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

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# Journal of the - - - - Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.

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### TRINCOMALEE SAGA

1709 to 1957

By

### DELORANE FERDINAND

Last year I was witness to an impressive and touching ceremony. At 9-53 a.m. on October 15th—as the sun beat down mercilessly from a cloudless sky, before a concourse of two thousand people flanking the Dockyard Parade ground at Trincomalee, the white ensign of the British navy was slowly hauled down to the strains of "God Save the Queen."

Many who stood watching this ceremony must have been assailed by a twitch of sadness. As the symbol of British power slid down the tall flagpost it marked the close of a saga which played no small part in patterning the island's history. A chain of fleeting kaleidoscopic scenes floated by, as I cast my mind back on the many events which history had time and again written while the British flag flew over the blue waters and wooded hills of Trincomalee.

It all began with the granting of a royal charter to a company of merchantmen and seamen by the king of England in the early eighteenth century. This was to kindle that organisation which came to be called the British East India Company. From small pioneer efforts to establish itself in India—it grew, as if by magic, from the timid possessor of a few inconsiderable factories on the Coromandel coast, to Imperial dimensions.

In the early days of the appearance of the British in the East the extensive sea board of Hindustan offered a wide field for enterprise. They were kept fully occupied in consolidating their settlements at Surat, and Madras, Bombay and Bengal. Time for thought and further acquisition was brief—in the face of opposition raised by the Portuguese or the Dutch or the French; and with the flame of active resistance kindled by the Indian Princes.

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This phase over—by the latter half of the 18th century, England had acquired for herself an extensive eastern trade. It was time to take stock now of the position of their rivals—more particularly the Dutch, whose tentacles had stretched far in eastern waters and who had a firm hold on the trade of the Orient. To the East India Company the advantage their rivals derived from possessing good sea ports and harbours to refit their ships and shelter from the monsoon winds that affected these Eastern seas, was a greater cause of envy. The harbour of Trincomalee—was large and protected and within easy reach of the English Company's interests in South India. Lacking a good anchorage for their ships themselves on the East coast of India, Trincomalee was much desired.

When in 1761 a vakil from the court of Kirtisiri, of Kandy, presented himself to the English Company's President of Fort St. George, Madras, saying the king would be pleased to receive an embassy from the British to concert measures for the expulsion of the Dutch from Ceylon, John Pybus was despatched to Kandy. The English were then at peace with the Dutch and could not openly violate treaty obligations. Consequently Pybus was asked to inquire whether, in view of political conditions—"the English East India Company could have permission to establish a settlement in the Bay of Cottiarum," and a share of the cinnamon trade.

The Kandyan king was so overjoyed at having the English as allies that he presented Pybus with "a ring, a sword and a gold chain" and appeared perfectly willing to grant all—and even more than the English wished for. The British ambassador was however not able to come to any definite settlement whereby he would be committing his Company to take steps immediately to expel the Dutch from Ceylon and assist the Kandyan king in these schemes. Nothing was concluded therefore by this visit—and Pybus returned to Madras, his mission abortive.

As year followed year however, the presidential governments of India more openly acknowledged that Trincomalee was essential for the protection of their possessions, as well as for the humiliation of the only formidable power who then competed with Great Britain for the commerce of the Indian Seas.

The opportunity for executing this long desired plan presented itself when war broke out between Great Britain and Holland over American Independence. The ambition to secure that key-point: Trincomalee, was stripped of its veneer of secrecy. A fleet under the command of Admiral Edward Hughes and a landing force with Sir Hector Munroe at its head was despatched to "attack the storm-centre of European rivalry in the East." The fleet reached Trincomalee on the 2nd of January, 1782.

While these ambitions, which brought Ceylon within the purview of Britain's colonial problems as enacted by the English East/India Company were materialising, the Dutch were not slow in fortifying the

approaches to Trincomalee harbour. Awakening from a military policy that had been purely precautionary and defensive, the Dutch now made preparations for any sudden attack. They made improvements on the old Fort at Trincomalee, which the Dutch called the fort of Pagoda Hill, considerably enlarging the old structure with provision for five bastions. On the headland further to the east, rendered in Dutch "Oostenburg" (or Eastern Hill) which overlooked the inner anchorage of Trincomalee, they raised a new battery. Along the shore-line of the peninsula bordering the outer bay of Kottiar and on Clapenburg island, they placed in addition field pieces to fortify the approaches to their forts.

Despite these precautions however, there was offered very short resistance to the invading forces when they finally arrived. The fortress on Pagoda Hill was captured after a surprise, but effective, attack on the 4th of January 1782.

Most of the Dutch garrison rushed to Oostenburg, and three days later Admiral Hughes called on this fort to surrender. Being a wily army man—he sent these summons through his Chief Engineer, Major Gells, who was able to carry out an excellent reconnaissance of the fort and the terrain surrounding it.

The Dutch acted as Hughes knew thy would, refusing the offer of terms of surrender, and the British attacked. With ease they commanded the ridge of Oostenburg - but found themselves at a loss to get their heavy guns across the intervening three hundred yards to the fort. The following day however they succeeded in entering the lower fort at point of gun-fire -losing only one officer and twenty men.

Admiral Hughes decided to make Trincomalee the base for the rest of the monsoon. A Captain Bonnevaux was left as Commandant with special instructions to do all in his power to further British interests with the local inhabitants. The rest of the fleet then temporarily sailed away.

Nevertheless, the hopes which the Madras Government entertained of consolidating their footing in Ceylon were doomed to undergo further setbacks. It was apparently ordained that Ceylon should dazzle yet another invader. And so, to the long record of invasions from Portugal, Holland and Great Britain, there was added a curious turn in the affairs of history, which for a time left the French flying over the heights of Trincomalee.

At the time Trincomalee was being captured by the British forces the French were operating against the English East India Company, on the Coromandel coast. Admiral Suffren, an energetic and bold sailor, when he learnt of the departure of the British fleet from Trincomalee, resolved to take the opportunity to outmanoeuvre his opponent.

It took him some little time to collect his ships together and to set sail. Arriving at Trincomalee, Suffren landed his men on the shore of the outer bay, and immediately raised batteries which commenced playing on the forts. The British garrison offered a futile resistance, for though both forts had been well provided with guns and ammunition and six month's rations, it is said that the administration was so bad that the powder was found in one fort and the shot in the other. Captain Bonnevaux soon surrendered, on being offered the honours of war and repatriation to Madras. Thus within a little over six months of the capture of Trincomalee by the British, the French had rendered themselves masters of the place.

Three days after the capitulation, on the afternoon of September 2nd., while Suffren was giving dinner to his English officer-prisoners. Hughes' fleet was sighted. The latter was completely taken by surprise at seeing the French colours flying from the battlements of the forts, and he would have attacked the French fleets in the harbourhad the wind been favourable.

The following afternoon Suffren went out to meet the English fleet—in opposition to the advice of his Sub-Admirals and Captains who pressed the advantage afforded by holding their position in the land-locked harbour. The French admiral was confident that with his fifteen ships as against the twelve English ships—he was in a stronger position.

Many episodes of striking gallantry are packed away in the for gotten pages of history which recall this sea-fight off the cliffs of Trincomalee. The difference in the rate of sailing of some of the French ships compelled Suffren to lie to, and await that portion of his squadron which was lagging. Eventually he got impatient and went into attack in disorder, his ships not organised in their proper battle positions. The English Admiral Hughes, meanwhile favoured by a a turn in the breeze which afforded him an advantage, manoeuvred the British squadron, and keeping to sea opened fire on the enemy ships in the van.

Too late now did the French Admiral signal insistant orders to his ships in the rear to come into line and to his succour. The story is told that the carnage on Suffren's flag-ship the "Heros" was unheard of in any sea fight, in any age hitherto. It was soon reduced to a wreck, and Suffren was obliged to remove his flag to another ship.

When eventually the lag of the French squadron did manage to approach the scene of the engagement, and mingled with the crippled vessels, which were left of the vanguard—darkness was closing in, to bring about a cessation of combat.

The French still held the forts of Trincomalee and its harbour, to take shelter in. Crippled and in disorder, crowding into this haven in the dark they lost yet another ship—one of their largest and best fitted fighting ships, which struck a rock and foundered.

When day broke, it disclosed a battered and crushed collection of French ships at anchor, in the waters sheltered by the green wooded hills and islands. As for the English ships—looking seaward, they were now mere specks in the distant horizon. Admiral Hughes thinking better of following up his success of the previous night by facing the guns of the fortress had set sail for Madras to repair the little damage he had sustained to his fleet.

Trincomalee remained a French possession for nearly a year. It reverted to the Dutch once again in a curiously round-about fashion, once in Europe peace was declared between the warring powers. At the treaty of Versailles (1783) Trincomalee was ceded by France to Great Britain and then by Britain to Holland.

This inglorious peace was however shattered before a decade and two years had gone by, when Holland was overrun and revolutionized by the armies of the new French Republic, and found herself helplessly involved in a great war which swept across Europe and agitated every Western power, in 1795.

Quickened to action by this opportunity, the Governor of Fort St. George in Madras, made preparations for a more effective and certain means of absorbing Ceylon, and more particularly the harbour of Trincomalee, into the Eastern dominions of the British Crown.

The orders from the Prince Stadtholder to the Dutch Government in Ceylon were:

"We have deemed it necessary to require you to admit into Trincomalee and elsewhere in the Colony......troops of H. M. the King of Great Britain.....and you are to consider them as troops and ships belonging to a power that is friendship and alliance with Their Mightinesses and who come to prevent the colony from being invaded by the French.

(Sgd.) W. Pr. V. Orange."

This order was so strange and indefinite that the Dutch in Ceylon did not know what to do. Eventually Major Fornbauer, Commandant of Trincomalee was ordered to take in three hundred British troops to be stationed in Fort Oostenburg. Fornbauer queried the order on various grounds—in no means ignorant of the desire of the British for the harbour of Trincomalee. After some interchange of correspondence the Dutch Governor of Ceylon decided to break off all relations with the British, and to defend their forts and fortifications in Ceylon, to the last. A letter containing this decison was sent on August 15th to the Officer Commanding the British forces in Ceylon.

But while this argument was in progress, a British force had already landed in Trincomalee. The Madras Government had on this occasion released a formidable detachment to attack Trincomalee. There were twelve Staff Officers including the Officer Commanding, Colonel James Stuart of the 72nd Regiment of Foot, and the naval

forces were commanded by Admiral Peter Rainier. The armament arrived on August, 1st 1795, and Colonel Stuart landed his expeditionary forces on August 3rd at sunrise, at a distance of about two miles from the fortress.

There was a natural time lag before the actual fighting commenced in reconnaissing and preparations for attack and siege—and besides neither side quite knew whether they were at war or not.

On August 18th the British 'broke ground.' Annals tell that "climate and the nature of the terrain covered occasioned much fatigue and loss." During the siege, the Malays serving under the Dutch provided an incident full of resourcefulness and courage. Armed only with "kriss" knives, a band of about 25 of them came out of the fort at 4 a.m. and stole unnoticed into the trenches of one of the British batteries. They spiked four of the guns before the alarm was given. Then killing several of the Artillerymen, the Malays managed to get away, mixing with the gun lascars, whose dress was similar to theirs, and losing only five men in their daring exploit.

Misfortune also befell one of the fighting ships of the British fleet—the "Diomede." Parting her cable in a strong wind, she struck a hidden rock in Trincomalee harbour and went down so suddenly that her crew were only saved with great difficulty. But despite these reverses, when the invading forces were on the point of storming the fortress, the Dutch Commander surrendered, when some of his own troops refused to stand by him and fight to defend the breach made in the fort by the British fire. A few defeatist Dutch soldiers rushed up to the point of the hill and hauled down their own flag.

The British marched in by the South Gate of the fort, while what remained of the Dutch garrison went out by the breach made in their north-wall, to lay down their arms on the esplanade near the fort.

Thus did Trincomalee pass into the hands of the British on the 26th day of August, 1795.

Now in possession of this strategic base which wise men foretold would hold India, and keep all Asia in awe—the British government set about strengthening and establishing their position. The first requirement was accomposation for the troops. The Duch barracks were in poor repair and badly situated. It is recorded that said to bein 1799 "temporary barracks were erected" for the comfort of the men. At this time the garrison of the two forts consisted of the 80th Foot Regiment, one Company Madras Artillery, 260 Gun Lascars and one battalion of Seapoys. Officers were billeted in the "lower town"—but in 1801 permanent quarters were built within the fort for the personnel of higher rank.

In these first years of British rule the conditions in which the troops lived and worked were far from comfortable and happy. We read how one of the British Commandants Colonel Champagne, "to reduce the high mortality among the troops which rendered the name

of Trincomalee so dreadful to the ears of military men "—ordered the clearing of the jungle and the cutting down of "many coconut trees between the fort and the harbour" as a useful health measure. Tropical diseases contributed to many deaths among the Europeans in Trincomalee and pestilence also broke out among the cattle, to cause much anxiety. A widespread smallpox epidemic eventually induced the Honourable Frederic North, the first Governor of Ceylon, to establish a hospital at Trincomalee. Vaccination was at that time an untried medical precaution—and it is therefrore interesting to hear that it was at Trincomalee on the 11th of August, 1802, that a patient was innoculated for the first time in Ceylon, with a thread steeped in vaccine sent from Bombay.

Amongst the first "British Settlers" in Trincomalee, history records the name of Wellesley—later made Duke of Wellington, who came to this corner of the world in December 1800—collecting a force ........ "for the completion of British conquests in the East." Colonel Wellesley spent Christmas in a lodge later named after him and situated inside the fort. He had equipped himself with "six cases of claret, six of madeira and six of Port" with which to celebrate the season and entertain his fellow officers. Records leave us to imagine the revelry and hilarity that "Wellesley Lodge" witnessed that Christmas! The problem of victualling his men seems to have occupied the rest of the time of this distinguished visitor—as we also read of this visit that "Colonel Wellesley spent his time collecting for his force—vinegar, tea, sugar, rum and staff officers!".

In the year 1803 the fort, perched like a watch tower on the hill and commanding the outer bay of Trincomalee, which site the Portuguese had first chosen and the Dutch retained, was named Fort Frederick, by which it is still referred to, to this day. This name was given in honour of Frederick, Duke of York who was Commander in-Chief of the British army at the time.

The hard conditions under which British troops and personnel lived in Trincomalee continued for some years. A picture of life in this outpost has been preserved for us in the words of a Bombardier of the Royal Army who in 1803 was stationed here. He writes of Trincomalee as the worst military station in the whole island—"the climate and the great fatigue, but more especially the food" which he says "had begun to tell on me and others in a fearful manner." The mortality would appear to have been so great, that he says: "we were often obliged to get assistance from the 19th Regiment of Foot in the melancholy office of burying the dead."

These impression he published in a book in 1830 when he was back in England. It is entitled: "The Life of Alexander Alexander." He found the food in the barrack mess so badly cooked that he decided to take a native wife "or rather nurse" to cook for him and get him better food from the Pettah. The Commandant, according to a proceeding which was the practice in those days, seems to have granted Alexander permission to build a hut for his family in the fort,

Alexander continuing in his inimitable strain recalls that: "strange to tell, the longer the European troops remained in this wretched place, which I may call the gates of death and hell, the more immoral and depraved they became.....There was continual flogging.....The officers appeare to take pleasure in it....." Alexander's unhappy existence appears to have been short lived—as in October 1810 he was able to return to England—but his book has given us a vivid setting of life in Trincomalee in the early days of British rule.

Although Trincomalee harbour provided shelter for ships of many nations for nearly 2000 years, it remained as it was described by Samuel Pepys "in truth a mighty fine anchorage but lacking stores and water—and rife with disease." With the construction in 1815 of a small dockyard started by Captain Puget, of the Royal Navy, the complexion of the place changed. The fort soon came to be so strongly fortified that Trincomalee was considered to be a base from where the navy could ensure freedom for the movement of its shipping.

A curious story which has come to light by tracing history through tombstones and monuments—sheds light on the wild and wooded nature of Trincomalee in the latter half of the 19th century.

In the burial ground situated opposite the big Maidan or esplanade in the town, there stands a tombstone bearing the following inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of Gunner M. H. Scott, 12th Battery 7th Brigade, Royal Artillery, who was lost in the jungle, Fort Ostenburgh, August 1st 1877. His remains were found December 30th 1878. Aged 21 years 8 months.

This stone is erected by his comrades.

A few obscure paragraphs which appeared in the Ceylon Observer of August 10th and 11th 1877—shed further evidence on this strange mural inscription.

The hill which the Dutch aptly named "Oostenburg" was apparently still thick unopened jungle—with a few paths marked out by persons who went in to collect firewood or hunt the smaller game which was found in plenty. The story runs, that one Wednesday morning, three soldiers stationed in the Fort, went monkey shocting towards Nicholson's Cove which is about two or three miles from the town. Only two of the men who set out returned to barracks at the end of the day—the other was not to be found! The Commandant of the troops when informed of this case was naturally most concerned and sent men to comb and explore the jungle for a few days—with no success. A dog, belonging to the missing soldier returned to town three days after the man was lost.

Various were the surmises as to the soldier's fate. Desertion was ruled out as unlikely—for the man had left all his money and personal belongings in the barracks. Was it suicide then—or murder? Gunner Scott was described as "being of rather hasty temper." Could he then have been put out of the way by an enemy, under cover of the thick forest.?

"It is possible," the press account goes on to say, "that he may have fallen from the rocks into the sea—but though the coast has been searched no body has been found. A shark however may have prevented that."

None of these conjectures proved correct. Gunner Scott was "simply lost in a limited area of jungle." We can picture the unfortunate man—wandering about, the heat of the sun making him dizzy and more bewildered, and a thirst maddening him to despair......

But what is most strange in reasoning out this version, is that, accepting the fact that the hill of Ostenburg was unopened jungle—the man could not go far in any direction without coming to the sea or to the town lying so close beneath the hill. What is even stranger-it took one year and five months to find the remains of Gunner Scott, of the Royal Artillery!

