4</sup> and Jaffna, in 1658, led to the final expulsion of the Portuguese from Ceylon, and left the Dutch masters of the entire sea-board of the Island. In due course, for the purpose of civil government, the sea-board from Calpentyn (Kalpitiya) to Mannar and the territory north of an arbitrary boundary from Mannar to Trincomalee came to be included in the term: "The Commandment of

1. Produced about 1606.
2. The Portuguese fort on Cajos (Kayts) was erected by Miguel Peirera, on an agreement with the Count Admiral, Philippe d'Oliveras. The Fort at Japahanapatam is described as a small work consisting of three bulwarks.
3. The "Kingdom of Japahanapatam" claimed to have been established by the Portuguese is said to have extended 36 leagues along the coast in the direction of "Triguillimale" (Trincomalee) and to a distance landwards of 8 leagues.
4. Mannar was captured on 22nd February, 1658, and Jaffna on 21st June 1658.

Jaffna." This administrative division included the island of Mannar and the islets round about the peninsula of Jaffnapatam.

The Atlas of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) in the State Archives at the Hague is recorded to contain: "A plan of the Fort and city of Jaffna representing the kingdom in correct demonstration and how much of it was besieged and seized by the General Netherlands Chartered East India Company." A note explains that this map was obtained from Ceylon in 1658.<sup>5</sup> While this production may be accepted as the earliest cartographical record of the Dutch territorial possessions in North Ceylon, it would not be correct to accept it as the first Dutch map of the district. Obviously it was a compilation from a Portuguese map, or more probably consisted of data grafted on a Portuguese map.

Nevertheless, within two decades of the expulsion of their rivals, the need for building a new fort at Jaffna, and for erecting other fortifications, led to the production of several engineering plans based on surveys. Incidentally, it is of interest to recall that the Dutch originally intended to raise their principal northern fort and to establish the capital of the "Commandment" at Kankesanturai.

Rijklof van Goens draws attention in the memorandum he left for the guidance of his successor, dated September 24th, 1675, to this "new Fort" that they began to erect at Cangianturai (Kankesanturai). Yet apparently before they raised the escarp walls and filled up the gun-embrasures on the foundation, the Dutch authorities changed their minds, considering it better economy to improve the fortification at Jaffna which they had wrested from the Portuguese.

It might therefore be assumed, it being well within the limits of possibility, that the following undated maps in the State Archives were made available in the seventeenth century—circa 1675-1700.

<sup>6</sup> 998.—Block plan of Jaffna Fort. MS obtained from Batavia with references.

999.—Block Plan of Jaffna Fort. with the following insets:

(a) Point Pedro situated on the sea coast at the northernmost part of Jaffna.

5. Catalogue No. 997 in the Collection of Ceylon maps at the Hague.

6. Catalogue number, State Archives at The Hague.

(b) Hammenhiel, situated on the south west corner of Amsterdam island, west of Jaffna.

(c) The stone fort, the Pyl.

1000.—The Fort of Jaffna, with projected moats, hidden ways etc., MS with many references.

1001.—Plan of Jaffna Fort in different scales.

The insets mentioned in connection with the second map on this list are sufficiently interesting from a historical view point to justify a digression from their significance as key points in cartography. The fortifications which the Dutch erected at Point Pedro were in the nature of a fortlet more generally described as a "Pagger". When the Dutch Governor van Goens was writing instructions for the Commandeur of Jaffnapatam in 1663 (five years after establishing a footing in the District), he mentioned that some masonry work was being constructed and that the work would be completed before the rains.

The fort at Hammenhiel, mentioned in the second inset, stands on a rock at the entrance to the Jaffna lagoon in the channel between Karaitivu (Amsterdam) and Kayts (Leyden). Not the least interesting of the many appealing features of Fort Hammenhiel is the popular theory how it got its name. It is usual to-day to visualize the shape of Ceylon by comparing it to a pear. The Dutch claimed that in shape the Island resembled a smoked ham. Hammenhiel, means the "heel of the ham" and with a little imagination this little water-fort might well be placed at the point where the shank bone projects. This is yet another example of the strange way place-names are derived and perpetuated on Ceylon maps.

