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JANUARY—JUNE. 1962.

[Nos. 1 & 2.

Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.



"Eendracht maakt Macht"

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

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Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.

VOL. LII.]

JANUARY — JUNE 1962.

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ROBERT KNOX'S 'CEYLON'

BY ERIN MULLER.

In the 17th century, Reverend Philippus Baldeus, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Joao Ribeiro, a Portuguese army captain, and Robert Knox an English sea-captain, happened to visit Ceylon which was rapidly becoming a focal point in the Eastern trade and strategy of Europe. Each of these men, through duty or compulsion, lived for many years in different parts of Ceylon, whose principal divisions were then the kingdoms of Kotte, Kandy and Jaffna.

Having therefore learnt very well the conditions in these areas, the three foreigners felt competent to write, on their return home, accounts of their experiences in, and observations of, the island. Their books when put together now, present a wonderfully vivid picture of Ceylon three centuries ago. They provide much of the material on which a study of this period can be based. The not particularly distinguished authors could hardly have realised what value as sources their books would have for modern historians in Ceylon, or what posthumous fame they themselves would gain through their writings.

Of these works, the most familiar to present-day readers is Robert Knox's "An Historical Relation of Ceylon." It is the earliest, and possibly the best, book in the English language to be written about this island. Published in London in 1681, 1st edition copies of it sold out fast. In 1708, Knox writes with no little pride that "my booke of Ceylone hath found such acceptance of this present generation that all the books that were printed are bought up and many more would have been bought if were to be had, and also that it hath been translated into Dutch and French gives me cause to thinke that hereafter some may inquire or wish to know what became of the Author after his escape from Ceylone".

Encouraged by the reception of the 1st edition, Chiswell, the publisher, mooted a 2nd one. For this, Knox "did diligently review the whole book, and made many more additions", but due to the rise in the price of paper, delays in printing occurred, Chiswell lost interest in

the new edition, and the revised manuscript remained with Knox till his death. This manuscript finally reached the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where it was "discovered" by C. S. Vaughan of the Ceylon Civil Service, in 1910.

Thereupon, after two hundred years or so of oblivion, a new London edition appeared in 1911, with James Ryan as editor. The inclusion of certain new information in this edition was made possible largely through the zeal with which Mr. D. Ferguson pursued research on Knox during the 19th century. A local edition of the book was produced in 1958, proving that the interest in it has never really died down completely.

Why was the "Historical Relation" received so well in 17th century in Europe? Ever since the Renaissance burst upon that continent, literally and metaphorically widening men's horizons, books on travel were eagerly read. Knox's book found a place in the list of famous travel literature, started by Marco Polo and continued by Mandeville, Hakluyt, Mendes, Pinto and several other European navigators, explorers and adventurers.

It appealed to many types of people. Among them was a stay-at-home public who, unable to indulge personally in the thrills and dangers of travel for various reasons, liked to enjoy such journeys vicariously. Directors of European commercial houses that sent trading ships to the East were always glad to come by any information concerning the politics and economy of those regions. English Puritans liked the book because they agreed with Knox that it put into cold print the undeniable proof of "God's great mercies in so plentifully sustaining me in the land of myne enemies...and his providence (in) so disposing of and directing me to escape thence".

From an historical point of view, Knox's 'Ceylon' has several merits, although the original manuscript was not meant to be an historical treatise at all. When Knox wrote about "that fatal voyage in which I lost my father and myself, and the prime of my time for business and preferment for 23 years till Anno 1680", he had had no intention of publishing what he himself calls his "scribbled papers". Thanks to the interest and encouragement of Sir Josiah Childe, a Director of the English East India Company and the Royal Society in London, Knox overcame "that usual prejudice of modesty and too mean an opinion of his own knowledge and abilities of doing anything that should be worthy of the view of the Public", and allowed himself to be persuaded to publish them. With his cousin John Strype's help, the 'Historical Relation' "containing many new and strange stories", was made into an orderly exposition under 4 headings of, to quote, "the Country and Products of it, the King and his Government, the Inhabitants and their Religion and Customs, and our surprise, detainment and escape".