Trincomalee remained the headquarters of the East Indies Squadron, until about 1905 when Admiral Fisher, then the Commander-in-Chief of the fleet dismantled its defences and closed its dockyard. Cannon were stripped from its batteries, the recesses of gun emplacements were invaded by armies of bats and vermin, and the basalt cliffs on which the batteries stood combed of their soldiery. The barrack rooms left empty and forlorn crumbled to ruin. The small detachment of military that remained behind were finally withdrawn in 1916 and the flag of the East Indies Fleet removed to Bombay.

Thus Trincomalee slumbered until 1923, when with a change of policy of the government in England the dockyard was reopened and was to resound to the bustle and stir of big business, while work commenced on other permanent defences. The East Indies Squadron made Trincomalee its base once again—annually visiting its picturesque anchorage with their fleets. Old Admiralty House, empty for so long, was occupied, the town awoke to light and life—and Trincomalee resumed its place as a vital link in the naval chain of the Empire.

When the jungles were pushed back the population in the area grew, buildings and shopping centres emerged, with roads and railways to link Trincomalce with other parts of the country.

The years went by—and methods of warfare changed. The old forts with their ramparts and their bastions were left alone to remain mere historic land-marks of an age past. Scrub jungle again grew up in the old fort on "Pagoda Hill"—deer wandered in to graze and occupy its barrack rooms. The fortress at Oostenburg which the Dutch had built so solidly, crumbled in as the roots of giant trees broke up its foundations.

But to the British, Trincomalee Harbour still remained—"the most valuable colonial possession on the globe," as giving the far flung units of its Eastern Empire a sense of security. The flagship of the Eastern Fleet linked its harbour with other East Indian stations. And though Trincomalee, which by accident of position was denied that service to commerce which if it had been on the west coast of

Ceylon would have been incalculable, it continued to hold the vital place wise men of an earlier age had cast for her.

As the years progressed and humanity marched on, new changes of a restless 20th Century crept in and through two world-wars Trincomalee remained the pivot of the British Empire, while "behind the shield of British sea-power, the colony of Ceylon, free from the distractions of war, was able to develop."

At the end of the first World war the Naval base was further strenghened and provided with an air-field. Dry-docks and workshops with every modern engineering appliance were built, wireless stations were set up and oil installations erected at great cost, while anti-aircraft defences and "Radar" occupied Trincomalee's hilltops. The peaceful coves and bays around them became the homing ground of large amphibious airships. Trincomalee was thus entirely fitted to become in the second World War a "spring-board" for the allied naval forces......" which was to win the war in the Far East."

In those tense days when hush... hush... military strategy wrapped the place, large fleets of ships anchored in the shelter of its tranquil waters. On one occasion the giant luxury liner "Queen Elizabeth", converted into a troop ship, visited here.

But in this holocaust this beauty spot was not to left unscathed. For as the first streaks of dawn ushered in April 9th, 1942, the sirens screeched. The banshee wail was followed by the whir of British fighter planes taking off to intercept the enemy "Zeros," flying in waves of formation and converging on Trincomalee. Anti-aircaft guns and other defence sprang to action.......Today we know, that as in Colombo, the Japanese raid on Trincomalee was not a surprise.

Ceylon was drawn into the orbit of war a year back.....when Allied Intellignce was informed that a formidable Japanese naval force had passed through the Straits of Malacea and into the Indian Ocean about the end of March 1942. A Royal Candian Flying-boat Squadron was detailed to make regular reconaissance to cover the Eastern approaches to Ceylon. At each dawn and sunset, from their base in Koggala in the south-east of the Island, the Catalina Flying-boats used to take off on their anti-invasion patrols.

On the afternoon of April 4th Squadron Leader Birchall had set out on his coastal command operations when shortly after 4 o'clock, a hasty wireless message was received from him — giving particulars of a considerable enemy force including five aircraft carriers, sighted some 350 miles to the south of Ceylon.

Throughout the hours of darkness that followed, air signals of the enemy's approach were received—and on Easter Sunday, April 5th 1942, Colombo experienced her first air-raid.

Operations Staff however were able to report after the raid that the enemy seemed badly disorganised by the defences put over Colombo. The Japanese had lost 30 aircraft and a further 25 damaged Even so they still had plenty of aircraft left aboard their Carriers. With these, four days later they launched an attack against Trincomalee harbour and China Bay aerodrome.

On the morning of April 9th—a few minutes after 7 o'clock the Japanese Zeros planes were sighted, again by a Catalina out on patrol. About half an hour later six enemy aircraft appeared over Trincomalee. The small formation of Hurricanes which went to meet the attackers out at sea, were too small a force to hold the Japanese off. The enemy came on, streaking in and out of the cloud in a grim hide-and-seek, the black silhouettes of dive bombers sweeping steeply down as they sought out their targets.

The harbour was devoid of war ships that morning save for the old monitor "Erebus." This the Japanes mistook for a battleship and rained down bombs on it. It listed, badly damaged.

A large party of Ceyloness workmen engaged on an Admiralty site near the dry-dock and shipping yard—came to a swift and sudden end on that fearful morning. A mountain of debris, sand and stone rained down to bury them underneath, when a Japanese bomb crashed with a deafening roar, nearby. Sentries today dread to face the lonely night watch at this haunted and eerie spot.

Over at China Bay the raiding planes swept low over the aerodrome to wreck appreciable destruction. No. 261 Hurricane Squadron found inadequate to meet the attack, a few Fleet Air Arm Fulmars were pressed into service, to strengthen the depleted air defence. Almost two years after, one of the Fulmars missing in the raid was found in the jungle south of Koddiar Bay—the bones of its two gallant occupants still in the cockpits.

One Japanese airman gave an instance of his countrymen's famed suicide tactics in this raid. With studied care he dived his aircraft into a large oil storage tank in China Bay—setting ablaze his own funeral pyre, which was to burn in spectacular fashion for days, the sky red with the flames that engulfed it and the deathly pall of smoke drifting across the harbour and over the town.

When slowly the battle of the air drifted out over to the sea, it left a town shaken — its beauty marred by the scars of war, while even the salt breezes wafted the scent of death.

But the destruction was not complete. The Japanese returning from the attack to their Aircraft Carriers out at sea spotted the British Aircraft Carrier "Hermes" and her escort the destroyer "Vampire." They had left their berths in Trincomalee harbour only that previous afternoon, at sunset. The Japs dive bombed the helpless ships.....and repeated their efficient performance of three hours before. It should be recorded here that the "Hermes" had no aircraft aboard, having flown them off as reinforcements to the R. A. F. Station at China Bay. The "Hermes" and the "Vampire" went to the bottom with Ceylon's East coast visible on the horizon, as they sank.

Ten years later while on passage from Trincomalee to Colombo, H. M. S. "Flamingo" stopped in mid-ocean, to fire three volleys and drop a wreath in memory of the men who lost their lives by the sinking of these ships.

To those very few who remain to remember and recall the tense days of war — Trincomalee was alghost town, bereft of its civil population, a strategic outpost of a country at war. But even today, fifteen years after the air-raid on the 9th of April — there still remain grim evidences of that sad and fearful morning:— the blackened, empty shell of metal, once the ship "Erebus", drawn up beside the shore near the dockyard workshop and used now as a landing pier; the gaunt white crosses of those who lost their lives in this visitation in force of the enemy, found scattered in the towns graveyards and cemetery's; the concrete foundations and gun emplacements of numerous ack ack posts half hidden in the scrub and jungle of the hills and promontories round the harbour.....

In August 1945, there came an end to all this and happy days were ushered in with the holding of a Thanksgiving Service and the celebration of a spectacular Inter Services Parade.

The war over — Trincomalee crept back to normality; its civil population re-emerged to grow besides the Admiralty Base and the Dockyard. But comparable concentrations of ships were never again to be seen in this large and picturesque anchorage except once a year, on the occasion of the annual exercises in which the Royal Navy invited the ships of Ceylon and other Commonwealth countries to participate. For the few weeks of J. E. T. — as this naval event is called — the quietness of Trincomalee is disturbed when swarms of white clad figures burst from the holds of the ships, daily to engulf the shopping centres and enjoy what social amenities the town boasts of, and club and Wardroom Mess get rejuvenesced, to liven up with much entertainment and festivity. During the day the inner harbour is active and colourful at this season; while at night the dark blue bowl twinkles with the innumerable lights of the ships berthed, and the town takes on the atmosphere of carnival.

In 1948, though Ceylon gained her independence, the British base at Trincomalee was retained by mutual consent of both countries. Then last year negotiations were begun to terminate the rights of the British government to retain sea and air forces in Ceylon.

Thus on the morning of October 15th, 1957 — we saw the British flag lowered for the last time, and the ensign of the Royal Ceylon Navy with the colourful flag of free Ceylon at its top left-hand corner, slowly hoisted to take its place.

We were witnesses to the ushering of a new era. From whatever angle the occasion is viewed the significance of this event cannot but be forcibly felt. For within the last decade concepts of naval and military strategy have undergone revolutionary change. In this shifting background the days of Trincomalee as a great naval station and strategic outpost seem to have been accomplished

The future will rest on the correct assessment of Trincomalee which we make today. Many are the prospects which predict, on these lines of thinking, a new phase in the life of Trincomalee. A commercial port—a free port..... a special place in relation to the economic needs of the country?

These auguries for the port of Trincomalee are distinctly favourable—but they have yet to be formulated, and that soon. For this enclave of relative affluence in a jungle desolation, which for years past has been subsisted by the British Admiralty, when left open to the rolling jungle tide.....can so easily slip back to the isolation and barrenness so characteristic of other parts of the Eastern Province.

The objects of the Union shall be:

To prepare and publish a memorial history of the Dutch in Ceylon, descriptive of their social life and customs, their methods of administration, and the influence of these upon existing institutions in the Island.

### HOLLAND IS A LITTLE BIT OF LANKA

 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{y}$ 

S. J. K. CROWTHER.

(Reproduced from the Times of Ceylon by courtesy of the Editor.)

To vary a memorable phrase of our Governor-General in another context, Holland is a little bit of old Lanka.

I first saw it coming as far away as Cologne when I called at the Dutch Consul-General's office for a visa. The plump young lady who attended to me might have stepped out of any bungalow in Havelock Town or Bambalapitiya. I dared not ask her name, but if she told me that, it was de Kretser, I would not have for a moment doubted her.

Hovering behind the counter was a tall, slim young man who was clearly a member of the BRC, by the name of Toussaint or Anthonisz.

Then a door opened and there came out a portly, dignified Dutchman. He had little pouches under his eyes and he was rotund round his lower waistcoat. I have never enjoyed the privilege of a visit to the DBU, but I imagine that it is the rendezvous of such men of dignity and worth, as I have described. I made up my mind at once that he was a Van der Straaten, not Norman of that ilk, my old friend and colleague, but Willie Van der Straaten, a well-known personality in the twenties.

### **Dutch surnames**

They boast in Jaffna that they speak the purest Tamil, as compared with South India. Similarly, we might claim that Dutch surnames in their purest forms are preserved in Ceylon. Of those, who have suffered no change we encountered countless examples.

A representative of the good old Loos family has his name on a board in Amsterdam, Another is Jong. My old friend in Bandarawela, the blue-eyed Mr. Meyer, has his family tree flourishing in one of the important streets of the Dutch capital. But the name of his neighbour on our Uva hill, has been altered in Holland into Van Collamborg.

Not so the name of the redoubtable Sir Hector's partner in law-de Witt. Other Ceylon names which lept at us as we roamed the streets of Amsterdam were: Jansen, Paulsz, Van Royen, Keyzer and Hamer. The great Arndt family, immemorably connected with St. Thomas' College, has in Holland begotten a suffix and has become Arendtsen.

From what we see of the relics of the Hollanders' regime in old Ceylon we know that they were indefatigable makers of dykes and canals. Amsterdam itself is a city of canals. But it is when one gets out of the city and into the surrounding country that one sees how this penchant for canals got out of hand and has now to be kept within practicable bounds.

In the old days, there was a rousing musical comedy number about somebody sitting beside the Zuyder Zee. That can no longer be done now because although there is a Zuyder there is no Zee. It has been dammed and the enclosed area some thousands of acres, is in process of reclamation. Here along the road to Delft a miracle of horticulture may be seen. On the rich black soil on either side of the road, mile after mile, are flower gardens, bright with blooms of every size and shape and hue, roses, daffodils, crocuses, tulips. Aalsmeer is an amazing spectacle.

### Auction room

In the centre of this enchanting spot stands the flower market. It is difficult to decide what to admire more—the beauty of the flowers collected here or the variety of their fragrance. All the horticulturists of the area bring in lorries the produce of their gardens, which are then sorted out in a great central hall. From there they are taken in trolleys to the auction hall

It resembles our Parliament Hall in Colombo, the seats for the buyers rising in circular tiers, one above the other. An electric push button is fixed to each seat which is numbered. Facing the buyers is a large illuminated disc over which an arrow travels showing the price offered by the buyer, whose number is indicated by a light on the board as he pushes the button.

The unique feature of this auction room is that there is none of the shouting and the bidding associated with sales by auction. Complete silence prevails. The auctioneer's assistant holds up a bundle of flowers for the inspection of the seated buyers, who register their bids by pushing a button.

Reluctantly leaving this orgy of flowers. we continued the journey. At times the road ran beside a canal, at times it bordered a field where black-and-white cows, with enormous udders, browsed. Wind-mills waved their arms in characteristic style. Bridges crossed the canals. At one place the bus had to stop while they raised the bridge by means of chains to allow a barge to pass under. Then we ran into a picturesque Dutch village, Rupwetering, and stopped at an inn. And who should serve us with coffee but a lady by the name of de Vos?

With an offering of flowers from this representative of a well known Ceylon family, we passed on to Delft, another name which the Dutch bequeathed to an island in North Ceylon. And there we recognised a relic of the Dutch occupation left neglected in many a dusty cupboard in Ceylon. In some of our old houses one comes across odd pieces of blue crockery, cracked, chipped and discarded. It is in Delft that the real worth of this junk is recognised. Nowhere else in the world is this hand-painted blue pottery produced. An American lady, who bought some of it, sighed and said that in her home, in the States, they had thrown out odd specimens of this valuable china as useless rubbish,

### Lion Flag

It was at Delft again that, like the intrepid Tensing who planted his country's flag on the top of the Himalayas, I caused the Lion Flag to be hoisted on a restaurant table. We had gone into this restaurant for lunch and while we were at table the proprietor came with a miniature Union Jack to place before us as a compliment to our nation-hood. We thanked him for the compliment which, however, we pointed out slightly erred. He apologised and retired. A few minntes later, he emerged triumphantly bearing in his hand the Sri Lanka standard, the Lion Rampant. On our departure he faithfully promised to copy it into a huge tome — one of four — in which he painted the national colours of the foreign guests who ate at his table.

From Delft we went to The Hague, the administrative capital. It is a beautiful old world city laid out with the methodical precision for which the Dutch are famous. The citizen who does business with the Government has not, as in other countries, to career all over the place in search of the various departmental dovecotes. At The Hague they stand cheek by jowl, each in its ornate seventeenth century setting. Even the Queen has her palace there so that the loyal subject who seeks her presence has not to go far. Because the land in great parts of Holland is below sea level, houses have to be built on piles, 60 to 70 feet deep. The Queen's Palace is built on 30,650 piles.

### Showpiece

The most outstanding showpiece of The Hague is the Palace of Peace gifted by Andrew Carnegie. This monument to the elusive ideal of World Peace is no longer used for international parleys. Here is now held the international court of justice, when nation goes to law against nation. Some famous disputes have been heard here. One that will come up for hearing soon is the dispute between India and Portugal over Goa.

A remarkable feature of this session of the international court of justice is that both India and Portugal will be represented by learned British counsel, a spontaneous tribute to British provess in the field of jurisprudence.

The objects of the Union shall be:

To promote the moral, intellectual, and social wellbeing of the Dutch descendants in Ceylon.

. Adolfer a sleep

### IN THE TWILIGHT

BY

### An Octogenarian.

Once again I sit dreaming in the twilight, as in the days gone by, but no longer in that lovely garden which is now in alien hands.

Ten years have passed since I wrote "The story of my life," for my children, with no thought of publication—but the late editor of the D.B.U. Journal, Mr. J. R. Toussaint chanced to see the manuscript and persuaded me to let him put it into his journal. Now I am an octogenarian and past my 85th birthday. Ten years have passed, chequered by shadows as well as sunshine. We forget the sunny days so soon, while the shadows are not easily forgotten. Looking back, what were the shadows of that decade? They were made up of loss, misfortune, disappointment and disillusion. I have lost many valued friends, during that time, who have gone to that far country from whence no traveller returns. Two in the prime of life, some of them were my contemporaries, others much younger than myself. During the year just ended I have lost a dear sister and a brother—

"Ah, Christ, that it were possible
For one short hour to see
The souls we loved that they might tell us
What and where they be."

Misfortune has befallen some of the members of my family, which, thank God, they have borne with fortitude and courage. Disappointment and disillusion have come through one whom we loved and trusted. Duplicity and treachery are ugly things which are best forgotten.

It was with a sad heart and many misgivings I left the home I loved to begin a new life in a new home. Now I realize how foolish I was to forget that God over-rules all things for our ultimate good. The peaceful home that was given me by my younger son is a happy one. The three other inmates of the house are away from it nearly all day. It is very quiet and some times it is lonely, when my radio is a great comfort to me. During the midst of the year I have spent here I have been troubled with minor ailments, also with failing evesight, which has prevented me from reading, writing, knitting, sewing and most of all has prevented me from worshipping in the church close by. Now with improving health, thank God, I can write again, especially to my two sons far away. It was so unsatisfactory to get others to write for me and read their letters to me. My reading is perforce confined to the headlines in the local papers. Some kind friends come to read to me about twice a week. These are the highlights in my davs.