The stone fort Pyl, with two others, Elephant Pass and Beschutter,<sup>7</sup> were erected to protect the peninsula from the invasions of the Wannia Chieftains who were in possession of the north-central regions outside the Dutch territory.

Fort Beschutter stood on the old track from Jaffna to Mullaitivu, near the modern village Koyilvayal. Fort Elephant Pass does duty to this day as a resthouse, and Fort Pyl, which was about 5 miles from Beschutter in a north-easterly direction, once stood on the sand dunes off the modern village of Vettilaikkeni. They were all three built before 1697.

7. Spelt Pas Pyl, Pas Elifant and Pas Beschutter respectively on the period maps.

The eighteenth century was marked by the production of several maps of Jaffna and the adjoining district. There were two sworn surveyors prominently associated with the maps of this period, namely: M. Leusekam\* and Balthazar van Lier.

The establishment of the Reformed Religion in Ceylon which the Dutch introduced, and the subsequent Church organisations, apparently called for illustration in Leusekam's time. It is fitting then, that the maps bearing his name should be primarily to assist Church organisation.

A specimen of the earliest of these maps is described in Leupe's supplement No. 328, relating to maps in the State Archives. He describes the cartouche used to ornament the map, as depicting: "Two angels sitting on lions and working with dividers on a chart." A tusked elephant, standing, and a palmyra tree in the back ground, have also been introduced to give local colour to the drawing. The descriptive text below this cartouche is inscribed on a panel and rendered in Dutch, translated thus:

General land-map which contains the whole of the Commandment of Jaffnapatam, divided into four Provinces, the islands which are inhabited and those which are not, and the six Wannie Provinces; further, the borders of the Wannie and the four churches under them with their villages, and besides the Districts Carretje, Parengichittoe, Kuelam and also the outline of Poedoe-kuedi-iripoe, further the lands of Manaar and Mantota with a correct indication of the churches, public roads, tanks and rivers, which are found round about, especially how the Manaar lagoon runs with many turn-offs and loops, and finally that: Under three of the above mentioned four churches at the border of the Wannie are seven villages which at present belong to the Wannie.....

(There follows detailed references to villages under each of the churches, and a number of prominent tanks bearing alphabetical references on the map).

Thus compiled and drawn to the esteemed order of H.E. Dr. Isaac Augustin Rumpf, Councillor Extraordinary of the Netherlands Indies and Governor of Ceylon.

Jaffnapatam, the 28th September Anno 1719.

Signed M. Leusekam, Sworn Surveyor.

A further note shows that according to the wish of His Honour, the actual country of the Wannie has been coloured light blue in order easily to distinguish it from the rest, while the boundary of the King's Country (Territory of the Sinhalese King) has been edged in a band of yellow. The map is on the "Scale of 3200 Rynlandse Roeden". It has been projected on the "rosette" system.

\* He is described in an old family record as Baas Landmeter in The Company's at Jaffnapatan, i.e. chief of The Survey Department. (D. B. U. Jnl. Vol. II. 1909, page 99.)

There is another map by the same Surveyor bearing the same date (28th Sept., 1719), on a scale three times larger, which shows the Peninsula and the Islands.<sup>8</sup> This shows the topography and detail very elaborately, boundaries of cultivated and uncultivated areas, roads, and all the forts and Churches.<sup>9</sup>

Three months later Leusekam produced a map of the four provinces of Jaffna and the adjacent islands on a further enlarged scale. A full description, and the explanatory text of this topographical map of the Jaffna Provinces, dated the 28th January A.D. 1720, and signed, Leusekam, Sworn Surveyor, has been mentioned in an earlier part of this compilation.<sup>10</sup>