There is such an exhaustive fund of information within its pages, that Robert Hooke could justifiably contend, in his preface, that "Captain Knox, who though he could bring away nothing almost upon his Back or

in his Purse, did yet transport the whole Kingdom of Cande Uda in his Head". It is particularly useful to the historian because it is the only source book available for a study of the social, economic and political conditions in the Kandyan Kingdom during the time when European nations dominated the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon. With the Sinhalese Kings so implacably resistant to European penetration into their Kingdom, it was not normally easy for strangers to get details about conditions there though Rajasingha liked to collect foreigners whenever chance led them to his country. Few of these, of course, managed like Knox to escape and tell their story, even after 19 years.

Knox has proved to be a lively, and for the most part, an accurate unprejudiced, observer. In the epistle dedicatory he writes: "I have writ nothing but either what I am assured of by my own personal knowledge to be true ... or what I have received from the inhabitants themselves of such things as are commonly known to be true among them". It was indeed not difficult for him to be a truthful observer, nor did he have any reason to distort facts. His long residence in the Kandyan Kingdom—during 9 years of which he was a privileged prisoner, and allowed to move about in different parts of the country—enabled him to gather first hand information about the North-Western part of the island. About the Eastern region he had to go by hearsay, because he confined his travelling to the former section of the country, from which he decided to achieve his escape.

A detailed analysis of his work reveals certain inaccuracies. This is partly because Knox, as a prisoner, moved within a restricted social circle. Dr. Karl Goonewardena says that at Legundeniya, Knox's neighbours were criminals, and of lower social status than himself. At Eladatta where he bought an estate (for five and twenty farins) there were thieves and people of non-Sinhalese origin. Knox thus had little opportunity of meeting members of the Kandyan aristocracy, or men of learning. The only person of a higher class whom he met was a petty chieftain in the course of official business. Another reason for occasional inaccuracy was Knox's imperfect knowledge of the Sinhalese language. He thus sometimes took literally the Kandyan's jokes, even those against themselves.

Knox also probably never saw nor met the King, though his description of him is so vivid. That he did, however, try to be as accurate as possible, within his limitations, is borne out by the fact that, in his autobiography dated 1696, he makes an important correction regarding Rajasingha. In the 1st edition of the "Historical Relation", he alleges, "because it was so generally believed", that Rajasingha poisoned his son. Having heard on a subsequent voyage to the East, that "at the old King's death, that very son succeeded his father, and reigneth King in his stead, and hath settled a peace with the Hollanders", Knox makes an apology to his readers for having "inserted a lie".

As a literary work, the "Historical Relation" has considerable, if unpremeditated, quality. Professor Ludowyk, who studied the book from this angle, states that a reader of a first edition copy belonging to the late

Dr. Andreas Nell, had neatly summed up the story thus: "a very excellent narrative". And so it is. There is a quaint charm about the restrained style and language in which it is written, which is its chief attraction in this respect.

Knox's style is simple and direct. He was not writing a novel, but describing things as they appeared to him in the Kandyan Kingdom. Therefore, he did not consciously try to impress his reading public by adopting an artificial mode of expression. But the elegance and swing of some passages could compare favourably with the work of professional authors before and since Knox's book was written. Commenting on his style Professor Ludoyk says "Objective and dry as it is for the greater part of the work, (it) has its passages of colour and tension, (such as) the record of that moment during their escape when Knox and Rutland betrayed by the windings of the Malvatta Oya almost blunder into the villages by the Tissa Veva. The Biblical terms of phrase and the illustrations he uses came naturally to him, steeped as he was in the study of the book "The Practice of Piety", a boyhood gift from his pious mother, and in the English Bible that he bought early on during his captivity in Ceylon.

Knox's book also seems to have inspired certain contemporary novelists. Literary experts have found more than an echo of the book and its author's character in two of Daniel Defoe's novels. This was not to be wondered at. As mentioned before, the 17th and 18th century readers loved books on travel. When the fashion for novel-writing began, authors liked to please their readers by giving them true-to-life stories with exotic settings and situations.