Now I must begin to count my blessings. The greatest blessing one can have is health. Who was it who said "Give me health and a day and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous." Yet when we are blessed with health we hold it so lightly, but when we lose it the whole world is changed for us. Next comes the shelter of a good home and a room large enough to accommodate my cherished possessions; a good servant is another blessing I am thankful for. And what about the common things of life? The varied scenery of the sky with rosy-tipped clouds now reflecting the after glow of the sunset, the wide horizon of the sea in its many moods, flowers, one of the loveliest things that God has given us, stately trees, bird songs, breath for our nostrils and grass for our feet, eyes to see, ears to hear and hearts to apprehend all the beauty around us. How easily we forget how much we have to be thankful for. Let us pray God to give us thankful hearts as well.

We often hear the words "I couldn't care less" used by many people words which speak of apathetic indifference to many things they ought to care about. These flippant words express a condition of the mind which is all too common. We hear people say "Life is not worth living" forgetful of the fact that life is a gift of our Creator. "The gift of God is eternal life", yet people talk glibly about it. Life is a responsibility, and we dare not fling it away. We do not know how many days or months or years lie ahead of us. Let us then make the most of this wonderful gift.

As I sit dreaming, darkness is closing in around me. It is time to go in to the house and awaken to reality.

L. W.

The objects of the Union shall be:

(e) To gather by degrees a library for the use of the Union composed of all obtainable books and papers relating to the Dutch occupation of Ceylon and standard works in Dutch literature.

# GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF HEYN OF CEYLON

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

T.

Hendrik Heyn of Groningen married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 9th February 1772, Anna Maria Lonitz: He had by her.

1 Hendrik, who follows under II.

II

Hendrik Heyn, Medical Assistant, died 14th April 1843, married:

- (a) At Matara, by Governor's licence No. 363, dated 13th March 1823, Carolina Fredericka Swartz, daughter of Harmen Frederick Swartz and Johanna Catherina de Zilwa.
- (b) In the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 27th February 1840, Johanna Christina Ohlmus, born 30th March 1796, daughter of Lodewyk Johannes Ohlmus and Petronella Elisabeth Hoffman. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. XXVIII, page 167, and Vol. XLI, page 175).

Of the first marriage, he had.

- 1 Josephina Matilda, born 1st May 1826, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 7th October 1847, Justinus Andreas Rode, born 27th November 1820, died 27th June 1881, son of Johannes Jacobus Rode and Anna Margarita Visser. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. XXIX, pages 99 and 101).
- 2 Charles Henry Heyn, who follows under III.

### III

Charles Henry Heyn, born 25th February 1828, married Eliza Matilda de Zilva. He had by her.

- Dora Catherine, born 1856, married in the Methodist Church, Kollupitiya, 23rd August 1886, William James Wallace of Woolwich in England.
- 2 Matilda Jemima, born 16th February 1859.
- 3 Charlotte Henrietta, born 18th July 1861, died 26th October 1938, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 22nd August 1882, James Collingwood Jansz, Assistant Master,

Royal College, Colombo, born 2nd May 1862, died 15th November 1932, son of James Charles Jansz and Emelia Raffel, (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. XLVII, page 60).

- 4 Charles Henry, born 4th October 1863, died 1900.
- 5 Gerald Chetwynd Swartz, who follows under IV.
- 6 Claribel, born 17th March 1876, died 26th February 1958, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Wolvendaal, 12th September 1900, Alden Noel Joseph Van Geyzel, born 28th December 1875, died 24th January 1949, son of Philip Edmund Van Geyzel and Anna Maria Joseph. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. X, page 75, and Vol. XLIV, page 177).

### IV

Gerald Chetwynd Swartz Heyn, born 2nd May 1873, died 27th September 1955, married in the Dutch Reformed Church. Wolvendaal. 19th December 1900, Hylda de Zilva, born 22nd September 1879, died 24th April 1950, daughter of Augustine (Justin) Loraine de Zilva and Eveline Amanda Schokman. (D.B.U. Journal, Vol. XXV, page 109). He had by her.

- 1 Sylvia Helene, born 5th September 1901.
- 2 Gerald, who follows under V.
- 3 Charles Loraine, born 7th January 1904, died 7th March 1957.
- 4 Dorothy Marie, born 10th February 1905.
- 5 Kenneth Dodwell, born 15th July 1906.
- 6 Vernon Clifford, who follows under VI.
- 7 Kathleen Marguerite, born 14th November 1909.
- 8 Arthur Esmond Swartz, born 30th July 1911, died 6th July 1912.
- 9 Bertram Russel, who follows under VII.
- 10 Maisie Hylda, born 5th May 1914.

### V

Gerald Heyn, born 13th December 1902, married in All Saints' Church, Galle, 28th December 1934, Noeline Edris Pendegras de Zilwa, born 19th December 1907, daughter of William Barnes de Zilwa and Lena Ernestine Pendegras. He had by her.

1 Heather Fleur, born 14th December 1937.

### VI

Vernon Clifford Heyn, born 16th December 1907, married in St. Mary's Church, Dehiwala, 26th August 1937, Mary Josephine Inez Muller, born 29th May 1916, daughter of Francis Aloysius Muller and Josephine Matilda de Zilva. He had by her.

- 1 Barbara, born 12th December 1938.
- 2 Anthony Vernon Meredith, born 19th February 1941.
- 3 Rosalie Anne, born 15th February 1943.
- 4 Cecil Joseph, born 26th March 1947.
- 5 Christine Augela, born 30th December 1949.
- 6 Lawrence Michael, born 12th February 1952.
- 7 Carmen Therese, born 1st January 1955.

### VII

Bertram Russell Heyn, Lieutenant Colonel Commanding the 1st Battalion of the Ceylon Light Infantry, born 1st October 1912, married in the Dutch Reformed Church, Bambalapitiya, 25th October 1941, Edna May Johnson, born 27th January 1914, daughter of Harry Johnson and Edith Maria Wood of Staines in Middlesex, England. He had by her.

- 1 Richard Russell, born 24th September 1942.
- 2 Peter David, born 26 June 1945.

The objects of the Union shall be:

(f) To cause to be prepared and .....printed and published, papers, essays, etc: on questions relating to the history and origin of the Dutch Burghers of Ceylon, and to publish the genealogies of the Dutch families now in Ceylon.

# THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DUTCH BURGHER UNION

A good gathering of members and their families assembled on the 29th of March to celebrate our 50th anniversary. Several guests both of the Union and of individual members were also present.

In the unfortunate absence, through illness, of Mr. J. Aubrey Martensz, our President, Mr. R. S. V. Poulier deputised for him. Addressing the Hon. the Prime Minister, their Excellencies the High Commissioners and the general gathering he conveyed to them Mr. Martensz's regrets for his absence. Having extended a cordial welcome to all present, he proceeded to read the address Mr. Martensz had prepared for the occasion. It opened with a reference to the floods of December, owing to which our celebrations which had been fixed for the 18th of January had to be postponed. With reference to the Prime Minister, Mr. Martensz said "we hope that the brief period you will spend amongst us will enable you to carry away with you some understanding of our goodwill and of our oneness of purpose with the other people who claim this land as their home so as to make a united and prosperous nation of freedom-loving people".......

"We are privileged to have amongst us a number of illustrious guests of the Union and of individual members. I hope I will be forgiven if I make special reference to the presence of His Excellency the High Commissioner for Australia and His Excellency the Minister of the Netherlands and Madame Van der Mandale. His Excellency Dr. Van der Mandele and Madame Van der Mandele have both shown personal and abiding interest in our Union which is much valued. Australia has been a good friend to Ceylon in general and to the Burgher Community".

I will now address myself to the immediate reason for this gathering. As I have already indicated, the Dutch Burgher Union came into being on the 18th of January 1908. That was the culmination of the thought and work of the Founder, Richard Gerald Anthonisz to whose memory we do honour every year on another day. He realised that the members of the small Dutch Burgher Community, by reason of their varied activities and interests—public as well as private—had become scattered throughout the country, and that by reason also of the great variety of their interests, professional and otherwise, cultural and social differences had taken place which, if allowed to grow, would result in the neglect and consequent loss of the useful and beneficial customs of their Dutch ancestors, and in the loss of those moral intellectual and social elements which were essentially of the Community. It was in this spirit, and in this spirit only, that Mr. Anthonisz and a small group of dedicated men worked for and succeeded in founding the Dutch Burgher Union, which as a binding force has brought together under one cultural roof those members of the Dutch Burgher Community to whom the ideals were acceptable. Included in the activities of the Union, are firstly, the work of social service for the assistance of indigent members of the Community, secondly that of education to assist promising young men and women of the Community in their higher studies and thirdly the successful working of a Home for old folks.

We look back from today over the fifty years of the existence of the Union, and beyond that, and recall with justifiable pride the contribution made by individual members of the Community in every (I emphasise that word 'every') field of human activity in which this land, the land of our birth, has been engaged. In the past, we have responded unreservedly to the call this land has made on her sons and have been in the forefront, together with our fellow countrymen of other Communities, on all issues of national importance in which our co-operation and aid has been welcome. In the present day scene, we have not been backward in our response to the call and many members of our community have undertaken a variety of public duties for the State, whenever called upon. We wish to continue to serve this land to the utmost of our ability and it is our hope that these, our legitimate aspirations, will receive the fullest recognition by the Government, and that our special talents will receive encouragement, and be allowed to grow, notwithstanding inevitable and, in certain respects, fundamental changes of policy.

We recognise the urges that are present today and are ready to fit ourselves into the new pattern, but we do ask that our readiness to conform should in turn receive that reciprocity in approach to which we can justly lay claim. In fact, we have for several years past recognised the need to adapt ourselves to the nascent aspirations of the majority of our fellow-countrymen, as much in our own interests as in that of the country as a whole. In return, we claim that we should be allowed to continue to foster our own cultural and social ideals and needs and that this legitimate desire of ours should not stand in the way of recognition by the State of our claims to be used in the service of the country, of which we have, over the last century and a half, been citizens by right.

We look forward with confidence to many further years during which we shall be able to continue to serve this, the land of our birth, to the same full extent as in the past. We shall not be found wanting. All we want is the fullest freedom to develop in our own way, at the same time fitting ourselves into the new pattern of democratic freedom that is emerging in this land.

I repeat that we extend a warm welcome to all our guests and hope that during such time as they wish to remain with us this evening they will enjoy the hospitality we have provided.

To the members of our Union I say—go forward into the years to come with confidence and with a determination to win through.

(Applause.)

The Hon, The Prime Minister then rose to address the gathering. He assured them that it gave him much pleasure to be present. He regretted that Mrs. Bandaranaike could not be present, but the wife of a Prime Minister, they would appreciate, had also a full list of engagements. He greatly regretted the absence of Mr. Aubrey Martensz but was glad to see Mr. Poulier so acceptably deputising for him.

"You are celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the foundation of the Dutch Burgher Union—a notable event certainly, and you do well to perpetuate the memory of your Dutch ancestors. They had a claim to the regard of all peoples, for had they not made history by safeguarding the Netherlands—the lower lands—from the encroachment of the sea!

At a time in world history when many European nations were possessing themselves of other countries or parts of them the achievements of Holland were not surpassed. Her period in Ceylon is remembered for her law, her architecture -I for one would rather live in one of your old Dutch houses than in any of these modern ones, her cookery, oh! for a slice of good Broeder!—and then yourselves! Your history in this island is a record of adaptation to circumstances, for hardly had you begun to feel settled here than in 150 years you had, so to say, to start afresh under your new British rulers. But you did succeed in adapting yourselves to new conditions. And now, after another 150 years, what new future opens out before you? Let me assure you that the people of this country do appreciate all the services your Community has rendered to it in the past. In the political sphere alone there were Charles Ambrose Lorensz and George Wille, while to come to the present day here by my side is Dr. R. L. Spittel, and there are many others too. The future will doubtless have some difficulties, for you are really a European group, though with your roots deeply sunk in the soil of the country. No interference I would assure you is intended in respect of your customs and your way of life, but you have the power to prove yourselves good and true citizens of the country, with that capacity for adaptation which you have already so successfully evinced. But I am not here to lecture to you, so let me repeat what a pleasure it is for me to be here and that I do appreciate your position in respect of various matters. May your Community endure to serve the country and to celebrate also its Diamond Jubilee and may the Prime Minister of Ceylon be then also present! And so I drink to the prosperity of the Dutch Burgher Union! (Applause.)

The lighter side of the evening's festivities then followed, enlivened by music provided by Ivan and the Four Sharps.

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting was held in the Union Hall on Saturday the 29th of March.

In the absence, through illness, of the President Mr. R. S. V. Poulier was voted to the Chair. There were 41 other members present, including the Hony. Secretary and the Hony. Treasurer.

Before the business for the day was taken up Mr. D. V. Altendorff raised the question whether the necessary quorum of 30 was present and was assured by Mr. Poulier that this was so

After the notice convening the meeting had been read and the Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed, Mr. Poulier read to the meeting on behalf of Mr. Aubrey Martensz the following.

### **Presidential Address**

Ladies and Gentlemen, I address you on this the 50th Annual General Meeting of our Union, the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon, very conscious of the significance of the occasion, as it marks a milestone in the history of the Union, which has lived through its first fifty years in times during which, on the world stage, two wars have been fought, with the sacrifice of the best of the youths of the countries involved. We too, in small measure, contributed to that sacrifice—evidenced by the Roll of Honour let into one of the walls of the vestibule of our Hall—but we do not regret the fact that our young men answered the call and that some made the supreme sacrifice. We honour them for that, and their memory will always remain with us.

Many changes in political thinking have taken place throughout the world, and we in this land have had our own changes which have brought in their train many problems that affect us in both the economic and the political fields.

The unsettlement in the minds of men consequent on these world-wide events have left their mark already on the character of the men and women of today. The problem that has to be faced is whether, as the political changes gather momentum, as is evident before our eyes, even in this small Island today, further changes of character and of normal human reactions, will be for the better or for the worse.

I find myself in a somewhat unhappy position, with a grave feeling of inferiority, as I face you this evening. I have read the very masterly address which was given by our Immediate Past President in this very Hall last year, in the course of which he very clearly laid, before us the problems which we faced then and still face today. I agree unreservedly with his appraisal of our own situation in this land,

viewed in the light of present day thinking, and wonder to myself whether, in my observations on the current economic and political scene, I can give you any new ideas and fresh and more reassuring hope. It seems to me to be clear that we must look on the situation in a realistic manner and not be stampeded into a hasty and, possibly, unwise attitude towards the changes that are taking place and which will, without doubt, affect our own way of life and outlook. We must realise that we as a community, who claim this country as the land of our birth, must, without surrendering our cultural and moral outlook and background, seek to fit ourselves into the pattern of life in this country which, during the last two years, has undergone such rapid change: this pattern will continue to change, sometimes with alarming rapidity, until the people have had time to settle down, and the present emotionalism moderates, and the current confusion of ideas becomes clarified. For us—such a small community—to try to continue static in our behaviour towards change and to refuse to budge from a way of thought which we have held for many years, will be to lag behind in the race and eventually to be overwhelmed by conditions which to the extent our own self respect and way of life will permit, we have made no effort to conform to. I am not a defeatist: I try to think realistically, to view the changing scene before me calmly, and to see how I can, without destroying my own personality and moral outlook, make my way of life and thought fit into the changes. That seems to me to be the best way of standing—and I mean standing. To resist passively or actively will take us nowhere. We might, if so minded, continue to live our lives elsewhere; but we cannot afford to remain still and uncompromising in our attitude of mind while others of other communities (who, like us, are affected by the changes) are forging ahead notwithstanding the forces they have to contend with. I make a strong appeal to you all, Ladies and Gentlemen, to make a supreme effort to conquer any feelings of dislike and distaste for the new thinking that is being so vigorously translated into action. Let us all do our best to shape our lives in such a way that, while we maintain the respect and regard of people of other communities, we will not be left behind. The cry of discrimination is heard, and such it may be there is, but we must try to realise that this human weakness will gradually vanish with the years and that, while that unhappy state exists, we should do our best by patience and helpful understanding to minimise the destructive effect of such a human weakness. We must remember that 30 or 35 years ago the boot was on the other foot, though we were not the active discriminators but the beneficiaries of such a policy.

I say, work well and co-operatively with the other communities living in this country, and remember the words of our revered Founder who, with wide vision, uttered the following words of advice:

"You cannot live your lives worthily if you spend it mainly for your own advancement. Your life must be spent as far as possible for the Country to which you belong and for all the communities you associate with". He also stressed the point, when the Union was being

formed, that is was "not going to disturb any of the existing friendly relations". Carry on, I say, in the spirit of goodwill and understanding that has always been our special aptitude, and face the future with courage.

Before I conclude, I would like to follow the example of my predecessors in office and refer very briefly to one or two matters to which reference is made in the Annual Report of your Committee for the year ending 31st December 1957.

The Union showed our sympathy for the sufferers of the dreadful floods of December/January, by making a small donation; in addition, members of the Dutch Burgher Community gave active help in the relief of distress.

Everyone will be glad that the fine work for the Union, which was a matter of very real interest in the life of the late Mr. W. E. V. de Rooy, is to be remembered by the erection of a tablet in recognition of his selfless work.

Two of our most deserving activities are those connected with Social Service and Education. They have a very compelling claim on our purses. There is also the outstandingly helpful work connected with St. Nikolaas' Home, (made possible through the wonderful generosity of Dr. R. L. Spittel), and which we must keep well in our minds.

The lighter side of our Union activities is well provided for and I hope these pleasant events will continue to brighten our lives in these drab and uncertain days.

I have not been a good President and I wish I could have done more than the infinitesimal little that I was able to. Had it not been for the support of the General and other Committees and our Secretary and our Treasurer, I would have failed miserably. I thank them for their co-operation and helpful understanding of my difficulties.