In the second volume<sup>11</sup> of the Atlas which contains Leusekam's map (328), there is a map of north Ceylon by Balthazar van Lier. Leupe deals with this in a supplement, No. 329. The map is described as being:

"A land-map of the Four Provinces of Jaffnapatam, namely Wal-ligamo (Valikamam), Wedonorachie (Vadamaradchi), Timmorachi (Tenmaradchi), Patchelepole (Pachchilapalai) the inhabited and uninhabited islands, and also of the Four Churches lying on the borders of the Wannie, Ponneryn, Palwerayen Kottae, Tillipekaruwe and Peroengallie, the Districts of the Wannie: (eight mentioned by named), also the Districts of Manaar, Mantota, Nanathan, and Mueselie. The fixed points are the Castle of Jaffnapatnam, the Water-fort Hamenhiel, the redoubts Pijl, Beschutter, Eliphant and Ponneryn, the little fortress Manaar and the redoubt Aripo.

Issued at Colombo 17th July 1753.

Signed B. V. Lier.

This description, translated from the Dutch is entered on an oval panel on the north-west corner of the map.<sup>12</sup> It is very evident that this production bearing van Lier's signature, has been based on a revision of the original surveys of the region by Leusekam three decades earlier.

8. This is catalogue map 3, in Leupe's supplement 328.
9. The compiler acknowledges obligation to Miss M. W. Jurriaanse, Additional Assistant Archivist, Ceylon, for information pertaining to the two maps, and for the translation of the Dutch Text. The maps have been studied from photostates in her possession.
10. Page 52, Volume XXI, No. 2.
11. This Atlas is said to have been presented to the Dutch Government in 1834 and deposited in the State Archives at the Hague in 1880.
12. A photostat of this map is in the possession of Miss M. W. Jurriaanse, Additional Assistant Archivist, Ceylon. The writer acknowledges his obligation for facilities for verifying information on the map, and for the translation placed at his disposal by her.

The Dutch Company, as we might expect, had very limited facilities for developing their agricultural interests in what they properly called Jaffnapatam. There was very little, in fact, no appreciable extent of land in the peninsula which was not in private possession. Governor van Imhoff wrote in his memoir, "On the occasion of my two visits there in 1738 and 1739, matters were provisionally arranged by the survey and representation on maps of the provinces along the boundaries of the Wannie, as well as by the survey of the territory along the river Moesely<sup>13</sup> from the King's territory to the sea shore and along the latter up to the farthest end of Mantotte. This work was accomplished by lately deceased Surveyor Helt, and it serves to show the size of this territory and the three fertile Provinces.<sup>14</sup>" The following maps of the Districts referred to lend themselves to identification with the period:—

- (a) Map of the Province of Karachchi, situated on the borders of the Wannie under the jurisdiction of Jaffna. Dated 1739. A copy of this map was received at the Hague in 1740. No. 996 in the Hague Collection. A facsimile was obtained for the Survey Department Collection in 1901, and is numbered 69 in the catalogue.
- (b) Map of Kattikarai or Giant's Tank and adjacent lands, six sheets, with a Report attached.
- (c) Anicut, River and Channel of Kattikarai or Giant's Tank, in survey and section, six sheets.
- (d) Kattikarai or Giant's Tank in survey and section, five sheets. This is a coloured map which bears near the top left hand corner a cartouche which contains diagrams illustrating various aspects of the "Great bund." The descriptive text thereon is in Dutch and reads on translation as follows:  
View of the Bund from the west side  
Loose rocks and boulders.  
Thick jungle  
The river Callanderis-aar  
The river Moosalie-aar  
The scale of the projections and plans, upper and lower, in 40 Rhenish rods
- (e) Map of the so-called Giant's Tank showing breaches in bund, etc. These maps (b) to (e) would appear to have been completed in 1740, and to have been received at the Hague in 1742. They are numbered 930, 931 and 933 respectively in the Hague Archives Catalogue. Very fortunately facsimiles were obtained for the Survey Department collection in 1898, by the then Surveyor General Mr. Grinlinton. They are numbered 56, 57, 58, 60, in the catalogue of historical maps available locally.
- (f) Map of the part of Mantota and Nanathan irrigated by Giant's Tank. Comprises 27 sheets in different scales. No. 934 in the Hague collection.