They were not short of material. The adventure of Alexander Selkirk is a case in point. In 1704, this Scottish sailor accompanied Dampier the navigator, on a trip to the South Seas. Owing to a quarrel with the latter, Selkirk asked to be put ashore on the lonely South Sea island of Juan Fernandez. Here he lived for four years and four months, until rescued by a Royal Navy ship. His adventures, first published in London in 1712, attracted much attention. Defoe made use of this story, with some of the details of life on a tropical island, derived from many travellers' tales, in his novel "Robinson Crusoe". For the portrayal of his hero's character, however, Defoe turned not to Selkirk, but to Knox. This was because the effect on Selkirk of his desert-island experiences compared unfavourably with Knox's triumph over his difficulties, and because Knox's escape was proof of the efficacy of faith in God's goodness to His chosen ones. In chapter 14 of his book, Knox tried to find the reason why the Kandyan King "detains European people as he does", and concluded that it was "out of Love and Favour that he keeps them". Tennent points out that Defoe made use of this "strange propensity of Rajasinha II" to introduce an incident in his story of the "Adventures and Piracies of Captain Singleton", the second novel by him to be influenced by the "Historical Relation". Defoe goes so far in his debt to Knox in this novel as to include in it a summary of Knox's own story so that the reader may "value it, as it deserves, for the rarity as well as the truth of it".

The greatest failing of the "Historical Relation", both as history and literature is, that the narrative's sustained note of dignity does not find room for any spark of humour. Though Knox's description of the, manners and custom of the Kandyan people ring true in most instances his Puritanical upbringing led him to misinterpret the spirit behind them. He thus could not help being shocked by certain aspects of the Kandyan moral code—or lack of it! He also misunderstood the nature of Buddhism, which he says was Idolatry. His religious prejudices prevented him from learning much about Buddhism or the Bhikkshus. He was also rather inconsistent in attitude. Because he looked at it from a Non-Comformist point of view, the rule of Rajasinha seemed to be "tyrannical and Arbitrary in the highest degree". This judgement was a strange one to come from a man who, when he returned to England after his long captivity, commanded a ship, the 'Tonqueen Merchant' which on its 2nd voyage 1684—86, undertook to bring slaves from Madagascar to work in the English East India Company's proposed settlement at St. Helena. He was even charged with cruelty to his sailors. This was one of the very qualities which he accused Rajasinha of having. Knox's inconsistency may be explained by the fact that at that time, religion and commerce were two entirely separate things.—a case of not allowing the right hand to know what the left hand was doing.

Having thus considered some of its aspects, we must now come to a conclusion about the book. Certain qualities about it stand out clearly—its freshness and never-failing interest. The wide variety of people whom Robert Hooke expected to read it—the Statesman, Divine, Physician, Lawyer, Mechanic, Husbandman, Philosopher and Historian—can always find something new in it at each reading. As this is surely the mark of all the world's greatest classics, we can safely include Knox's "An Historical Relation of Ceylon" among them.

The objects of the Union shall be :

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 GRENIER FAMILY

The name Grenier being so obviously French (the word means "granary") it used to be somewhat too readily assumed in the last century that the family were of Huguenot origin and that owing to the religious persecutions of the 16th century they had fled to Holland and in due time become naturalised as Dutchmen. There was, however, no documentary evidence to support this assumption nor even any Church records which made any reference to where the family had arrived from. Old records in the Archives, however, disclosed the fact that Dutch protection had in fact been sought by the Greniers but not till 1761 when, according to the Minutes of the Dutch Political Council of Colombo, (Vol. D 125) dated 2nd December 1761 and 1st January 1762 "a certain French Captain Jean Francois Grenier of Dinant" was admitted into the Dutch Army as an Ensign and Commandant of a Corps of 300 Sepoys who had come over from India and were "not provided with a European as Chief Officer". That he was "fully conversant with the Moorish language" seems to have greatly favoured his application, as also the fact of his familiarity with "Western Military Methods". He had arrived with letters of recommendation from the Governor of Coromandel".

Jean Francois attained in due course the rank of 1st Lieutenant, for the Council Minutes of May 1, 1765 record that "in order the better to remedy the great lack of officers in the Matara District he was appointed Commandant over the Sepoys in that area".

That he had sought admission into the Dutch Army is not surprising for other French Officers had done so previously, being impelled to this course, presumably, by the fact that at this period France had militarily been faring badly in Europe, America and also in India. These officers would appear to have bought themselves out and to have decided to seek their fortunes even in the service of another power.