Before the Report and Accounts were presented the Chairman mentioned a printer's error that needed correction on page 2 viz that "Rule 6 (c) i" should read "Rule 6 (e) i".

The Report and Accounts were then discussed.

Mr. D. V. Altendorff criticised the amount shown as due from "Sundry Debtors" and characterised the conduct of offending members as "disreputable". He urged the Hony. Treasurer to apply the rules regarding defaulters more strictly. Mr. C. Speldewinde explained that the amounts in question were not bad debts and were recoverable.

Mr. V. Grenier, commenting on the Report of the de Hoedt Trustees said that members should be particularly grateful for such a report, for it not only helped to keep alive the memory of a benefactor but

also was an inspiration to those who could afford to do so to establish similar scholarships. The Schueider Scholarships should also, he urged, be regularly brought before the minds of members. He had been informed by the Warden that this year 14 D. B. boys held scholarships. There had been 11 in 1957 and 20 in 1956. In all, nearly 80 boys had by now held scholarships.

The Report and Accounts were then adopted

Mr. R. S. V. Poulier next proposed the re-election of Mr. Aubrey Martensz as President, Carried.

Mr. M. Wallbeoff and Mr. Ivor Wendt were then re-elected as-Hony. Secretary and Hony. Treasurer, respectively.

The General Committee was next elected.

Mr. F. W. E. de Vos suggested that holding Committee Meetings occasionally on Saturdays would ensure a better attendance of Outstation members. The Chairman said the matter had already been considered and that members' Days every quarter would be arranged for.

Messrs. Satchithananda Schokman, Wijeratne & Co., were next appointed as Auditors.

The Chairman proposed a Vote of Thanks to the retiring Office Bearers. He also urged all members not to hesitate to pass on to any member of the Committee any criticisms or suggestions they wished to make.

The meeting then concluded.

### "KITCHEN TRIUMPHS OF THE DUTCH"

"My aim in asking you to discuss these dainties and dishes is to retain loss of interest in something worth preserving. The ladies will know the merits and demerits of these dishes; presumably their ancestors adopted from many sources and what was of merit survived. Your task will be to preserve and continue their use". So wrote Dr. Andreas Nell in sending to Mrs. Lucien Jansz of Cuisine Milagiriya fame a little manuscript booklet of 27 pages compiled by him relating to "dishes and cakes which were used in the households of the Dutch in Ceylon.... Whatever their original sources they may be regarded as part of the kitchen triumphs of the Dutch households in Ceylon."

Dr. Nell's compilation is based on certain articles on Ceylon History contributed anonymously to the "Ceylon Examiner Literary Supplement" in 1875, but which he confidently attributes to the Hon. Mr. James de Alwis M.L.C Dealing with the Dutch period this writer said that "in the culinary art they introduced great many varieties and innovations. To a man accustomed to rice and curry, or as it is termed by an Englishman "curry and rice" nothing could be more delicious". Mr. de Alwis then proceeds to mention 15 preparations all of which he considers "certainly superior," the more familiar ones mentioned by him being Tempradu, Frikadela, Lateria, Hoppers, Rurum, Panukook and Leveriya. Some comments on Mr. de Alwis' article however by Leopold Ludovici, then Editor of the Examiner", appeared a few months later and shewed that not all the dishes mentioned by Mr. de Alwis had been introduced by the Dutch, some being of Portuguese and Asiatic origin. Temperado, for instance, was obviously Portuguese and indicated "a process used in cookery rather than any particular dish". Laterias, also Portuguese, were "thread-cakes, (otherwise called "idi appen"), the word being derived from "leteria" or "aletria" i.e. Vermicelli). "The wormlike mass is cooked in steam from a pot of boiling water... The Portuguese may have found this is India and tracing the resemblance to vermicelli renamed it." "Fios" said Mr. Ludovici is also Portuguese, it being the plural of Filho, an omelet or pankake, applied locally to ripe plantain or ripe jak fruit of the Vel or soft variety wrapped in pancake paste." Frikkadel was "a true Dutch dish, though some would imagine by the sound of the name with native cooks [? parikadela] that it had a Portuguese origin." "Hoppers are clearly Tamil from the derivation from appum." "Rurum" Mr. Ludovici could not derive and thought it" possibly Malayan; something like it is called "buttered eggs" in some English recipe". The late Rev. Lucien Jansz however thought the word was a corruption of the Dutch "roering" (stirring) "Scrambled eggs" in Dutch are 'roereieren". The local "oru-rurum" is obviously a Portuguese-Dutch compromise, with the egg coming first! Panukook as Mr. de Alwis spells it is obviously the Dutch pannekoek

i.e. pancake, "the local peculiarity of which says Mr. Ludovici was the use of the water of the young coconut which gave it a very delicately better and agreeable flavour. He also mentions several other dishes, with comments on their origins and methods of preparation, e.g. "Pastelas, little pies, originally "pasteloa", "Pente frito, literally "fried comb", bits of flour paste rolled on the comb-like indented surface of a board and fried......eaten with salted duck eggs from Cochin, salted and dried small cuttlefish from Mannar, pickled gherkins from Jaffna and other addenda; Carmenache, a stew with an agreeable flavour; Roti, ascribed to the Singhalese but which is clearly Tamil...... The little cake prepared for Elijah by the widow of Zarephath was probably a roti" One would have appreciated Ludovici's ideas as to the derivation of the word "Carmenache." The present writer ventures to suggest that it may be a corruption of the Dutch word "Karbonadje"—little cuts or chops of beef.

Ludovici then quotes, says Dr. Nell, from Robert Knox, who was a Captive in the Kandyan realm from 1659 to 1679, certain remarks regarding "Kayun" "oggalas", "alloways" (aluwas) and "yacpetties", one variety of which was "Koppittu". "Kayun", says Knox, were sent to the Dutch "as a royal treat" when they first came to Colombo. "The Dutch did so admire them that they asked if they grew not upon trees, supposing it past the art of man to make such dainties". One wonders whether they were speaking with their tongues also in their cheeks! James de Alwis certainly preferred "fios, panukook, leveriya etc to our kevun, atiraha, munkevun, aggala, palubhadana etc."

Mr. Ludovici also mentions as items of Dutch cookery in Ceylon the following amongst others:—"Sop, a kind of soup or rather broth: Doonvisch, boiled fish served with a doon-saus or egg-sauce; and Smoor or stewed beef, adapted in Ceylon to Indian condiments." The two former one does not now hear of, but 'Smoor' has survived, and its correct pronunciation too (smore); "the large cake poffert or Broeder,...... which often appeared like a hen with her chickens when in company with pofferties, little round cakes baked with butter in a pan with hemispherical hollows". This reference to "a hen" is illuminating, for the Dutch word "broeder" normally means "brother" and it has even been suggested that "Broeder" was the form in which bread ("brood" in Dutch) was supplied to "broeders" (friars). But "broeden" in Dutch also means "to brood, batch, sit on eggs". The derivation suggested by Mr Ludovici has therefore much to recommend it! He also quoted Lorenz, who, with reference to his visit to Holland "used to mention the delightful manner in which Ceylon associatious were called up and the appearance at table of the familiar Broeder" Mr. Ludovici also mentions "Waffels" and "Kockiss" both of which Dr. Nell points out are referred to and illustrated in Miss Deutrom's Cookery Book, "Lamprais", curiously enough are not mentioned either by Mr. de Alwis or by Mr. Ludovici but in "Rare Recipes of a Huis-vrouw of 1770," points out Dr. Nell, they are "attributed to the Portuguese", though now regarded as "inherited from the Dutch". Here again is a word the derivation of which is doubtful. The Rev. Lucien Jansz thought it not unlikely that a Klomp (i.e. a lump) of rist (i.e. rice) became "lamprais". But the late Mr. Leonard Arndt who spent some years in Java was of opinon that the word was a corruption of the Malay word lemper, which is used for a packet of glutinous rice wrapped in plantain leaf.

G. V. G.

### THE DUTCH BURGHER UNION OF CEYLON

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The 50th Annual General Meeting of the Union will be held in the Union hall, Reid Avenue, on Saturday 29th March, 1958 at 5,30 p.m.

### BUSINESS:

- (1) To read the Notice convening the Meeting.
- (2) To read and, if approved, to confirm the Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting.
- (3) President's Address.
- (4) To consider and, if approved, to adopt the Annual Report and Audited Accounts.
- (5) Election of Office-Bearers:-
  - (a) President
  - (b) Honorary Secretary
  - (c) Honorary Treasurer
- (6) Election of General Committee
- (7) Appointment of Auditor
- (8) Vote of thanks to retiring Office Bearers
- (9) Any other Business of which due notice has been given.

A collection will be made at the end of the Meeting in aid of the Social Service Fund of the Union.

A reception will be held after the meeting to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Union.

M. S. WALLBEOFF
Honorary Secretary.

### GENERAL COMMITTEE

The Committee met on 13 occasions and was responsible for the conduct of the general affairs and activities of the Union. The following ammendments to the constitution were passed at the Annual General Meeting of the Union held on the 30th March 1957.

1. Page 3. Insert after the word "These" the words Rule 4 Line 5. "together with the members who have held the office of President."

In the last line of this Rule substitute for the words "General Committee." the words "General Committee from the time of their election."

2. Page 4.

Rule 5 (b) Delete the words "and of all meetings of Standing Lines 5 & 6 Committees."

3. Page 5:

Rule 5 (g) For the words "four to form a quorum" subLine 14 stitute the words "three to form a quorum."

4. Page 7.
Rule 6 (c) (i) For "Rs. -/50" substitute "Re. 1/-".
Line 7.

Rule 6 (c) (ii) Delete Rule 6 (c) (ii).

Rule 6 (c) (iii) Delete the words "if resident within Colombo

Lines 1 & 2 Municipal limits"

Line 4. Delete the word "now"

Rule 6 (c) (iv) Delete Rule 6 (c) (iv).

5 Page 8.

Rule 6 (c) (v) Delete Rule 6 (c) (v).

6. Page 9

Rule 6 (c) (i) Substitute for the words "Colombo members paying their subscriptions, at the rate of Rupees three per month. Outstation members shall be entitled to the same privilege on payment of a regular monthly fee of cents fifty in addition to their ordinary subscriptions," the words, "any member who is not in arrears of subscription."

Donations: The President donated three shares in the Buildings Company to the Union and the heirs of the late Mr. J. R. Toussaint two shares.

### FIFTIETH ANNUAL REPORT 1957

Your Committee has pleasure in submitting the following report for the year 1957.

	MEMBERSHIF	<b>3</b>		٠
	As at 1st January 1957	*****	444	
Less:	Out of Island	•••••	16	
	No. of members re-elected No. of members joined	laella Desté	428 3 37	468
Less:	Resigned		10	
	Died Struck off under Rule 6 (d) & (iii)	111111	6 6	· 22
			"AND THE STREET	446
These a	are distributed as follows:—			
Colom	bo Members:			
	Paying Rs. 3/- per month Paying Rs. 1/- per month	******	220 60	280
Outstai	tion Members:			
	Paying Rs. 1/- per month Out of Island during the year	*******		146 20
		•		446
271	9 - 9 - A		. **	

Flood Relief: A sum of Rs. 250/- was donated to the National Flood Relief Fund.

W. E. V. de Rooy: Steps are being taken to erect a tablet in the Union Hall in memory of the late Mr. de Rooy in recognition of his valuable services to the Union.

Members' Day: This was celebrated on the 20th September immediately after the General Committee Meeting and was a great success.

Founders'Day: The function was celebrated in the usual manner and the photograph of Mr. R. S. V. Poulier, the last President, was unveiled on this occasion.

St. Nikolaas' Fete: This event which is for the children of members was the biggest function of the year and was largely attended by children as well as the older members of the Union. Records of St. Nikolaas' Fete songs, which were donated to us by the Minister for the Netherlands, were played on this occasion and everyone enjoyed themselves.

Journal: Mr. R. L. Brohier continues to be the editor of the Journal and maintain its high standard. Contributions to the Journal will be welcomed by the Editor. Mr. D. V. Altendorff continues to be of invaluable assistance to the Editor in publishing genealogies of families of the community. He has already been responsible for the publication of 142 genealogies.

The Bulletin: Our thanks are due to the Editor, Mr. G. V. Grenier, for his services in this connection.

### STANDING COMMITTEES

(a) Committee for Ethical & Literary Purposes: Chairman; Mr. R.L. Brohier. Secretary: Mr. D. R. L. W. Jansz.

This committee has been responsible for arranging two lectures. One by Mr. Edmund Samarakody on his tour of the U.S.S.R. and the other by Dr. A. S. Mendis on Canada which was illustrated with pictures.

(b) Committee for Social Service: Chairman: Mr. C. A. Speldewinde Secy: Mrs. R. Kelaart. This Committee continues to render assistance to the poorer members of the Community by the payment of monthly allowances, (and casual relief as occasion arises.) The number of persons assisted represent only a small percentage of those in need of help. For lack of funds the work of this Committee is restricted to only a few of those who seek assistance. As funds were not sufficient to meet the demands an appeal was made to members. The response was good and a sum of Rs. 1,800/- was collected.

A Benefit Show was held at the Savoy Cinema, Wellawatte, under the distinguished patronage of His Excellency Dr. Van der Mandle. The Minister for the Netherlands in Ceylon.

The annual Christmas Treat and distribution of Hampers took place on 21st December 1957, the majority of those so helped not being members of our community.

(c) Committee for Recreation, Entertainment and Sport: Chairman: Mr. C. J. Van Alphen. Secy: Mr. Noel Brohier. This Committee was responsible for organizing a number of Dances, all of which proved successful and were enjoyed by Members of the Union, and their guests. The Piano Fund now stands at Rs. 1,023.23.

The Bridge group continues to meet regularly.

(d) Committee for Genealogical Research: Chairman: Mr. H. K. de Kretser, Secretary: Mr. C. P. Brohier.

The Committee met regularly during the year to scrutinise the genealogies of new applicants for membership. Several applications for genealogical information in order to obtain domicile in Australia were dealt with by the Secretary.

(e) Committee for Increasing Membership: Chairman: Mr. G. V. Grenier. Secretary: C. P. Brohier.

This Committee has been responsible for many of the new members who have joined the union.

- (f) Historical Manuscripts and Monuments: This Committee functions under the Chairmanship of Mr. R. L. Brohier with Mr. D. R. L. W. Jansz as Secretary and Convener.
- (g) Education Committee: Chairman: Dr. R. L. Spittel, Secretary: Miss. M. E. vanden Driesen.

The Committee met regularly along with the Social Service Committee and rendered assistance to a number of students who are children of the poorer members of the community. The usual Sinhalese examination was held during the year. A loan of Rs. 1500/- was granted on a guarantee bond from the educational vocation fund for persons training abroad.

(h) St. Nikolaas' Home: Chairman: A. E. Christoffelsz, Secretary: Mrs. A. L. B. Ferdinand

It is regretted that a few inmates left the Home during the year, but it is pleasing to note that the majority of these vacancies have now been filled and the home is now paying its way due to the generous donations received. Special mention must be made of the work done by the panel of lady visitors to this institution and of the services rendered to the sick by Dr. E. S. Brohier, Dr. J. H. Sproule and Dr. O. C. Raffel.

(i) Finance Committee: Chairman: Mr. J. A. Martensz, President Secretary: Mr. Ivor Wendt, Hony. Treasurer

The Audited Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Accounts as at 31st December 1957 are appended to this report.

### The Dr. De Hoedt Medical Scholarship Fund.

This Trust Fund was started in 1920 through the generosity of the late Dr. James William De Hoedt.

The fund is controlled by three Trustees. The present trustees are Messrs. D. V. Altendorff, F. E. Loos and Dr. Eric Brohier.

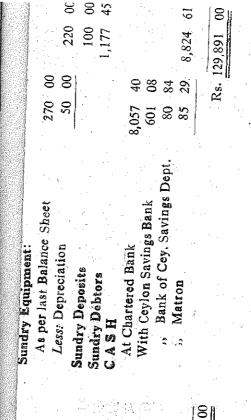
The object of the fund is to provide assistance to those sons and daughters of members of the Dutch Burgher Union who desire to study and qualify to enter the Medical Profession.

Many a young person owes much to the generosity and forethought of one who, perhaps in founding this trust, was led to do so by the difficulties he himself had to undergo as a medical student.

Since its inception twenty three students have been helped in their medical studies and two students continue to receive aid.

The capital of the fund is Rs. 12000/- invested in Colombo property on a mortgage loan; Rupees One thousand in Govt. National Dev. Loan, and a cash balance in the State Bank of India of Rs. 2685/54 as on 31.12.57. The annual income derived from these sources is Rs. 870/-.

Members are reminded that the Fund is a charitable trust with no conditions for re-payment. The Trustees however, are not prohibited from accepting contributions from those who have benefited and are now in a position to make some return.



WENDI Treasurer C. IVOR I

129,891

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books

Auditors' Report

id accounts of St. Nikolaas' Home and

e information

opinion that the Balance sheet

explanations we

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View

2

explanations given to

December

shown by the books of the Home.

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awn 1

Auditors SCHOKMAN Chartered Accountants

SATCHITHANANDA, WIJEYERATNE

dombo 24th February,

Dutch Burgher Union Fund  As per last Balance Sheet  Add: Value of Shares Donated	7,240 275	00	7,515	00 10	Less:	Histo Depr	Balan reciati	on fo	the	year	00	50
Billiards Tables Renewals Account Entertainment Account			1,023			₩.						
Surplus Account  As per last Balance Sheet  Add: Excess of Income  over Expenditure	8,397 1,176		9,573	37								•
		Rs.	69,562	43		_ <u></u>				• .	Rs	69,562
We have examined the above books and accounts of the Union and information and explanations we have the opinion that the Balance Sheet drawn up so as to exhibit a true and of affairs of the Union as at 31st December 1 of the best of our information and the	Balance I have referred correct cember	ired. d to view 1957	We are is prop of the s	e of erly tate								

us and as shown by the books of the Union. SATCHITHANANDA, SCHOKMAN, WIJEYERATNE & Co.,

to the best of our information and the explanations given to

Auditors.