13. This refers to the Arivu Aru.

14. Karaichchi, Musali (Mantai) and Nanathan.

The Karachchi map, referred to as (a) in the foregoing list, contains an elaborate text in Dutch describing the scope of the map. The following translation has been made from it:—

"Copy of a map of the district of Karachchi, situated on the border of the Wannu under the Commandement of Jaffnapatnam, exhibiting:

All the paddy fields which are marked off in green, except the village of Pandisuddan which has been reserved as a holding for the wannia; the red lines, moreover, indicate the boundaries of each village, comprising the following villages, viz.:

The village of Kunchuparantan, Periyaparantan, Chuttativu, Kolloviatan, Navarkokkaddiyan, Tadduvankoddi, Colalawatam, Mormoddi, Timilamadam, Pandimoddi, Kandavalai, Velikkandal, Udupattukandal, Murasumoddaikandal, Pulinkutevanmurippukandal, Upparu, Uriyan, Vaddakkachchi, and the island of Kurunchattivu; and there also three pieces of land reserved to the Hon'ble Company for the erection of resthouses (containing four morgen of land each, or 200 lachams<sup>15</sup> sowing extent of paddy, reckoning at twelve square rods the lacham) as may be seen at letter 'A' in the village of Periyaparantan, on the boundary separating this district from the province of Panangamam.

Next, the public thoroughfare stretching north-wards from the Wannu through the village of Suttativu past the 'B' and finally past the letter 'C' in the village of Kandavalai near Vayirenpanikkanmadam;

Also, the waste and uncultivated lands comprised therein,

Thus accurately measured and exactly framed by the undersigned to the esteemed order of His Excellency Gustaaf Wilhelm van Imhoff, Councillor in Ordinary of Netherlands India, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon with the dependencies thereof,"

Jaffnapatnam, the 20th April, A.D. 1739

Signed J. H. Steyn  
Sworn Land Surveyor

Scale of 800 Rhenish rods.

The maps of the Giant's Tank (Kattukari<sup>16</sup>) and the adjacent lands, form a very interesting collection, and give tangible expression to the considerable pains taken by successive Dutch Governors to establish the possibilities of restoring this stupendous work as a means of promoting the agricultural resources of the plain below it. The map referred to as (e) on the list, disclosed that the tank was 6,564 acres and 1 rood, in extent. Surveys made at the end of the last century show that according to the design of the old-time Sinhalese engineers it would have submerged an area of 6,400 acres. This in itself is testimony to the accuracy of these Dutch plans. Soon after

15. Tamil; the equivalent of twelve measures.

16. This means "the built embankment." While the village traditionalist refers to this ancient work as Sodayan Kattu Karei (the embankment built by Giants), the Dutch helped to consolidate the story by calling it Reuse werk (Giant work), as shown in van Goen's map, and thus established the modern name Giant's Tank.

the survey was completed, Governor van Imhoff actually commenced to repair the breaches in the tank, but was obliged to abandon the attempt at restoring it owing to difficulties in securing labour.<sup>17</sup>

Half a century later, another report was made on Giant's tank on the orders of Governor Van de Graaf, in which connection Burnand<sup>18</sup> says the tank was again surveyed. It would appear that the map which accompanied this later report was a copy re-drawn by P. Foenander, of the map originally sent from Ceylon in 1742. It consists of 12 sheets and purports to show the "so-called Giant's Tank, with the surrounding lands watered and that can be cultivated from it."