No other official records than those above quoted have yet been traced locally but the "Wapenheraut". (i.e. Armorial Herald) Vol. III. p. 127, states that "Jean or Johan or Jan Francois Grenier, 1st Lieutenant at Colombo, left for Bengal in 1780"—in what connection we do not know. He had apparently married a Dutch lady some years after his arrival in Ceylon, for there is now in the possession of the family a certificate dated the 7th of June 1802 to the effect that John Francois Grenier, aged 26, was on that date registered as "an European licensed to remain on the Island of Ceylon according to the instructions contained in

an Order by His Excellency the Governor in his Council dated the 26th day of February 1802". This Certificate was issued from the "Jaffnapatam Cutchery" and is numbered "32". At least 31 other Dutch Burghers had therefore been also registered at this "Cutchery". At other Kacheeries too there must have been similar registrations. A full list of all such would be interesting. The necessity for such registration was doubtless because the British authorities felt at the time that they had to keep an eye on potential inciters of unrest, for we learn from the Douglas Papers, (1800) Edited by the late Fr. S. G. Perera, section 34, of a recommendation "not to allow foreigners, particularly French and Dutch, to settle without a licence". Another recommendation, at p. 137, also is of action "to render us independent of the Dutch and to destroy their influence in the country." History has, however, a different tale to tell of the better relations that developed between the British and the Dutch in a few years.

How Jean Francois the second came to be registered at Jaffna was that he was resident there in 1800, holding the post of "Book-keeper of the Sea Customs House". The Certificate has under the heading "Country" the entry "Colombo", where he must have been born. Who his mother was, has not been ascertained, which is not surprising if, as is likely, Jean Francois was a Catholic. She probably died when her son was a child, for there is also in the possession of the family a "stamboek" (family register) kept in Dutch in which is recorded by him the fact of his marriage to Charlotta Pietersz on November the 30th 1800 and that they had both been wards of the Orphan Chamber at Jaffnapatam. It seems not unlikely that his father when ordered off to Bengal in 1780 left his infant son (who was born in 1776) in the care of the State. Whether he ever returned to Ceylon is not known.

It is interesting to note that in the "Stanboek" the French form of the name "Jean" persists, and not any of the variations mentioned above.

Jean Francois and Charlotta had 9 children (v. D. B. U. Journal, XLII) of whom only the line of Frederic Charles has now any male representatives in Ceylon. From his elder brother William Jacob were, however, descended the late William Edward and Hubert Ernest, both of whom held important posts in the Civil Service. Frederick Charles was born in 1809. He succeeded his father as Secretary of the District Court Jaffna. He married Matilda Maria Aldons and had by her 12 children, 3 daughters and 9 sons. But the family was destined to be tried comparatively early by a severe blow, for their father died in 1861. At this date his eldest son Samuel was 21 years of age. Of the other children who survived their father, only 2 others were in their teens, 6 being still younger. Samuel had by then started to study law in Colombo, under Charles Lorenz and James Martenz. His father's death necessitated his return to Jaffna so as to make the necessary arrangements regarding his mother and the rest of the family—a heavy commitment for a young man who had barely started in life. On returning to Colombo, whither the family too came, he became Sub-Editor of the

"Ceylon Examiner". In a few years he resumed his legal studies and was admitted as an Advocate in 1864, but not being particularly successful he accepted the Secretaryship of the Colombo Municipality. After a few years he resigned this post and went back to the Bar, where now success came to him in full measure, so much so that in 1873 he acted on the Supreme Court Bench. In 1884 he was admitted to the English Bar and on his return to Ceylon was called upon to act as Attorney General, being appointed to the substantive post a few years later. In 1891 during his second visit to England he had the honour of being personally Knighted by Queen Victoria. Soon after his return to Ceylon, however, he took seriously ill and passed away on the 31st October 1892. He had married Emma Driberg, but left no male heirs. During his comparatively short life he had nobly shouldered and discharged his duty to the rest of the family, assisted later, as early as they could, by his brothers. Of these the next eldest was Gerard Francis who when his father died was only 17 years old. He secured a junior clerkship in the Jaffna Kacheheri, where he served 9 years. Promotion to Colombo resulted in his abilities being recognised in due time and he ultimately became Registrar of the Supreme Court, receiving the Imperial Service Order on his retirement in 1915. He had also been Secretary to the Council of Legal Education.