Chartered Accountants.

Colombo, 24th February, 1958.

H. C. IVOR WENDT Hony. Treasurer.

FOURTH INSTALMENT.

Abridged from an PETER BROHIER 1849 translation by

BALDAEUS

### THE XXX CHAPTER

The enemy opens a destructive fire on our works— Envoys from the Emperor—The Blacks ejected from the Garrison forced back—
Intercepted letter—Present of Venison - New battery raised

"On the 22nd the Enemy opened a damaging fire from their batteries S. Joan and S. Steven, whereby three of our soldiers were severely wounded. His Majesty sent 3 messengers to inquire as to the cause of the great column of smoke visible from his Camp and to inform the General of his arrival at Reygamwatte......"

"During dinner there came some messengers who informed the General of the arrival of certain envoys from His Majesty......their errand was to inform the General of the receipt by His Majesty of his letter......and that he was at Walewitty to inspect the Palace then being got ready for him......These envoys had intended to return immediately but as the night was far advanced and very dark they were shown a safe place of retirement for the night."

"On the same day we learnt from Capt. Emont Ruysch that many people had come again from the Fort and that he had sent 50 of them to the station Milagre till further orders. The women and children were sent to the Camp when as required by the Resolution they were forced back to the town, although amongst them were some whom Gaspar Figeiro had decoyed from the interior to Columbo.......In the evening the men were mustered and also 20 more, when the General got 2 of them privately told that though now permitted to return to the Fort there would be no alternative but the scaffold were they to come a second time, unless they could devise something to our advantage through our Negumbo Aratches, who had deserted, in respect of one or other of the Enemy's batteriers." They were also given "a sound caning"

"There now came into the General's possession an intercepted letter written by one of our Aratches" viz. Hangedera Leonayde, and addressed to the Vidan and the 3 headmen of the 3 pattos of Pasdun Corle who were directed "within 8 days to collect together from all the neighbouring villages 50 pingos load of fowls, butter, pepper, Gorke, pots and pans and bring them here, accompanied by all the Majoraals and make for the King's Camp that they might make their appearance there with all becoming duty and devotion before His Majesty"......

"The Aratchy was immediately taken into custody.......The General pretending that he was ordering his immediate execution, gave him in charge of the public executioner......but he was secretly removed at night to the ship t' Wapen Van Hollandt and confined there."

"On Sunday the 27th before Divine Service the general despatched to His Majesty *Raja Singa* the Aratchie's letter and the proceedings taken......"

"In the afternoon there came the Dissave of Saffragam and informed the General of the completion of the repairs to roads and bridges as ordered by His Majesty. He was then requested by the General to use his labourers in felling some timber for the new palisade......and to see our Ships' Companies supplied with some buffaloes of which they stood in great need owing to a diopsical complaint......"

"About this time there arrived certain Moorish *Dhorices* from *Punte Gale* with a letter from the senior merchant......" Five other similar Dhanies also arrived later with stocks of rice......

"With the arrival of the yacht Arnemuyden from the Choromandel Coast we received a copy of one of two letters of the 11th February despatched by the yacht Cabbeljauw which had never arrived....... the other letter had fallen into the hands of the Portugezen at Tutecorijn....."

"The General and the Governor now left Camp with the usual honours to inspect the work at the gate Rajuha when they met 17 Lascorijns and 2 Aratches who had just escaped......" They informed the general that "there prevailed a strong rumour within the walls that their General had dispatched all his money and other movables to Manaar" by a vessel which had escaped the vigilance of our cruisers."

"On the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th March the gate Rajuha was strongly attacked by us where there escaped 2 Portugesche and some Lascorijns who said the town could not hold out beyond May......"

"Orders were then given by the General for a new 2 gun battery at the very end of the enemy's Bastion S. Joan so as to destroy the Bastion S. Steven and to help to repair our covered way leading to the mine......"

### NOTES TO CHAPTER XXX

- 1. Gorke. The "goraka" fruit Garcinia cambogia, used for preserving fish and also medicinally.
- 2. Majoraals, Pieris (Ceylon and the Hollanders p. 80) calls them "the real husbandmen who had heavy duties to perform". Paulusz (Secret Minutes p. 174) says they were expected to entertain Chiefs and important visitors.

### THE XXXI CHAPTER

Arrival of several deserters at the Camp—Ysbrandt Godskens sent to Kandy—The Emperor's letter to the General—and from the besieged to the Emperor.

At this juncture there came over to us several Lascorijns and a Portugees, who loudly denounced the poor quality of the rice dealt out to them.....and further stated that the Enemy had removed all their

guns from the Batteries S. Steven S. Philippo and Clergos to the Gate Rajuha so as to fire on our working party.......At night there were unusual discharges of musketry and round shots kept up by the Enemy which prevented our people from working. At early dawn the General rode out to the station Milagre to inspect the encampment of His Majesty's Dissaves and here found a strong palisade of coconut rafters along the seashore right up to the Tank......

A soldier who was missing for some time in the Camp had, it now appeared, gone to His Majesty and implored his intercession to evade due punishment. A request to that end was now made on His Majesty's behalf by one of his Dissaves. As the interference emanated from such a quarter there was no alternative but to aquiesce.

"On the 13th March a lad who had been let down from the battery Clergos privately communicated to the General that the Lascorijns in charge of that battery were prepared to surrender it the following night before moonrise. This lad after he had partaken of some food and having at his own request received a few sticks of the rattan in order to drawn suspicion made his way back to the Fort". The intended surrender could not however be successfully carried out "owing to the heavy fires maintained by the enemy"......

"On the 14th March Capt. Emont Ruysch reported from the station Milagre that Corporal Hendrik Willemsz Bogaart and Private Pieter van Bruysingen had deserted, a wonderful change for the worse surely, for with us they were surrounded with profusion and plenty, but there nothing but want and emptiness."

"The same evening a request was made by His Majesty that an officer of experience and judgment might be sent up to him on some private affairs. The merchant Ysbrandt Godskens<sup>1</sup> was then selected on this service, a gentleman of acknowledged abilities whether in the use of a sword or the pen."

An attempt was now made to utilise the service within the Fort of the fugitive Captain Simon Lopes who was requested to recite and promote if practicable disaffection amongst the "blacks" under promise of pardon for his crime and misdeeds and ample reward in addition." A letter to this effect was "privately entrusted to a young lad" who with other deserters was sent back to the Fort. [There is no indication in the later pages as to the result of this move.]

"At midnight our men raised a false alarm by ringing bells, beating drums etc which threw the enemy into some consternation.....

Before the return of Ysbrandt Godskens Hulft received from the Emperor 2 letters which had been addressed to him; one by the Portuguese general Coutinho and the other by the citizens of Columbo.

The former reminded the Emperor that relying on his magnaninity his aid had been asked for by the Portuguese "in the unjust war levied and persevered in by the enemy.......for it is usual for great Kings

The letter of the citizen which was signed by Diego Leitaon de Souza and 5 others referred to their successful resistance of the enemy but also requested that His Majesty's aid be extended to his "old ally the Portugezen for the preservation of this town, the gift of Your Majesty's august forefathers"

 ${\it Hulft}$  drafted suitable replies to these letters and they were sent to the Emperor for his approval.

Meanwhile the General had had a narrow escape when taking with him a deserter he had gone to inspect the spot whence certain "heavy discharges", had come. "On mounting the walls he saw 3 Portugezen in their trench, when after two discharges of his piece he luckily made a hasty descent, for in the twinkling of an eye there came whizzing 3 bullets which struck just where the general had stood."

### THE XXXII. CHAPTER.

Return of Godskens—Report of his mission—Letters sent to Columbo—Batteries erected—Detailed news from Goa.—Its situation,

"About dusk on the 23rd March the Merchant Ysbrandt Godskens returned from his mission, having left His Majesty the same day and made the following report in writing:—....that His Majesty approves of the practice of sending back the needy inhabitants turned out by the Enemy, for mercy and forbearance must in the first instancebe shown by them......... His Majesty learns on good authority that

That His Majesty was anxious to ascertain Your Excellency's views regarding the taking of *Jafnapatam* and *Manaar* and whether it would not be advisable to direct some Dissaves to besiege those places......that he expects to see Your Excellency either on Sunday or Thursday next......

There now arrived His Majesty's Dissaves and Envoys with the two letters which the General had drafted in reply to the two His Majesty had received from *Columbo*....... to be dispatched to them, which was done the next day.

"This business being thus disposed of, we understood from *Montual* that there had appeared on the other side of the River about 400 of the King's soldiers under the command of 4 Chiefs, without their shewing, however, any inclination to cross the water, when they were found to be men who had never in their lives seen the sea or any ships.".....

"When the aforesaid 2 letters were presented to the authorities at Columbo by the Aratches and Lascerijus in His Majesty's name, they were received with great honours, by the discharges of guns and small arms, but no sooner they learnt the contents they boiled with wrath, declaring that were if not for the exigencies of the times they would not be permitted to return so easily......"

"On this very day there burst out a most frightful tempest, accompanied with high wind, thunder and terrible flashes of lightning whereby one of our sentries was hurt and, more remarkable, 3 of our muskets were shattered to fragments in the Church of *Guia de Lobo.*"

More and more deserters were now arriving with news of the rapidly worsening condition within the Fort. Rations of rice had come down to only a parra a head. "Were it not for the dropsy which rages amongst the *Europianen* many of them would ere this have joined us but that they now mistrust their legs." [According to statements made later by released prisoners, and mentioned in Chapter XXXVII, Netherlanders captured "during the siege, a, well a, the enemy themselves had to content themselves with the flash of elephants, cats, rats, dogs and buffaloes."]

Several fishermen were also from time to time captured who were bringing in their boats provisions for the Fort. 75 Rix dollars were paid to each Chapter......Some skilful men were now also employed for erecting another battery facing S Jan, with the object of demolishing the Enemy, s mole-pier and other works.

"The Yacht Popkensburgh now brought us interesting news from Wingurla, namely that the Vice Roy [and 3 others] had been poisoned, that after a long and heated debate for 2 days, Manuel Mascarenbas Homem, Ex-Governor of Ceylon, was elected Vice Roy by a majority, but the nobles and Fidalfos on being outvoted refused submission The names of 11 of these are given as having been transported in chains to Portugaal or "confied in gaol".] The letter also stated that "some of the wealthier merchants had also taken this opportunity of clandestively departing, with the bulk of their fortunes...... The Portnauese Soldiers were also shewing "an abhorrence of Ceylon, particularly as it was then a bad season, so also the Moorsche crew whom they employ as rowers." To over come this reluctance "Homen produced a forged letter corresponding in even respect with the handwriting of Anthonio de Souza Coutinho......to deceive the poor inhabitants into the belief that with the assistance of the Emperor the Hollanders had been overthrown."

"The ordinary news from this quarter [Goa] is that.....the Chief of Wingurla was of opinion that aid had better be postponed till April by which time if no certain information is received of of the capture of Columbo not only 20 or 30 frigates, but a large fleet of lighters and as many men also as the Garrison of Goa could spare could at once start for Columbo........

### NOTE

1. Guia de Lobo. Rev. S. G. Perera (op. cit. p 40) says this was a corruption of the word Guadelupe, which was also miscalled Agoadelupe and translated into Dutch as Wolvendaal i.e. dale of Wolves.

### THE XXXIII. CHAPTER

Letters of the General the and Emperor - Arrival of several fugitives - The general's journey to meet His Imperial Majesty.

"On the 30th March a large band of *Portugezen* in 2 vessels called *Manchous* crossed the lake and caused alarm to our men working at the gate *Mapane*......but were obliged to retreat.....On the same day 2 fishing canoes were brought in by our Sailors with 5 fishermen..... and later another canoe with 4 fishermen. As the number of these captives had now risen to 15 they were under trumpet-soundings publicly sold as slaves."

"There now arrived in Camp on 1st April His Majesty's Chief Dissaves of Ouve and Vier' Corles with a letter beautifully made up and properly sealed......and were received with more than ordinary honours." Having expressed appreciation of the general's readiness to help and of his sincerity it proceeded "I now despatch the Dissaves of Ouva and Vier Corles to conduct Your Excellency hither......... but not before Your Excellency is satisfied with arrangements made for the safety of my Army and of my Hollanders, for I have entrusted the former to your sound judgement and care. May God, with his divine blessing safely lead you before my wishful sight, when these my eyes will leap for joy, and to hear all Your Excellency will have to say will be sweet music to my ears.......

"Before the General's departure two 12 pounders were lifted on to the battery facing St. Joan. Unfortunately the very next day one of our sailors was shot on it: the wonder is that though the same ball had shivered the hat of one of our soldiers he escaped further injury".

On the 5th the General left the Camp, with a suitable retinue. the Governor Adrian Vander Meyden, Major van der Laan and other officials accompanying him some distance. Further on certain Courtiers met him and offered for his use "three richly caparisoned horses ......and five beautifully tusked elephants." "A large body of nobles and other high dignitaries" also arrived to greet the General and inquire after his health." Nearing "the Ammelang" or Rest House of the Royal Camp" he was met by the "Principal Chiefs of the Court in His Majesty's name, accompanied by numerous soldiers and others. including talpet<sup>8</sup> bearers, trumpeters and musicians: there were also 11 elephants and 2 stately horses, whose saddles and bridles were most artfully decorated with gold and costly jewels". This procession moving between a double file of musketeers and archers then reached a house which had been made ready for him. Its walls were all covered with linen and its bedrooms decorated with costly gold brocades". Meanwhile as tokens of rejoicing "a fun-fair was in progress and small guns and muskets" were being discharged.

The Emperor then sent to inquire after the health of the general, who "responded with all becoming courtesy and also expressed anxiety to meet his far-famed Majesty as early as possible, owing to the important duties he had on hand," The Emperor was, however, too ill to

### NOTES TO CHAP. XXXIII,

- 1. Vier. Dutch for "Four."
- 2. Anmelang i e. "Ambalama", (Sinhalese for "resting place")
- 3. Talpet i.e. talipot palm fans or Sunscreens

### THE XXXIV CHAPTER

The stately reception of the General—He appears before His Majesty— Details of what passed between them—The General's return to his encampment—His deplorable end.

"In the afternoon whilst the General was at dinner there were some preparations being made on the other side of the river.........There then crossed over to us some of His Majesty's prominent Chiefs inviting the General on behalf of His Majesty to the Court. Orders were then immediately given for the main Guards and the gifts to be ferried over the river. The General quickly followed, accompanied by his suite. On reaching the opposite bank they were met and welcomed by the Dissaves of Ouva and Matule, the Captain of His Majesty's Body guard and other leading officers of State."

"They then proceeded in the following order: the General's Main and Body guard in front: there were trailed low on the ground 15 of the Enemy's captured banners, followed by His Majesty's horses and his musicians...... 5 tusked elephants with their keepers...... and a numerous body of musketeers, jingals1 etc. After the procession had now crossed a bridge we entered the courtyard of the Palace when the gate was then made fast. Our people then came to a spacious park where there was a prepared hall, also called "Mandanoe", 2 on the western side of which His Majesty was seen seated in a State chair in great splendour on a platform. Before our people could reach this hall down went all the great men of state flat, with their faces to the ground. three times doing obeisance, while our people sank on their knees, when His Majesty waved his hands as a signal for them to rise. We then approached the Throne, which was adorned in imperial style with costly gold brocades and rich carpets, and our men went on their knees a second time, as is the Eastern custom. His Majesty then rose from his seat and standing upright, bade the General approach, when His Excellency addressed him thus;-

"Mighty monarch, it is with inexpressible delight that one of the least of your servants now approaches your Imperial Throne. I do so relying on your known moderation and innate goodness of heart........

I came here to renew and strengthen the bond of friendship which now happily exists between your esteemed Majesty and the Nederlandsche nation......I readily confess that many and varied were the misunderstandings between Your Majesty's servants and those of the widely renowned Company but Your Majesty now sees our indefatigable efforts to eradicate for your lands, at the cost and sacrifice of such a stream of Christian blood, our common enemy......it will be our aim in future by our actions to convince Your Majesty of our sincerity and uprightness."......

"His Majesty now seemed highly satisfied and requested the General so rise which he advisebly heeded not but proceeded to offer His Majesty a present which though in "itself of no intrinsic value is yet hold in high esteem by great Potentates and Monarchs. It consisted, he continued, of some enemy Standards, under the auspices of which Your Majesty's subjects have for so many years groaned."

The Emperor now being desirous of making the General a present he then "on His Majesty's request neared the Throne and knelt on a cushion and respectfully holding his hands kissed them, observing that he had now reached the summit of his glory. His Majesty then took a Gargantinho 4 or gold chain and passed it round the General's neck". He next presented him with a ring "as a keepsake" which he placed on the middle finger of his left hand, which the General observed, "though defaced by his enemies he would feel was now faultlessly restored. He then rose and having retired backward a few steps to a carpeted space" begged to mention the purpose of his visit, which was "to ascertain whether it was His Majesty's pleasure to abide by the stipulations of the old contract entered into with admiral Westerwoldt", assuring him that the same would be "religiously observed and maintained on our part, whereupon His Majesty replied that he was fully satisfied with this assurance". The General was then requested to approach the Throne a second time when he received "a Golden Garter which His Majesty said was what his Son the Prince used himself.

"The General then ordered that our presents be brought in". These consisted of 15 Enemy Banners "which were despitefully flung on the floor and covered with a White Shield which had belonged to the great Portugeeschen Captain Anthonio Mendes d' Aranha and a Moorish Sword with an agate hilt inlaid with gold". Other presents for the Emperor included Persian horses and sheep, Persian bows and arrows with richly embroided quivers, and hunting dogs. For the Prince were offered "1 stately Persian horse, 2 fowling pieces with peculiarly twisted barrels" and other articles of value, including "1 Swine Stone" designated Pedra de Porco and 1 log of sandalwood."