There is also a hand drawn copy of a map in the collection in the Surveyor General's office<sup>19</sup>, with no information regarding its date or the name of the Surveyor, which can be classified as a production of the mid-eighteenth century. A cartouche on the north-west corner of the map bears the legend in English: "Map of the Northern Part of the Island of Ceylon containing the Districts of Jaffnapatam, Trincomalle, The Wanny, Manaar and Colpetty"

The scale is shown to be 10,000 Rhin: Roods, which is approximately 2,000 Rhin: Roods to the Inch, or about 6 miles to the inch. The coast line from Calpetty (Kalpitiya) northwards, and extending on the east to the mouth of the Virugal below Trincomalie, has been most minutely delineated, and very fully described by lettering on the map. The information pertaining to topographical features, main routes and place-names which this map afford, proves very thorough exploration and survey of the northern territory over which the Dutch held sway.

Getting back to the northern peninsula, the next map to come to notice is titled "The Fort of Jaffna, with protected moat, hidden way etc." Numbered 1000 in the Hague Collection. The map bears neither the surveyor's name nor date.

17. The tank was restored in 1897 (British period) with a water-spread limited to 4,400 acres.

18. Memoirs of Ceylon

19. Numbered 52. The copy was made after the year 1800, since the water mark on the paper bears this date, the name Budgen (an English paper maker) and the Strasburg Lily.

It is nevertheless possible to draw the inference that it was issued about the year 1765, from the following statement made by the Commandeur of Jaffnapatam, Anthony Mooyaart in his memoir. He writes: "Orders have been given by the Ceylon Government for the digging of a moat and the making of a covered road, which work had been commenced."

"A plan of Jaffna Fort, in different scales", numbered 1001 in the Hague Collection, also possibly dates to the same period.

The French influence on the maps of Jaffna is disclosed in a specimen dated 1781<sup>20</sup> while the projects of 1787, which stimulated the production of engineering maps in the two towns which have already been reviewed, namely Colombo and Galle, is represented by:—

No. 1002. Jaffna in reference to the projects of 1787. Manuscript with references, by La Goupiltiere.

Another very interesting map of Jaffna, which has some slight claim to be classified as one of the series relating to the 1781 project, finds its counterpart in a copy reduced and compiled by I. F. Sikera in 1813<sup>21</sup>. The original map from which the reduction was made cannot be found. The copy which has survived the strange migrations these old maps seem fated to make, shows the "Town and Fort of Jaffnapatam." The map helps to visualize the Fort as a perfected military work, built on a style in vogue in the Dutch school during the latter end of the seventeenth century, and improved by additions effected in the eighteenth.

The Fort has changed little, if at all, since it was delineated on this plan. It is shown as surrounded by a glacis, now the esplanade, and an outer bulwark. Between the outer bulwark and the inner rampart, the plan discloses the presence of a wet ditch or moat. Inside the fort there are several buildings, including the Church with its architectural features which are growing "old in story."

The old Dutch town shown on this map has, like the Fort, altered very little. Front Street, and the four cross streets of

20. No: 35 in the survey Department Collection

21. No: 33 in the Collection of the Surveyor General's office. The paper used for the copy bears the watermark "J. Whatman 1810" and the watermark of this Paper Manufacturer, e.g. The Strasburg bend and Lily.



present times, find their counterpart in a series of roads which divide the area into rectangular blocks.

The surrounding country is portrayed mainly with the intention to convey agricultural details, and prominence has been given to the tanks and channels which exist for storing and distributing water. The paddy fields, cultivated gardens, wasteland and palmyra groves are represented respectively by symbols, the density of the plantation being shown by drawings of the "elevation" of trees. The script on this map is confined to the names of villages, tanks and appropriated to describe the roads.