Of the other brothers Joseph Richard qualified as an Advocate and rose to be a Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court. Alfred became Asst. Colonial Storekeeper, John qualified as a Proctor and ended up as Registrar of the Supreme Court at Kuala Lumpur, while Charles was destined to make a name for himself in the business world of Malaya, where he founded the firm of Charles Grenier and Son and also published "Grenier's Rubber News".

With regard to the immediate descendants of the brothers above mentioned, a few words are perhaps called for concerning those of them who figured somewhat prominently in public life. Frank, the eldest son of Gerard Francis, having won the University Scholarship obtained his medical degree at Edinburgh and on returning to Ceylon joined the Department. He retired as Chief Physician of the General Hospital, but his reputation extended well beyond the limits of the official sphere for he had a wide private practice, amongst all classes. He died in England 14 years ago. His brother Vernon and their cousin Guy, son of Joseph Richard, continued the legal tradition of the family, the former becoming a Crown Counsel and the latter Registrar of the Supreme Court, while David a younger brother of Guy, entered the Judicial Service. He was Police Magistrate at Negombo, when he died accidentally of drowning. George another brother of Guy's, took holy orders and is now acting Vicar of Stubbington, England. Norman and Walter, the sons of John should also be mentioned. They made names for themselves in Malaya as Accountants and the firm of Walgren & Co., established by Walter, is of great repute in the country.

A SYMPOSIUM

THE DUTCH RECORDS IN CEYLON

1. The Origin of The Archives:—R. L. BROHIER.

The story is told that it was the urge to find the salt necessary for the preservation of the herring, and the determination to buy the commodity and spices at the place of origin, which drove Holland to far corners of the world in eastern waters. Howsoever it did happen that they forced their way on the Portuguese trail in ships, and in the face of great suffering and hardship ultimately crowned their efforts with success by securing for themselves the Indian sea-routes. This was the first step in the history of their expansion overseas and it manifested itself at the close of the 16th century. There followed the establishment of several trading companies founded by daring pioneers who set out on voyages of trade, exploration and adventure. But, eventually the Netherlands combined their efforts into one single enterprise and established a limited Company the name of which rendered in English was: Dutch East India Company. It had for its Trade Mark the well-known interlaced initials V.O.C. The Company was authorized to discharge the functions of a Government in East Indian islands and waters, to maintain armed forces, to make war and peace, and to exercise full administrative, judicial and legislative authority over the whole sphere of its operations.

It was in this sequence of history that the maritime provinces of Ceylon came to be rendered a part of the Dutch Colonial Empire from 1640 to 1796, and explains how Holland's flag came to be flown, for a period of a little over 150 years, over Dutch fortresses round Ceylon's coast. Some of these Forts know their place no longer. All of those which remain, are crumbling to ruin, except for one at Jaffna. The connoting signet:—The V.O.C.—can yet be traced if search is made for it, within these Forts, and on monument, furniture and china of the period; while the written word giving full details of the civil, military, political and ecclesiastical functions of the Company on matters pertaining to the Island repose in 7000 volumes which are in the custody of the Ceylon Government.

It would appear that the Dutch bestowed great care on their records. From very early time, about 1660, they had an official custodian; who, in the later stages of their occupation of maritime Ceylon even adopted the modern designation: "Archivist". Hence, besides ensuring their physical safety, the Dutch as custodians, compiled lists and catalogues of their written records from time to time, and periodically weeded out the papers of transitory importance.

Unfortunately, no records of the period of earlier occupation by the Portuguese had been passed on to the Dutch. In fact it would appear

that most of them had been wilfully destroyed in order to embarrass the Dutch by depriving them of such information as would be necessary for efficient administration during the crucial period of transition. This was specially so in regards to the Portuguese records described as *Tombus* or registers of land revenue which would have been of priceless value to the Dutch East India Company, since they showed what the villagers were obliged to pay yearly to the Government for the property they possessed. The only documents in Portuguese which survived and had found their way into the Dutch Records were the letters exchanged between Raja Sinha II and the Dutch. In reality, these too from the point of time, belong to the Dutch period.