The General then mentioned to the Emperor his need for coelijs or labourers, "the use for which they were required he could not openly declare." All Courtiers and others in the Hall were then requested to

withdraw, when the General with the aid of "his two interpreters Jorgen Blom and Cottemaley had a quarter-hour conversation with the Emperor," at the close of which "after a most friendly and courteous farewell, the General was conducted back to his quarters."

In the evening Jorgen Blom was despatched to the Emperor's Camp "with two robbers who had for a long time helped Casper Figeiro". Before returning Blom was "honoured with the gift of a small gold chain and a ring".

The General returned to Colombo on the 9th of April and on the next day was busy inspecting the defences. To aid the quicker demolition of a rampart he "snatched an iron bar and boldly trod onward with it, setting thereby an example to others. The enemy now began to hurl into our galleries firepots, stinkpots, bundles of faggots strongly impregnated with tow and pitch.......The General then took hold of a pitch fork and with his body partially bared went out upon the gallery and was busily doing away with the offensive missiles, but almost immediately was seen to return crying "O God, give way, give way." He was found to be bleeding profusely from a wound below his right shoulder, caused by a ball from a musket or requermart.

In a few moments he breathed his last. "Such was the deplorable end," says Baldeus, "of this Eminent Warrior in the bloom of life. He was a gentleman of good descent, of exceedings sound judgement, not only possessing a thorough knowledge of qurispruden and military acts and Tactics but also will versed in Theology... ... Affable and friendly, eloquent and skilled in languages, tall in stature and well-proportioned, humble, alert and extremely industrious. In a word, Nature and Practice had implanted in his breast such a happy combination of qualities as can only be met with in comparatively few on this side of our world of imperfections. But death, unrelenting death spares none."

### NOTES TO CHAPTER XXXIV

- 1. Jingals. A Hindustani word for a breech-loading gun fired from a rest.
- 2. Mandance. Heydt (op. cit p.) calls it "Mondour". Raven-Hart suggests it is a corruption of "Maduwa", Sinhaleso for "pavilion". Cf "Mondeliar" for "Modeliar".
- 3. Carpets. Baldeus says "Alcatijven", in italies.
- 4 Gargantinho. Apparently a Portuguese word, indicating a massive chain.
- 5. Swine stone Baldeus' word is "verken-steen"

### THE XXXV CHAPTER

Raja Singa is informed of the General's death—He sends his envoys to the Camp—Adriaan van der Meyde succeeds the General—A Portugeesch Captain deserts to us.

"It was already night when the interpreter Jurgen Blom was despatched with a letter informing His Majesty of this lamentable occurrence....... It was resolved in Council to have the body removed to Puntegale......"

The Dissave of *Matule* and other Courtiers soon arrived "to express His Majesty's condolences for the loss of his well-beloved Director-General and to ascertain whether it was to be ascribed to some treachery or other, to accident or to the enemy......The courtiers were shewn the place where the sad calamity had occurred, cowering and trembling with fear as they neared the spot. Whilst leaving it they took away handfuls of earth, requesting that the spot be not trodden upon again,"

"The General's remains were placed above ground in a masonry tomb where it lay till the year 1657, when the body was removed and buried......on the right side of the pulpit. His Coat-of-arms, Sword and Spurs were affixed to the Church Wall near his grave."

"In 1658 the body was exhumed a second time and removed to Columbo" where it was deposited in a tomb......on his tombstone is engraved the following verse, similar to the epitaph on the monument to his memory in the old Church at Heemskerke in Amsterdam:—

"Heroic Hulft, in himself a host, Laid low this town and its strongholds To his Fatherland yielding the honour And for the Commonweal his life"

The command of the forces was now taken over by the Governor  $Adriaan \ van \ der \ Meyde$ .

On the 13th of April news was received form the merchant Leendert Jansz of Wingurla that 22 frigates under the command of Francisco de Seixa Cabreira 1 had left for Columbo and steps were accordingly taken to intercept the flotilla, but in the evening the Yacht Vlissingen arrived with the report that it had met the flotilla, sunk one frigate and made prisoners of its captain and 16 Portugezen, the other frigates escaping.

At night "a Portugeschen Captain Nicholas de Mora, a Fidalgo..... who had escaped [from Goa] by means of a small boat arrived. The Governor was seen to have a few hours private conversation with him."

Jurgen Blom also now returned with a letter from the Emperor dated the 15th. It referred in most affectionate terms to the late general and recommended resignation to the will of God. It also

stated that in accordance with custom "his successor should make his personal appearance before the Monarch, not only to be confirmed to him but also to receive his benediction" The Emperor also declared his desire to confer on the Governor "much honour and favour" and wished to be informed of the date when he proposed to visit the Royal Camp "so that every honour might be paid to your Excellency on the road."

"A further letter dated the 18th was also received. In this the Emperor expresses his delight at the dispersal of the Portuguese flotilla and opines that "since Manoel Mascarenhas Homen, now at the helm of the Government of Goa has suffered many reproaches and injustice at the hands of the rebels while he was at Columbo he from spite did not order out the long-expected aid........

The mention in Your Excellency's letter of the name of the late Director-General revived in me an acute sense of pain and sorrow..... It is therefore my desire that you will be pleased to forward the jewels which the said Director-General had received as gifts from my Imperial hand to his land to his nearest relations that they might thereby be convinced of the unfeigued regard I always had for him.....

I fain would be made acquainted with Your Excellency's views for taking the Fort....... I request that the naval Captain who dispersed the Enemy's flotilla and sank one of their frigates in my service accompany Your Excellency when you come so that I might know and see him."

Meanwhile more deserters had arrived, and it was also learnt that "the poor starving ones turned out from the Fort had destroyed themselves......and that two women had devoured the very fruits of their womb."

Another demand for surrender was now made by the Governor who informed the Captain General of the recent Dutch successes and urged him to avoid bringing more misery on "an already suffering people". Coutinho answered by referring the Governor to his previous reply and repeated his "determination to defend the Fort to the utmost of my power for the service of my Master the King."

"Seeing that it was now necessary to take more cogert action to reduce the enemy's obduracy our batteries opened a destructive fire on their Fort and defences".

### NOTE TO CHAPTER XXXV

1. Cabreira. Pieris (The Dutch Power p.p. 231, 266) says that Cabreira, fled with the whole fleet, leaving only one single galleon to face the enemy, and that the Queen of Portugal wanted him—and also General Antonio de Sousa—to be "conveyed to Portugal, where they will be arranged before the High Court of Justice".

### THE XXXVI CHAPTER

Influx of deserters—Letter of Raja Singa—Godskens sent to the Emperor—Resolution for assault on the Fort—Deferred for a time— Arrival of succour from Batavia.

"There came over on the 21st April 7 Lascorijns, who gave information that "the Burgers and soldiers had protested that they could no longer hold out with their small allowance of rice and that it was then resolved in Council to increase it to \(\frac{3}{4}\) measure per day to Burgers and soldiers and \(\frac{1}{2}\) measure to the Toepas and Lascorijns."

"The plans for taking the Fort I have duly considered with my Council but the words in which they are stated are in a strange and foreign language.........You say that I had better attend the Camp after the Fort has been taken but then what will there be for me to do or see, save the fulfilment of such of the articles as might have been agreed upon on the occasion? The late Director-General has pledged his word to me to deliver the Fort into my hands no sooner it is taken. He added that he had thought of himself writing "to those in the Fort, but as I thought they would reply to me in their usual haughty and puffing language I desisted."

With this letter was also enclosed one for the Sabandhar of Galle. It thanked him for the "civilities you invariably showed the late Director General" and also requested him to "inform His Excellency the Governor that we are much at a loss here for a pair of bellows and an anvil.......also a few quires of blank paper and some porcelain".

"On the 24th there arrived a Toupas deserter, Lazaro Henrico who had once before deserted to us.......and later stepped over to the enemy again." This time he brought a letter from "the merchant Manoel Fonceque de Monis" to Major van der Laan "respecting the situation in the Fort. You are warned under no circumstances to prepare to storm it.......It is rumoured here that General Hulft is dead.......take good care of the bearer of this letter and see to his safety, for I intend also to slip over to you, but could not at present attempt it, hedged about as I am by strict guards.......

"In order to obviate further trouble from this *Toepas* it was thought prudent to detain him on board a ship."

"There now left the Camp for Reygamwatte, the merchant Ysbrandt Godskens, who returned soon after......and stated that His Majesty was quite satisfied with the Resolution of 21st April but preferred that the projected storming be deferred till Sunday the last day of the month......"

"It was now resolved in the forenoon of the 27th April to scale the walls of the Fort the following night with the aid of all who would volunteer......and by the evening when every man was at his post an earnest and humble supplication was made to the Almighty for success. The instructions given to each of the leading Officers in writing for their observance at the risk of losing their rank were mainly these:—that all engaged in the assault must handle the ladders themselves......There shall be a mixed body of men employed in this assault, Javanen, Bandanezen, with the Lascarijns and Toepassen and some Europianen...

"The project was then communicated to His Majesty without loss of time. But there being a difference of opinion that night in the Council as to the feasibility of an undertaking of such magnitude the attempt was deferred......"

"When the Council was closed a Lascorijn from the Bastion S. Jan side brought information that this very evening "30 robust and brave men, who are called *Valiantons*, and other soldiers had just re-inforced the ordinary guard on the Bastion St. Stephen, one of our *Javan* deserters being therefore suspected of having informed the enemy of our intentions."

On the night of 28th April as the result of a reconnaissance it was reported that the defences [of Bastion S. Steven] were very closely watched and that, the ground being mere dry sand, no ascent could be made to it.

On the 29th "heart-cheering news was received from the Commander of the yacht *Leeuwin*" that he had forced the enemy's ships to withdraw to some nooks of the *Tutecorijnsche* islands" "Information was also received from Batavia that 225 soldiers had taken ship for Ceylon......

"At this time a letter also reached us which was thrust out from the Ditch of the Fort and couched in Latin" from sergeant Seven im Dolander, a captive Netherlander. It informed his "late subaltern Officer" that he and his comrades were "as it were half in the grave and there are but a few left.......There is great scarcity amongst us of bread wine and meat.......Our Cornicularius 2 has nearly reached the gates of death, but with a little bread and wine we might escape it......We beseech for the love of God that we might be supplied therewith........ please give them to the previously mentioned Priest who is most faithful to us. God preserve you."

### NOTES TO CHAPTER XXXVI

1. Sabandar Usually the Harbour Master or Receiver, but the expression was also used of the chief of a District. (Paulusz "Secret Minutes" p. 175)

2. Cornicularius In Roman times a soldier who had won the corniculum (a little horn). DWF (CLR (1895) p 179) thought the word referred to an "assistant officer" and points out that Churchill's translator mistook the word for a suruame and prefixed to it "Mr"!

### THE XXXVII CHAPTER

Ships to Tutecorijn—Raja Singa disconcerted—Exchange of prisoners—The Emperor's letters—Scaling of Bastions S. Joan and S. Steven at great risk of life.

"When the aforementioned letter had now been submitted to the Council and the enemy's critical situation near *Tutecorijn* was realised the following yachts were despatched thither......"

"A letter was also written and despatched to our poor prisoners in Columbo in reply to theirs. It said "Yours through the Priest came safe to hand.......As earnestly requested by you here come one flask of Spanish wine, 10 fresh loaves of bread, a piece of beef and pork. The money and things received have been safely handed to Captain Simon de Souza who with some Caleturesche prisoners is safely kept on board a ship. One of our sentries was this forenoon spoken to from the Bastion S. Joan......when the General Anthonio do Souza Coutinho was assured that no sooner he releases you we shall deliver to them ten of their men captured at Caleture......

His Majesty now returned one of our letters (apparently much displeased)......the contents were as follous:—"Your letters to the address of some of my Chiefs have been received.......[the letter proceeds to approve the action taken by Major VanderLaan with regard to some deserters from Colombo whom a Modliar Jazondere, had been treating too indulgently at the Camp Mapane]

"But the letter brought to me by Curupele Meynde, written on half a sheet of paper......I am not a little surprised at the temerity of George 1 for having written the letter and it was moreover incumbent on the Governor to have taken notice of it, nor was it consistent with the knowledge and acquirements of a person who serves great Kings. It is for these reasons I now return the letter with the ola......you will explain the contents to His Excellency, word for word."

[The Governor wrote back expressing regret for the unintended discourtesy, as appears from a letter of the Emperor dated the 6th of May. Baldaeus himself comments on "the little inadvertence" and recognises that there was good reason for Raja Singa's annoyance "Knowing as we then did the strict adherence of the Cingalezen and Malabaren to such punctilios."]

"In the evening the *Portugezen* sent out from the Fort 8 of our prisoners. They were so weak, famished and emaciated that three of them could neither walk nor stand......that out of 74 prisoners most of them perished for lack of proper food....... [The reasons given by these 8 men for the failure of the siege have been referred to earlier].

"On the 4th of May the following letter was received from Raja Singa Rajou:—It is now nearly three years since Captain Joris Hervendonk and some other officers from the Low-Country came and offered me their services, my Imperial Person having then understood that their contracts with the Honourable Company had expired [The letter proceeds to say that the Emperor had been obliged to deprive Hervendonk of his post and "to confer it on Frans Has, who was then the bearer of some letters to my Court. As this person too had for some time been associated with the Portugezen he had it would seem acquired their principles and forgotten the breeding and good manners of the Hollanders.....and I deemed it expedient to reinstate Joris Hervendonk.......My Dissave will give your Excellency an account of it and much more on your arrival at my Court"......

"It is a notorious and admitted fact", resumes Baldeus, "that there had existed in Kandy when Joris Hervendonk and Frans Has were there much discord and strife, which were by all ascribed to the doings of the former.......So that Frans Has was detained by His Majesty till 1656 and perhaps was never allowed to return to us. Such dealings tend to cause disputes between a Christian and Pagan Princes, who are prone to listen to and encourage all unfavourable stories and are proportionately severe in retribution."......

On the 6th of May another letter from the Emperor was received. It acknowledged the General's Letter of the 3rd in which regret had been expressed for having used a half sheet of paper in writing to him. "Of all aliens and foreigners I have chosen the Hollanders for the aggrandisement of My Fame, State, Crown and Empire because of of their fidelity and uprightness... Whenever therefore I see them commit the slightest wrong it grieves me to the heart ... My late well beloved and much esteemed Director General had in the short time he was in My Empire done all necessary things without any mistakes,... and has left behind a pattern as it were of the course to be followed in My Service...

"You also suggest the advisability of making another attempt on the Fort of *Columbo...* I shall, God helping me, be at Your encampment by Sunday next. Should Your Excellency consider it adviseable to await my arrival, well and good: if not and you see the need for an earlier attack and have sufficient confidence that the Fort could be taken without risking Our fame and reputation I would take it with all good will...

"Ever since the death of my Director General I have stopped the beating of drums in my Camp, but as I now expect to move somewhat nearer the Enemy it will be necessary to make use of them and all other kinds of instruments on the road and on my arrival at Your encampment, I thought it proper to so advise Your Excellency. Nothing further.

God shield Your Excellency

(Signed) RAJA SINGA RAJOU Great and Mighty Emperor of Ceylon" "On receipt of this Letter it was resolved in Council to carry the Fort by Storm on the 7th of May and especially to make a determined attack on the Battery S. Joan.

A humble supplication was then made to the Lord of Hosts for His Blessing. It was about 70' clock of the 7th day of the 5th month that the attack and scaling of the wall was begun, when Marten Scholtes, late Lientenant of de Gaalsche infantry and now a Captain, renowned for his martial deeds in former Cinyalesche and Malabarsche wars was the first hero who gallantly climbed up the wall followed by the rest of his force.... By the constant throwing of fire pots the Redoubt was set on fire. Our brave but wearied men were now relieved by fresh hands and by the evening when their fire had somewhat ceased, the wall of the rampart facing the Fort was made secure by an enclosure of fascines and earth, Many of our people were, however, killed and wounded...

"At the commencement of the attack we were joined by the Cingalesche soldiers ...and a large body of Lascorijns who tended more to create noise and confusion than to be of any real service to us, for a Cingalesche is a precious soldier over a fallen foe, and would even after killing a man inflict on him ten wounds, and be flaming after booty, rending the air with cries, and so frequently doing more harm than good."

... Every effort was now made during the night to strengthen our position and a false alarm was raised at midnight. In the morning, however, to our inexpressible joy the Prince's Flag was planted on the bulwark... if ever a place of defence was conquered in *India* at the cost of human blood it was this, which was later (not without reason) named "Victoria" and now stands as a superb mausoleum of departed worth as well as a Tower of Triumph... A search was then made for the Enemy's powder and there were dug up from underground 6 small guns and 3 metal bassen<sup>2</sup>. After a careful computation there were found 290 wounded, 80 sick and 86 killed... in the aggregate there was now left a force of 1287 effective men. Among the killed were the following officers whose names are fit to be eternally recorded 9 names are mentioned ... and among the wounded Major Jan de Laam in his ear and shoulder...

### NOTES TO CHAP, XXXVII

- 1. George ie Joris Blom, who was Translator and Interpreter.
- 2. Bassen. The Translator in a marginal note calls them "pedereros or Pattareros", which are apparently Portuguese words.

### THE XXXVIII CHAPTER

Guns on S. Joan turned against the Fort—The Portugezen propose a Treaty—Their terms—The conditions accepted to—Ratification—
Departure of the Portugezen.