Three buildings described as "Roman Church" are significantly assigned to three castes, the Kareas, the Cadeas, and the Painters. They are identified with the two places of worship indicated on modern maps off Kadiya Street, and the "Lady of Refuge Church" off Hospital Street, respectively. The legend "Rest House" appears against a building shown near the last mentioned church. The "Little Bazaar" was then, as now, off the junction of Pachchuvai Road and Fourth Cross Street, while the "Grand Bazaar" is described just off its present site. The road from the Grand Bazaar to Kankasanturai is named "Road to the Chitty Street", and off it, the historic temple Sivan Kovil is shown conventionally and described as "The Heathen Temple or Siven Covil." The map is on the scale of "200 Toises or 100 Rhin Roods" equivalent to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

What would appear to be the earliest map of Jaffna in the British period is dated 8th July 1859. It is a hand drawn copy showing the Jaffna Fort and Esplanade, by Arthur Foh Rud.<sup>22</sup>

The records of the first Town Survey are dated 1867—1869. The surveys were carried out by Geo. B. Capper. Many modern topographical maps and town plans of the northern portions of Ceylon have appeared in the last two decades.

The revival of interest in old maps as a medium for helping historical research has been recognised by many Geographical Societies, and has led to the reproduction of the maps in their collections. This general appeal of old time maps has

definitely caught on locally, and no student of history or geography ignores their use and value.

The collection of notes which form the basis of this series of articles, was compiled in less stormy times with the object of meeting the great need for a bibliography and map list of Ceylon, including outline reproductions of the more notable maps in local collections. Under war conditions such an ambitious undertaking is well-nigh impossible.

It is to be hoped that in the not distant future it may be possible to help the public to visualize the historical geography of Lanka, in reproductions of some of these maps, and thus to stir the old bones of the topography of Ceylon, so picturesquely represented by symbolism and a mass of fascinating detail.

— THE END —

22. No. 154 in the collection of Historical Maps at the Colombo Museum.

## NOTES OF EVENTS.

*Summary of Proceedings of the General Committee, 7th July, 1942:*—(1) Read letter from His Excellency Vice-Admiral Helfrich accepting the invitation extended to him and his officers to be Honorary Members of the Union. (2) Resolved to invite the Admiral to an "At Home", the General Committee to be the hosts, the arrangements being left to a Sub-Committee consisting of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, Dr. S. de Vos and Mr. F. R. Loos.

*21st July, 1942:*—(1) Mr. O. L. de Kretser jr. was appointed to act as Secretary of the Entertainment Committee until a permanent appointment could be made. (2) Read letter from Dr. and Mrs. Arndt donating a sum of Rs. 2,000 to be held in trust and the income used by the Social Service Committee towards helping widows and orphans, the fund to be called the Arndt Trust Fund in memory of Dr. Arndt's parents. Resolved to thank the donors and to state that their directions would be carried out (3) The following new members were elected:—Messrs. H. de Wildt, S. J. van Zomeren, J. P. Merghart, W. Booy, P. Kint, W. Wieringa, B. van der Veeke, N. A. Vermaat, B. Kooij, C. G. Nederpelt, A. E. Ephraums, G. M. Toussaint, and Mrs. V. B. Wakeford.

*18th August, 1942:*—(1) A vote of condolence was passed on the death of Mr. Waldron Deutrom. (2) A Sub-Committee consisting of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Mr. R. L. Brohier was appointed to deal with all applications for the use of the Hall by the troops. (3) Mr. C. L. Beling was appointed a member of the Committee to fill an existing vacancy. (4) It was decided to place the sum of Rs. 2,000 donated by Dr. and Mrs. E. W. Arndt for Social Service purposes in the Ceylon Savings Bank until a suitable investment could be secured. (5) Owing to the shortage of liquor, it was decided that there should be no treating among members and that liquor should only be sold between the hours of 7 p.m. and 9-30 p.m. daily. (6) The following were elected members of the Union:—Mrs. Yvonne Schokman, Miss A. E. Bartholomeusz, Mr. C. A. E. Schokman, Mr. E. T. Loos, Mr. A. C. Tutein-Nolthenius, Mr. P. Kesteloo, and Mr. W. vander Gref.

# THE DUTCH IN CEYLON

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VOL. I.

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BY

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

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