When the British took over from the Dutch, by Article 4 of the Capitulation of Colombo, Governor van Angelbeek agreed to deliver to the British authorities: "all Public Papers" belonging to the Government of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon. The hand-over was faithfully done, except for the records at Jaffna and of some smaller stations, which were later found to have almost entirely disappeared. It must be presumed that they were either lost in transit, or deliberately destroyed secretly by some misguided officials, for the same reason which prompted the Portuguese to destroy their records.

It will thus be seen that the bulk of the Dutch records passed into British hands, but sad to recall, during the 19th century the British Government's interest in the Dutch records proved to be fitful and fluctuating. Record-keepers were appointed from time to time, but there were many intervals when the documents were left without attention, stacked untidily in vault or godown, and open to the ravages of white-ants. Their intrinsic importance came to be emphasised on the then Government in a strange manner.

Towards the end of the 19th century a retired Civil Servant: Mr. C. J. R. Le Mesurier, brought a series of land actions against the Crown claiming extensive properties on the basis of Dutch documents alleged to be land grants. The deeds he produced had to be checked against the originals and he challenged the Government to produce them. Forced in this manner to realize the value of the old Dutch Land Registers, and spurred to it by a despatch from the Secretary of State to whom Le Mesurier had carried his complaint, Government set about having the registers examined, and also considered it expedient to keep all the other Dutch Records in safe repository in order that they would be available for reference. But where was there the man in Ceylon who could carry out the undertaking?

Fortunately for the Government, and for posterity, they had in the person of Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, who at the time was acting as office assistant to the Government Agent of the Sabaragamuwa Province, a person who had a first rate knowledge of 17th century Dutch. He was seconded on the 15th of July 1899 as "Examiner of Dutch Records".

The deeds Le Mesurier produced referred to lands in the Galle District. All the Dutch Land Registers pertaining to this District had long reposed herded in a godown at the Galle Kachcheri but had about two decades earlier been sent to the Colombo Museum and lay dumped, helter-skelter, in several large tin-lined packing cases. They were transferred to the old Colonial Secretary's Office (now the Senate buildings) where temporary office accommodation had been found for Mr. Anthonisz. He set to work on them with a true feeling for the records in his custody.

So useful had been Mr. Anthonisz's early effort that in January 1902, Government made his office permanent with a change in designation to that of: "Archivist & Librarian". In time, he had retrieved all the Dutch records scattered in out-station Kachcheries and housed them in Colombo in his custody. When in 1907, there was published by the Ceylon Government Press a 140 page book by Anthonisz bearing the title "Report on the Dutch Records contained in the Archives at Colombo" he had amassed five distinct series of records which had never originally, or ever before, been brought together in one place. These were: (1) The General Records of the Dutch Government, (2) The Proceedings of the Political Council of Ceylon in Dutch times, (3) The Land *Thombus* of Colombo and Galle, (4) The Records of the Galle Commandement, and (5) the School *Thombus*.

This, in brief, is the interesting story of the creation of the Government Archives. Nevertheless, far more interesting than the story told, is the brief description of the Dutch Records in a 54 year old printed report by R. G. Anthonisz.

The nature and contents of this publication by Anthonisz justifies its claim to be classed an old Ceylon book. What is more, since it has long been out of print it is a rare book found only on the book-shelf of collectors of old Ceylon books. Its special merit is that it is the only printed publication, besides the catalogue compiled by Miss Jurrianse 36 years later. But it is this publication which in no small measure calls to life the seared and yellowed pages and the old ink in the 7000 musty tomes which cover a comparatively unworked field and an unexplored section of Ceylon's history.

The few translated extracts and illustrations of the scripts which are reproduced in the Report, reveal secrets picked by the author which make the past very real and prove him a born Archivist. Any reader with a sense of the past will find the old publication as exciting as the smell of desert sand must be to the Egyptologist.