"By the 10th of May we had so far gained the advantage over the Enemy as to be able to train our guns from the conquered battery S. Joan on the Fort..........In the afternoon when His Excellency and Major Joan vander Laan went to inspect the conquered battery there appeared under the beat of a drum and a flag of Truce Captain Manoel Cabreira de Pontes", who brought a letter from general Coutinho asking for "an assurance in writing, in order to detach from this garrison 3 leading persons to treat with Your Excellency on matters of great importance". The Captain, having accepted the Major's word that the letter would be delivered to the Governor, withdrew "for the time, when a cessation of arms took place". After nearly two hours it was learnt that "the envoys were awaiting the Governor's rescript, which was immediately forwarded to them." Meanwhile "it began to get dark, when they excused themselves as they were not wont to be absent from the garrison at night, so we resorted to arms again".

The next morning the *Portugezen* Deputation arrived and presented in Council the proposed Articles¹ of Capitulation, 14 in number, which were then considered "by the Governor and his Council in the name and on behalf of His Imperial Majesty of *Ceylon*, the Lords of the States General of the United *Netherlands*, the Directors of the Honourable East India Company and His Excellency *Joan Maatzuyker* and the Supreme Council of India."

[The salient points of the Portuguese proposals and the answers made to them are summarised below].

Article 1 had asked for only a temporary "cessation of arms" and the option that if Portuguese reinforcements arrived by the 20th, "any conditions now agreed to shall be considered null and void". The Council replied that the garrison "must surrender on the 12th May before noon under the following conditions, with no delay or qualifications." The Governor also reserved the right to warn any Portuguese ships which might arrive "to quit the harbour upon parole until they are out of sight."

The 2nd Article had stipulated that "in the event of surrender our (!hurches and Images shall be regarded with all reverence" and for the right "to remove all images, relics, sacred vessels, silver lamps, ornaments and all movable property." This request was granted and "two suitable places of worship against the time of their departure" were also promised.

The 3rd, 4th, 6th and 7th Articles requested that due consideration and respect be shown to the "Generals Anthonio de Souza Coutinho and Francisco de Melo de Castro and the son of the former", the chief Captain of the Garrison, the Capiteyn Moor, the Senior Merchant, the Sergeant Major, Captains of infantry and of the Reformed, the Ovidoor, the judge and other functionaries of the Chamber, the Koopman the Alcade Moor, the Directors of the King's goods, all nobles, Chevaliers, Principal Burgers and other inhabitants." Permission to remove "all movable property......together with all their servants and Portugesche Pages, all paid servants and male and female slaves" was also requested. The Council acceded to these requests.

The 13th Article requested that the sick and wounded should be cared for until re-established in health. This was agreed to.

The 8th and 9th articles dealt with "all merchants and foreign traders, whether Whites or Blacks.......all Black Inhabitants of the Town, whether married or single and all Foreigners of whatever Race or Caste"

The Council agreed to allow them "the same freedom as allowed to the other officers" until they could "leave the place for the opposite coast."

The 10th article referred to "Modliars, Aratchies and Lascorijns who had hitherto served the King of *Portugaal*". The Council guaranteed "every consideration and favour and that they would be treated as our own people".

Articles 11 and 12 requested that "the crime of the *Portugeesch Simon Lopes de Basto* who had served with the Hollanders for a while and subsequently stepped over to us should be forgiven him, as also the misconduct and crimes of all *Hollanders* who have joined us". The Council's Reply contained no reference to this request.

The 7th article had also requested for "all Nobles, Chevaliers, Principal Burgers of the town including the married, and the inhabitants" full civil and religious rights and "the same indulgence as to the Garrison and Field Officer" and that any who were "willing to abide under the authority of the Nederlandtsche Government should be left in undisturbed possession of their land, houses and goods and other possessions and be treated as natural-born Nederlanders". This was agreed to, but with regard to property "in the event of their quitting the place the matter was then to be left to the discretion of His Excellency the Governor," as also the cases of native inhabitants.

The 5th article had also requested that the Officers when evacuating the Fort should be permitted to wear their Badges of Honour and that the troops should march out with "the beat of drums, flying banners, lighted match-cords," and loaded muskets," This request was granted but it was also required that the soldiers should,

"proceed to His Excellency the Governor's Quarters and there lay down their arms under the Standard."

The 14th article had requested that after the surrender no disrespect or incivility be offered. The Council replied that "All officers, the married, the soldiers and unmarried women would be under the protection of His Excellency the Governor"

The Dutch reply was signed by Adriaan van der Meyde, Governor Major Jan van der Laan and 3 other Councillors. Later in the day, on 12th May "the gentlemen Deputies within the prescribed time reappeared with a full and complete Resolution of their General Anthonio de Souza Coutinho and his council, bringing with them the Articles of Capitulation which had been accepted by them." Both parties then signed the Articles, the Dutch undertaking to observe them i. e. "without the least infraction thereof and to shew all practicable indulgence besides."

The next day the Portuguese Deputies again appeared "with a letter from both the generals in favour of the deserter Simon Lopes." [Whether any reply was sent to this appeal Baldeus does not say.]

After the mid-day meal the merchant Godskens and the secretary van Rhee proceeded to the Fort to take charge of its keys and to secure all stores and the powder magazine from any outbreak of fire.

The Portuguese troops then evacuated the Fort and "proceeded to the Governor's quarters where they laid down their arms.......Then followed in a body the *Burgers*, the sick and wounded and the lame" [This scene is also mentioned in Chap. IV in these terms "with bleeding hearts did we behold the fallen captives pass through the gates as prisoners, some limping from old age.....]

"Our Troops were now marched to the Fort......To the beach, hard by the Couras there came both the Generals (venerable old men) with their suite to meet the Governor, with much civility and politeness......By the evening the Prince Vlagge was planted on the Water Castle and the discharges of our guns announced equally our Triumph and the loss of a stronghold of the King of Portugaal, which for strength can vie with any Europaeische defences......The Lord God from whom cometh Victory, His name be blessed and praised for evermore. On the Sunday following, the 14th, a sermon of Thanksgiving was preached by the Rev. Francisco Wyngaarts, our worthy colleague of the same island in the Church of S. Francisco, now called the Stadts Kerke.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER XXXVIII.

- 2. Capiteyn Moor. v. under Chap XVII
- 3. The Reformed. The Translator in a parenthesis says "the Reformed are they whose troops or companies being broken are continued on whole or half pay. They preserve the right of seniority and continue in the way of preferment."
- 4. Ovidoor. Pieris (The Dutch Power in Ceylon p. 196) has "Elders, Vereadors Judges, Civil Officers, Keepers of His Majesty's property and members of the court of Justice". The word "veadoor" has been used by Baldeus, in Chap XXXII, but not "vereador".
- 5. Koopman i e Merchant, Chief merchant presumably
- 6. Alcade Moor "Alcade" was a Spanish title for a judicial officer, but the Translator's parentbesis says "Knights of a Spanish Military Order who gained great honour during the wars with the Moors,"
- 7. Matchcords. Baldeus' word is Lont, which Raven-Hart says in "Heydt's Ceylon", p 204, means "slow match of a matchlock gun: not a torch, as in Lewis". Authonisz (opeit p. 160) calls them "match-cords".

### THE XXXIX. CHAPTER.

Antiquity of the Town of Columbo, its foundation laid by the Portugezen—Their contests with the Moors and their conquests—Strengthening of the Town of Columbo—Raia Singa dissatisfied.

[The major part of this Chapter, as will be seen from the above outline of Contents, deals with the first attempts of the Portuguese to possesst hemselves of Colombo. The facts related here have already been in corporated into the abridgement of Chap. II. It is only the concluding paragraphs of chap. XXXIX, therefore, that we now proceed to summarise].

"... There were found at the time of the surrender of the Fort to us 6 or 7 lasts of damaged rice which had stood the test of time long enough, some bales of cinnamon, a quantity of sound and damaged arecanuts, 24 frigates of which 9 were later destroyed), 1500 guilders in cash, 33 packages of clothes, 25 metal bells......On the batteries were 60 brass and 68 iron guns with a mortar piece and 6 bassen, also 10,000 cannon balls of various calibres and weights, 6,500 pounds of good and 1,150 pounds of damaged gunpowder and a quantity of nitre and sulphur. Thus we have now become Masters of Columbo................................... [We now quote from Chap. XLI] we cannot omit to allude to the high

opinion the *Portugesen* had of that unsurpassable apple of their eye, the Fort of *Columbo*. They boasted high everywhere that if ever the *Hollander* had to struggle hard it was here they would meet with a decisive repulse and that neither the King of *Portugaal* nor the Viceroy of *Goa* would ever permit such a mother-defence to be violated by heretics.......

......Thus is the sacred Proverb verified that Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall.......but it is the strong arm of the Almighty that exalts, for an example that none might lean but upon his God, the Rock of Israel.......God grant that such might not be verified with us, which could happen were we to rely on our own individual strength and not on the Arms of the Almighty."

[To revert to Chap. XXXIX] "......But Raja Singa began to growl and was seeking for an opening to take offence. He thus writes:—

Raja Singa Rajov etc.

Some strange news has reached me yesterday and the day before regarding the conditions on which the *Portugezen* must surrender the Fort........Your Excellency should have informed me, but as this was not done I gave no credence to the news. If, however, it be really so ......be pleased to acquaint me as early as possible of the terms of the agreement expected to be concluded with them. I have in the lifetime of my much-beloved Director General applied to him by letter for something which was promised me. Pray be mindful and do not lose sight of it."

[No reply¹ to this letter is here mentioned by Baldeus, but from a letter of the Emperor dated 21st May and reproduced in Chap. XL it would appear that one was sent which did not meet with the Emperor's approval.]

### NOTES TO CHAP, XXXIX.

 Reply. Pieris (op. cit. p. 203) states that van der Meyde by his letter of the 14th of May explained that as the Portuguese "refused to treat directly with Your Majesty" the Dutch entered into negotiations at once and took "possession of the town for Your Majesty."

### THE XL. CHAPTER.

Punishment of several of our deserters—Raja Singa stops all sources whence Hollanders obtain supplies—His letter of complaint—Capture of several Portuguesche Vessels—Raja Singa persecutes and plunders the Company's subjects.

"It was now deemed high time to make an example by the punishment of our deserters for their crimes. Simon Lopes, a Portugees by birth, a great villain, was the first to ascend the scaffold.......

This man though in receipt of a monthly salary of 50 guilders from the Company thought it fit treacherously to desert our service and go over to the enemy soon after our ill-success in the late storming.......Two other Europaenen whose names for good reasons we forbear to mention shared the same fate, also another culprit, after he had been publicly whipped.......

"From letters received from Raja Singa it was not difficult to make out that he was then greatly offended." Certain steps, therefore, which had been taken by the Book keeper Walraven Thomé of Montual "to oppose the movements of the Dissaves of Ouva and the 4 and 7 Corles at Nacclegamme Pass" were disapproved of and orders given not to impede the King's people at all if they wished to pass over to this side, but to shew all goodwill and attention.

"Raja Singa's opposition now became daily more obvious, for we found he was adopting all means for cutting off all our sources of supply from the interior of the country.......It was with much concern we also learnt that Cannangere Aratchie, a trustworthy Servant of the Honourable Company, had transferred his service to the King of Kandy and that 90 of our deserting Maturesche Lascariins had been sent to Angretotte.

On May 22nd Vice Commodore Adriaan Roothaas arrived "with a letter informing us that a Moorish Vessel had left Couchin for Columbo laden with all necessaries on the King's account" and that the Dutch Ships off Goa were being supplied with provisions "by the inhabitants of Caylpatnam for payment and that the people there were anxious to see the Company re-establish itself in trade there....."

A letter dated 21st May was now received from Raja Singa saying "My Imperial Person has laboured hard to have the Hollandtsche Natie into my land ........ I subdued the Fortress of Batecalo and made a Treaty of Peace with the Hollanders, but after it had been ratified and attested some of your officers have not adhered to and complied with the conditions entered into." [The conduct of "Captain Burchart Koks, commonly called Captain Coque" and of "the Commissioner Pieter Kiest" with regard to "one of my Dissaves to whom they had to deliver the lands at Mature" is particularly instanced. "Just about this time there arrived in my realm my well-beloved Director-General

armed with full power from Hollandt.......He verbally requested me te banish from my mind and forget all past misunderstandings and discontent and said he would give me every satisfaction, qualifying this assurance in the name and on behalf of the Prince of Orange and the Honourable Company and promising further to deliver into my hands both the defences of Negombo and Columbo no sooner they shall, under God, be subdued, leaving in them only such small portion of Hollanders as may be deemed necessary for my service and it was on the strength of this assurance that I have contributed everything possible for the conquest of the Fort of Columbo by my Hollanders, but since they have now become masters thereof the promise is lost sight of and forgotten, as is now daily experienced. Your Excellency may (until the Prince of Orange and the Honourable Company shall be made aware of these grievances) act just as you please, but those who forget God and set at nought their plighted word will have to rue and abide the consequences. I rest confident that in my thus rebuking Your Excellency I have God on my side." [The letter also referred to a letter written by the Governor to George Blom, the Interpreter, in which apparently it was contended that Hulft had received his authority from Batavia.] "Your Excellency may go on writing such a cock and bull story to whomsoever you please but not to me certainly, aware as I am that the Director General had his credentials from Hollandt . . . . George Blom shall remain here, until I receive an answer to this letter"...... Attached to the letter was also one from Blom which the King "did not wish to be embodied in his own letter." Blom also referred to Raja Singa's dissatisfaction of the subject of Colombo and also reported as further grievances two other matters viz. 1, that some of his rebellious subjects lurking in and about the Fort of Columbo including Gaspar Figeiro, who had committed many wanton outrages" had not been delivered up to him, and 2. that "of some presents which had been sent to His Majesty by the Vice Roy of Goa ......only a few things had been received by him..... These were 2 Persian cats and the model of a little ship."

"This communication drew from the Governor a very courteous and respectful reply yet Raja Singa knew no rest but retaliated with a spirit of bitter antagonism towards the Nederlanders, yes, even with treachery, for the Council was informed by the Portugezen Anthonia de Motte and Manoel Fonseca de Monijs that the King had made secret overtures to them......and so it was resolved not to admit in future any of the King's soldiers into the Fort except such only as shall come direct from His Majesty or his Dissave on official business.....

"On the morning of the 30th May there were seen off Galkisse, close to land, 4 frigates......3 came to anchor within range of our guns. We immediately sent out light boats and got the Commander ashore and learnt that they had sailed from Goa on the 22nd with 6 frigates, that 2 of them were detained at Coulang or elsewhere owing to bad weather and that one had been dismasted........Considering our limited stock of provisions the supplies on board these frigates reached us very opportunely.......

"The Governor was now definitely informed that some of the Couchinsche vessels which had sailed past Galkisse had been signalled to by the Dissaves of Matule and Ouva by flying a white cloth....... this shows again their dirty work and that Raia Singa spares no pains to estrange and entice from the Company's service all our trustworthy men. His Lascarijns have also broken into the Company's cattlegarden and done much damage.

"Incessant were now the complaints which reached the Governor and his Council daily. The Junior Merchant writes that the inhabitants of the Mature lands have been forbidden by the King's Soldiers and Chiefs, on pain of severe punishment, to make us any supplies..... and that whole troops of them were then occupying Belligam, Mallimade and the Baigams. In order to check these growing outrages those in Gale have despatched 3 companies of 40 men each.......... to warn the King's people to keep off the boundaries of the Company's territories, the possession of which had been so long allowed us by His Majesty...........It is now evident from these proceedings that the chiefs of the land had long been in secret commerce with the King......

[The contents of two Olas are now quoted]. In the first Cattepitty Apuhami who is now come to Mallimade, states that he had come to Mallimade "by express order of the King to take possession of the lands of Mature for His Majesty's use, with positive injunctions to the inhabitants in general not to supply us with provisions of any kind, even unripe fruits, for love or money or any consideration."

By the second Ola "Tudoculle Mandonna Apohami informs all Aratchies, Lascorjns and the great Majoraals, and all other Headmen of Caleture, Macoene and Barberijn....... to stop all intercourse with the Hollanders and to pay them no taxes previously payable to them and to allow no labourers to render services.".......

"A letter received by Manoel Andrado (a man who had rendered us many valuable services at Jafnapatan spoke of "the daring aggressions committed by the King's parties at the pass of Caleture...... Around Negumbo things were not much better, Raia Singa had been after a Chief Patangatti<sup>2</sup> of Coquielle, with promise of high reward to purchase his services."

"An Ola was also found suspended to a tree, near the Church Guia de Lobo to the following effect:—The Fort of Columbo is now conquered and the promise to deliver it to His Majesty remains still unredeemed......If therefore you desire to depute some person or other to His Majesty it will be allowed and you shall have free and easy access. [No signature apparently was appended.]

"The Governor and his Council now found it expedient to make Raja Singa sensible by a letter of his unjust and vile acts.....and the loss and disadvantage he had thereby brought on himself and the Company and that these outbursts only served to cramp our efforts to

"To render this communication more agreeable it was accompanied with a beautiful falcon and two spar-hawks under the care of a *Per siaansche* falconer.

### NOTES TO CHAP. XL.

- 1. Baldeus does not quote the terms of the reply, but Dr. P. E. Pieris (op. cit, p. 205) states that it declared that the original contract, "as well as the three clauses altered" by Cocx and Kieft "would be fully observed and that when the necessary labourers were sent by Raja Singa the towns of Negombo and Columbo would be partially demolished "in accordance with his own desire."
- 2. Patangatti. A Tamil word corresponding to the Sinhalese 'patabenda', i.e. one on whom an honorific fillet (patta) is tied.
- 3. Chalias. i.e. members of the Salagama Caste. They hailed originally from India and arrived in Ceylon in the 13th Century as weavers, their art being then unknown to the Sinhalese. Their descendants were numerous and having offended the Kandyan Government were compelled to settle in the South West and to peel cinnamon without pay. (Aruna-chalam's "Sketches of Ceylon History" p. 58.)