It is not possible in this short review to consider separately each of the five sections classified earlier. The largest of these is the General Records which comprise nearly 3 of the seven thousand folios. The bulk of them fall under correspondence, but this section also includes transactions with the Kandyan Court, references to educational matters, deeds

and land court proceedings, and most valuable of all, the Memoirs left by the Governors on relinquishing office, also the Diaries and Journals kept in Colombo, and during the circuits of the Governors.

What thrilling and exciting bits of social history and events the Diaries and Journals reveal can be gleaned from just this one entry made 210 years ago, in the Colombo diary. It reads: Thursday, 25th November 1751,—“An extraordinary occurrence took place here this day. At about 2 o'clock in the early morning a wild tusker (elephant) made his entrance into the fortress by the Rotterdam Gate, through the archway where the water from the Castle moat has its outlet into the lake. He then went along the ramparts, past the Gaale Gate, and out again through the Point Enkhuysen. He then attacked the sentinel who was on guard at Kaffir's Gate, smashing his cartridge case and completely breaking and wrenching off one arm from the body with his trunk. He got down to the point facing Delft's Gate and marched along various streets of the Castle till 5 o'clock in the morning, when, at the gun carriage sheds which stretch up to the Justice Chambers, he came with a sailor who was proceeding to fetch drinking water, whom he seized and dashed to the ground, completely robbing him of life. He then retreated to the Amsterdam Gate where, finding no mischief that he could do, he ran towards Matroos Point; (which, I might explain, was the root of the S. W. breakwater.) Here the people saw him coming and shut the gate; whereupon he displayed his strength by making a hole in the wall with his trunk, and, turning round, would have wreaked his vengeance on a citizen who happened to be there, and who would have had to pay for it with his life, if a crowd of people had not assembled and scared the brute away. Thus surprised, he took his flight by the Matroos Point into the sea. His Excellency the Governor then ordered a party of fishermen with their thonies, and some Maldivians with their boats, to set out and capture him, having also provided a boat with some rope for the purpose. These, about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, made him fast, while his hind legs were under water, and thus, by 3 o'clock in the afternoon, he had been drawn out of the water on to the shore on the Galle road about three-quarters of a mile from Colombo. Then, breaking himself free of all bonds, and of all who pressed upon him, he took flight back into the woods”.

Many entries similar to this reveal the exhilaration pressed on the reader, who would naturally, judging by the title, feel that he would be called upon to wade through involved statements of old-time administrative procedure. This lends special interest to the compilation by Anthonisz from the point of view of the general reader, inasmuch as it provides valuable data to the more serious antiquarian and historian.

2. The Memoirs of the Dutch Governors:—S. A. W. MOTTU

Two of the most important and valuable contributions of the Dutch to the culture of Ceylon are the Roman Dutch Law, which is the basis of most of our Legislative enactments, and the 7000 odd manuscript volumes of the record of their administration of this Island.

These records are a veritable 'gold mine' of rare and useful information on the progress of the Government of this Island during the period of 150 years of Dutch rule over the Maritime Districts of Ceylon. They also furnish a valuable original source of documentary evidence for historical study and research on the political, social and economic conditions that existed at the time, particularly in regard to the relation between the rulers of the Maritime Districts and the various Sinhalese monarchs of the Kandyan Provinces in the Interior.

Unfortunately for students of Ceylon history these valuable manuscript records are all written in the Dutch language, and are not therefore readily available for use by those who do not possess a knowledge of Dutch. Through the good offices of the Government Archives Department, however, a fair number of the more important series of these records have been translated into English from time to time by the respective Government Archivists and their Assistants. Several of these translations have been printed and are now available for use, but not many copies of them are in current circulation. The major part of the translations that have already been published are the Memoirs left by the departing Dutch Governors of Ceylon for their successors. They form by far the most interesting and valuable series among the collection deposited at the Ceylon Government Archives.

According to the orders issued by the Governor General and the Council of India at Batavia, every Governor or Commandeur, and in fact any high official in the service of the Dutch East India Company, was expressly required to leave a Memoir for the guidance of his successor in office, outlining the principal points in regard to the administration of his particular office. Although no strict rules were prescribed as to the form of these Memoirs, some sort of tradition of how this had to be done grew up. In many cases, the personality of the author was freely reflected in the Memoir.