### THE XLI CHAPTER.

The appointment of a Day of General Thanksgiving—Two Caffers come over to us—Jurgen Blomme's curious escape from Candy—A Fight—Jungle Stragglers punished—News respecting the Portugesche fleet—Failure to capture them—High opinion which is entertained of India—Of the fortification of Columbo—Negombo conquered for the second time.

"A day was now fixed according to our usual custom for a General Thanksgiving to the Almighty for the peculiar favours He had bestowed upon us and for invoking His further blessings, for the averting of all evils, open violence and all secret plots and for the forgiveness of our manifold transgressions..."

Raja Singa's letters now "studiously avoided referring to any material points of business but only dwelt on the arrival of the *Persiaansche* falconer and the falcon... His Majesty employed every means to persuade His Excellency to let him retain the falconer," which was agreed to "but event his concession proved vain, for we found that the marching of the 200 of our soldiers for the protection of the interior had not a little alarmed the King though it proved a source of much rejoicing to our well-disposed, timid and fettered inhabitants, for a body of more than 1000 souls had then already returned to us in spite of the strict oders of Raja Singa to his *Lascarijns* to bring to him all the *Nederlanders* they possibly could and to punish the blacks, whether *Cingalezen*, *Mooren* or Slaves by cutting off their noses and ears".......

"The few Hollanders who were yet in Kandy apprehensive of being long detained there now wrote to the Governor that the arrival of the falcon and the falcon seemed likely to help them to an early release"

Meanwhile there arrived in *Columbo* a messenger named *Chitty Maley* with, one falcon and some other presents for His Majesty, apart from which we also received from the *Choromandel* Coast 6 other falcons with their hunters and keepers"

The intended departure of Raja Singa from Reygamwatte to Ruanelle was now reported by "two Caffers, the Kings Trumpeter and the Drummer" from whom it was also learnt that "Grants of valuable lands to some Portugezen of Rank had been made." They also said "that our Interpreter Jurgen Blom 1 was still there and saw little chance of escape." The next day however, Blom arrived at Montual. He had secretly obtained the use of a tony in which, after having primed his guard with liquor, he set himself adrift on the river.

Bad news from other parts of the country continued to come in, notably that "at *Hakman* in broad daylight a fierce assault by the Kings party had been made upon our people in the absence from the

place of Mr. Rabel, <sup>2</sup> a bold and faithful Cingalees.......The wives of four of our soldiers and some other natives, along with our Sergeant Pieter Jansz of Danzik" had also been forcibly carried off to the Seven Corles. From Caleture news came that some jungle-stragglers <sup>3</sup> had advanced to Boemboele to rob our paddy crops." Andrado and some Lascarijns had been sent to the spot but arrived too late. On their return they captured 2 spies who stubbornly refused to say on whose orders they were acting. They were in consequence beheaded "their heads being left fixed on stakes near the heaps of plundered grain."

News from *Tutecorijn* was also discouraging, for letters from the Naval Commander there said that "15 of the enemy frigates which had been moved between the island and the reef had escaped. Our ships had chased them as far as *Pambanaar* but the shallow waters had prevented our ships nearing them, a clear proof that the Governor of the land the *Teuver* had been bribed to remove from the gaps the masses of rocks, which normally prevent passage, and to replace them again." The frigates had thus managed to reach *Jafnapatan* and *Manaar*, after which their Commander *Anthony Amiral de Menezes* "(who was later, on our arrival at Manaar, killed by one of our 4 pounders) despatched at Raja Singa's request some *Tonijs* to *Negna—patan* for men, a step which in these difficult times was calculated to do us infinite harm—which God forbid." The Governor could only retaliate by directing "Major vander Laan to sally out often with 200 or 300 of his men to awe the malcontents.

"Thus rolled on the Company's affairs for some time under Raja's hot displeasure till the year 1665. If there was now and then some little glimpse of hope at reconciliation still matters continued much in the same predicament and hence it is a point of much doubt and uncertainty if a reconciliation will\* ever 6 take place during Raja's life, though it be much wished for."

### NOTES TO CHAPTER XLI

- 1. Jurgen Blom, He has previously been called "George" and "Joris"
- 2. Rabel. Governor General Maatsuyker in a letter to the Directors refers to him as "Mr. Antonio Rabel who is among the Sinhalese nobles the staunchest friend of the Company (Pieris. op. cit p. 277)
- 3. Jungle-Stragglers, "Bosch-loopers" is the word in the original. Wanderers with no fixed abode are probably meant.
- 4. Teuver. A fendatory Chief.
- Menezes. Van Goens wrote of him thus:— "a man whom they held in great esteem. I had him buried with military honours" (Pieris. op. cit. P. 239)
- 6. The use of the future tense is due to the fact that Baldeus is here reproducing certain passages from Van der Meyden's letter (v. antea p. 44)

### THE XLII CHAPTER

... The Conquest of Manaar

[The earlier part of this Chapter having already, in consideration of chronological sequence been previously summarised, (v. pp 46 to 49), only the capture of Manaar need be dealt with here—Ed.]

The subject is prefaced by Baldeus with a reference to a journey he made a few years later from Jafnapatan to Colombo and which took him 7 days. He then observed that "cinnamon plants were only to be found this side of the River of *Chilaaw* downwards to *Colombo*... The lands about *Madampe* excelled all others and only required a population, for they then lay waste and wild and infested with troops of buffaloes"

"The Island of Manaar was anciently attached to the Continent as the shallow straits called Adam's  $Brugh^1$  shew. Thereabouts lies the Island  $Rammana\ Kojel^2$  where there is a rich and famed Pagoda under the Teuver, who has also a defence there."

Manaar was protected by Fort St. George. Rijkl of van Goens in February 1658 had been despatched with a fleet from Columbo and on arrival "found the Portugeesch had made an entienchment all along the sea shore," their force numbering "not less than 1000 men while they also had a fleet of 12 frigates. After we had called upon the name of the Lord... orders were given for our ships to make a nearer approach in order to effect a simultaneous landing 3... On our landing we had no other idea but to conquer or be drowned." Strong opposition was offered. "Lientenant Hendrik Van Wel (then a Sergeant) was the first to step on shore and cleverly met the opponents with his men ... It greatly advantaged us also that the Portugezen General Anthonio Amiral de Menezes was shot through his neck by a Prince field-piece and Anthonio Mendes d' Arangie, a brave and gallant Captain and others were severly wounded ... The Portugeesch ships also fared wretchedly and lost many men in dead and wounded, and ultimately we captured one and all of their frigates... Major Van der Laan most valiantly acquitted himself, notwithstanding a severe accidental fall he had in my presence shortly before landing. Corpulent as he was, he as usual broke through the Enemy and gallantly drove them off the field, thus shewing his character for intrepedity and proving in reality, as he is commonly called, "The Terror of the Portugezen."

The Portugeesch suffered numerous casualties, and the main body of the survivors then had not the heart to occupy the Fort any longer and therefore crossed the river and made their way to Jafnapatan, leaving Andrea Villosa and a handful of men in the Fort." On the 22nd, of February Villosa feeling "shamefully abandoned by his party and in no position to withstand one force" surrendered. The number

of prisoners was 200. Amongst them was a Caffer who made much of his rank as a Captain and resolutely referred to bear any arms or to remove earth as he was commanded to do, insisting that he would rather stand a sound thrashing than degrade himself with such mean occupations. He appears however to be of a generous and kind disposition.

The 24th of the same month was observed as a day of Public Thanksgiving... During the whole time I spent in India I know no other instance when so heroic an act of warfare was accomplished against the Portugeesch with such happy results, considering too that the contestants were on both sides Europeanen, men inured to arms and not timid blacks, also that our Troops consisted of only 800 men and that the great ship Salamander which was expected with men. arms and provisions ... had been tossed about here and there in the Maldivische islands for full 6 months' and arrived too late.

- 1. Adam's Brugh ie. Adam's Bridge, the chain of sandbanks with coral foundations extending to South India. The Arabs believe that Adam and Eve entered Ceylon by it. In the Ramayana it is said to have been built by Hanuman, the monkey-god, for Rama's passage to Ceylon when he set out to rescue his wife Sita who had been abducted by Rayana.
- Rammana Kojel ie. Rameswaram, where on his return from Ceylon Rama is said to have established a shrine to Siva
- 3. Anthonisz (op. cit. p 165) Says "The Portuguese, anticipating an attack, entrenched themselves along the seastrand... and sent out a number of Sanguicels, which were light boats equipped with offensive implements".

### THE XLIII CHAPTER

Circumstantial description of Manaar—Introduction of the Christian Religion there—Its capability of being still turther extended—Description of the lands of the Wannias—Our Expedition to Jafnapatan—The troops cross the river—Defeat of the Portugezen—The conquest of the Water Castle.

"Manaar is so called both by the inhabitants and by foreigners. The word "man" means in Malabaarsche "sand", and "aar" means "river", thus implying Sand River. It is to be observed that in Ceylon they speak not only the Cingalesche but also the Malabaarsche languages....... I have heard it often asserted by the inhabitants of Jafnapatan that that part of the country was in times past peopled from the Chormandel coast and hence the dialect of their fatherland which is situated so close to Ceylon.......

"Manaar is situated 9 degrees north of the Equator. In length it is a five hours walk and two in breadth including the Salt River which extends (as the map shows) close up to the chief Church at Carcel. In

front of the Fort there runs a canal.......The Fort was further strengthened in our time by wide and deep trenches.......

"There are on the island 7 churches......"

"This island was famed in former times for its Pearl Fishery like *Tutecorijn*, but as no fishery had taken place for 11 or 12 years the country was reduced to great poverty and distress. That it was previously in a very flourishing state is easily seen from its stately buildings churches, monasteries and Ornaments. In the year 1666, after my departure, a good and rich fishery took place.......and also in 1669."

"The inhabitants of this isle speak besides Malabaar also the Portugeesch language and have long ago been converted to Christianity for which they were much persecuted by the King of Jajnapatan and suffered the most cruel and ignominious deaths, so that these poor converts had as it were to be first baptised in water and shortly after with blood. This induced many of them to abandon their native land and betake themselves to Goa, a journey of more than 100 miles. Amongst them was a Princely youth who with the rest of the fugitives received every religious instruction there."

These people as well as the Parruas<sup>2</sup> and others......were originally taught and baptised by Francisco Xavier......who also appointed Teachers called Canacappels all over the place for instructing the youths in the first rudiments and principles of the Religion".......They shewed great earnestness and unwearied zeal but the only regrettable thing was that it was blended with some survivals of Popish errors. After him there came the Jezuyten, designated Paulisten because they were sent out to India by Pope Paulus III. They laboured hard, excelling in zeal and in their morals...... I must confess that I approved of all their maxims and followed in their footsteps in reforming all the schools and churches of Manaar and Jatnapalan, so far as was consistent with the doctrines and tenets of capabilities of the pupils, so as not to encumber and fill their tender minds with difficult and tedious questions and deep secrets but rather to lay before them the bare simple truths shortly and concisely, both, verbally and in writing, so as to be easily impressed in the minds of pupils, especially those of this country who are so wonderfully expert and docile to learn anything by rote; a system of constant catechising and other instructions should then be persevered in, in the presence of old people, who hearing the Praises of God from the lips of children will be stung to the heart.......We must in the first instance lay the foundation of Doctrine...... It is also very necessary for the extension of our Religion that all native converts not only do possess some elementary knowledge of it but likewise adhere to the principles laid down, for were every new minister on arrival in the island to change and prescribe another Formulary it cannot but tend greatly to encumber the minds of these poor people....... I have on undertaking the charge and reformation of the Churches upon the request and order of

Government compiled for the use of the people a Catechism on the Principal precepts of our Religion......which was generally adopted for instruction by virtue of an Act passed in a General Assembly on the Ceylonsche Church affairs.......It is more appropriate and seemly that a teacher or minister master the language of his congregation rather than expect them to learn his. So it behaves also that Ministers walk circumspectly and main good relations with the authorities and thus ensure the confidence and respect of the people".

"The island produces an abundance of fish.......There is here a species of fish which might unhesitatingly be called "the Sea Calf". It is amphibious and the females have milk in their breasts. When well dressed for food it surpasses our steur [sturgeon] in Hollandt and anyone partaking of it feels he is feasting on good veal".

It is now quite time to quit Manaar and to cross over the river to Mantotte......These lands are called the Wannias 5 and are attached to Manaar and are under the control of the Honourable Company. They count 14 churches including that of Manaar......

The Wannias live on very good term with the Company and regularily pay their taxes and bring their elephants likewise".

Baldeus now gives in some detail the confines of Mantotte, Mousilipatto and Setecoulang, remarking that 'these lands are extremely fertile and suitable for the growth of rice, which thrives so well that a stalk has often been found to yield a hundred-fold, but the place is open to the depredations of elephants where no habitations are near'.

"It is remarkable (as Joan de Lucena observes in his Life of Fr, Xavier) that when on one side of Caap Comorin there is Winter there is Summer on the other side......So it is in Ceylon too.......How wonderfully hath an all-wise Providence ordained these winds over this sultry clime that their cooling influence might fan and mitigate the intensity of the scorching heat of the Sun, which but for this healing influence must otherwise prove unbearably oppressive".

"Our forces now crossed the lands of the Wannias in good order and though very short of provisions did not become a burden to the inhabitants at all but helped ourselves most sparingly, dealing out to each soldier in a broken coconut shell only a small quantity of rice". The troops being also much wearied they were ferried across the river "in as many light boats as were procurable". thus saving them a whole days march. On the further side of the river was "a deep and dangerous log: we were subsequently informed that of two elephants which once came here from the Jajnapatan district in quest of food one stuck fast in the mire and that, as it could not extricate himself from it, it was killed by the inhabitants.......These elephants come for food when the wild palm trees are in bearing. They trample on the roots with their huge feet and then with a few thrusts of their posteriors they fell down the trees.......

When all our men were safely landed we pushed onwards and was courteously received by the inhabitants who plentifully supplied us with all the necessaries of life as well as with all kinds of fruits. We then proceeded further......to Navacouli, which lay at a distance of 2 hours march from the Town and Fort of Jafnapatan.....On the next morning after prayers had been offered up by me for the people, we marched on......and by evening came close to the Fort near the Church of Sundecouli, where we had a brush with the Portugeesch and swept off many of them.......The next morning we broke into the town, which we found not well and sufficiently walled but furnished with strong and permanent houses with thick walls (built after the Portuguese fashion) Here we chased the enemy from street to street and pierced the walls with our heavy brass guns and captured on the 9th of March the principal Church and convent of the Jesuiten at the west end of the town and on the 18th the Church and Convent of the Dominicanen on the east, when we made a Thanksgiving to God on the 19th.

Having thus driven the enemy to his nest and God giving us two churches for morning and afternoon services on the Sabbath and for instruction of the people and also good and spacious houses to use during the siege there was much cause for thankfulness, as Jozva chap. 24.13 says.......The enemy had now to take to the Fort where besides the Portugeesh many others of the country also took shelter.

"It was now necessary for us to master a certain Fortress which stood in the middle of the river near the entrance to the open sea and commanded the ingress and egress of all vessels. This stronghold was built in the time of Anthonio Amiral de Menezes and is the key to Jafnapatan. Would that there had been such a Defence at Calmom Point so that no ships could make for the Kasteel, for we could then prevent this."

Bombardment from the islands of *Ouratore* and *Caradiva* failed to penetrate the walls. It was therefore decided 'to attack with our ships and with the aid of gabions, parapets and artillery, but we did not do so however till the following letter was sent to the Commander

"Forasmuch as it has pleased the Lord God hitherto to bless and prosper all our endeavours and while we rest assured that (with Divine help) you will not any longer be able to withstand the force of our Arms we have thought it proper, and consistent with Military Discipline and Christian usage to communicate with you and to demand......the surrender of this your Fortress of Cays. Your heroic and manly conduct hitherto displayed must now prove unavailing, considering your wants. Resist not then the Will of God and our power.......we shall await an answer for 3 days.......

We remain either Friend or Foe.

This letter was translated by me into *Portugesche* and dispatched....... The reply was to the effect that the Defence belonged to the King of *Portugaal*, his Lord and Master, for whom he won

shed his last drop of blood. He could do no more that God willed, and as far our threats they cared not.

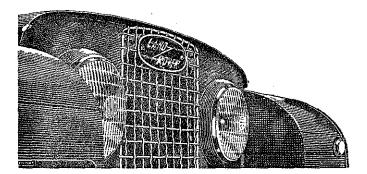
Consequently, we were for resorting to extreme measures........ but the great lack of water and the timely flight of all their wealthy females from Jainapatan to Nagnapatan compelled the surrender of the Defence, as there were no wells within it, only some wooden eisterns, which too our shells had shattered: but during our time were built here and at Manaar large water-tanks.

The conditions of surrender were reasonable. Their soldiers were to march out with muskets loaded and match-cords lighted and were to be sent to Europa........ A Thanksgiving was held by me for this victory (Psalm, 46. 8).

In this siege the most gallant were Commander Cornelis Rob de Jonge (who died 2 years ago at Amsterdam) and Capiteyn Petrus Wasch (who fell later at Cochin) and Jonkleen N. van Rheede."

### NOTES TO CHAPTER XLIII

- Sand River, Salt River. The shallows between the mainland of Ceylon and Manaar are meant. The word in the original is "Revier" or Reviere."
- 2. Parruas. Pieris (The Kingdom of Jafnapatam p. 65) says they were 'the fisher caste people of South India' and "chiefly supplied divers for the pearly fishery".
- 3. Canacappels. The modern form of the word would be "Kanakapulles".
- 4. Fish. The Dugong.
- 6. Fortress. Later it is referred to by its Portuguese name of "Cays". The Dutch renamed it "Hammen-hiel". It is situated in the channel between the island of Ouratore and Caradiva
- 7 Kasteel i e the citadel of Fort of Jaffna Calmon also called Calmoni in a map printed in Baldeus' book, is at the northernmost point of the mainland which is separated from the Jaffna peninsula by a narrow stretch of sea.



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