The Memoirs left by the Governors, as a rule, furnished a description of the country, its resources, its peoples, their customs, industries, etc., with special hints of a personal nature for the information of the incoming ruler. The subjects generally dealt with were treated more or less in the following order of precedence:—

Firstly, the General Revenue derived from the various commodities of which the Dutch held either the monopoly or a part monopoly, and the various taxes levied on gardens and fields, e.g. cinnamon, arecanut, paddy,

salt, chank and pearl fisheries, the trade in cotton goods, tobacco, elephants, timber, etc. It is quite natural that this was the principal item dealt with in all these Memoirs, as the Government was administered under the direction of the Dutch East India Trading Company. Among the taxes, several items are dealt with which furnish an interesting source of study of the social conditions of the country at that period, e.g. taxes for licences issued for travelling in a palanquin, the use of a 'sombreef' or sunshade, the wearing of gold medals, for exemption from 'Uliyam' service or other obligatory services by the several castes or grades of the local inhabitants, and even the formalities to be observed at their funerals and weddings etc.

Other matters connected with the general administration dealt with are :—

a. The General state of the fortifications, which contain much useful information of topographical and local interest.

b. The Civil, Naval and Military Establishments. Under this heading, some of the Memoirs contain a frank and free expression of opinion on the merits and demerits of the officials of the Company. A good example of this appears in Governor Jan Schreuder's Memoir which was written in the year 1762, during the disquieting period of their war with the Kandyan Kingdom, where he makes the following interesting remarks on the efficiency of the Company's officials of that period :—"As to what now relates to the efficiency of the servants of the Company at this place, there is not much to enthuse thereover, seeing that the efficient and zealous officers are only a few in number, and the rest are in such case as the Heer Imhoff testifies, for he who loves the truth cannot deny that I had to rouse and keep awake the majority of them as from a sleep of indolence and indifference which had totally crept over them, by continual urging, earnest admonition, threats, and even the imposition of fines, which were however usually remitted, in order to make them diligent and attentive to their duties, the which had such results that I have reformed many of them." "I must also confess", he adds, "to my regret, that the expectations that I had formed of some of them have been abused, and that I have seen illustrated the truth of the proverb that 'they are not all cooks who wear long knives', and that those upon whom one thought he could rely most committed the greatest errors in a moment of emergency".

c. Next in the general sequence was the description of the various religious establishments of the Dutch and the administration of their schools.

d. Then the ceremonies and events connected with the reception of the Ambassadors from the Kandyan Court, and the relations (political and economic) between the Dutch and the Kandyan Kingdom.

e. Then followed a description of the various communities and castes, and their grades and peculiar obligatory services.

i. Lastly, matters connected with the coinage, mint and exchange of the country at the various periods, and various other topics of lesser importance.

The Memoirs of the later period of the Dutch administration during the latter half of the 18th century, particularly those of the Governors Julius Valentyn Stein van Gollennesse (written in 1751), Jan Gideon Loten (written in 1757) and Jan Schreuder (written in 1762) also furnish useful and valuable information on the system of land registration and service tenures in vogue at the time, and the merits and demerits of the headmen system. This monumental work of the Tombo registration, which has been referred to as the Doomsday Book of Ceylon, was a survival of the Portuguese Tombo or register of holdings and the Foral or Register of quit rents, both of which in turn had been modelled on the Lekam-miti or feudal registers of Sinhalese times. Governor Schreuder, referring to it in his Memoir, says "A fully completed Tombo is important not only in respect of the least detail which concerns the country, but also of the good inhabitants thereof; and indeed in all civilized countries, nothing is so proper and natural than that the particulars regarding one's own territory and subjects should be noted down in writing in such a manner that it would not be possible for a child to be born, or a graybeard, however old he may be, to die, without some mention being made thereof".

The rights of the Dutch East India Company to maintain possession of the territories occupied by them in Ceylon was also a subject that formed the preamble to many of the Memoirs, each Governor being apparently under instructions from the Supreme Authorities to put his successor in possession of the facts of the case, that he might be able to resist any attempts either on the part of the Kandyan King or of foreign powers to encroach on the rights and privileges which the Dutch had gained at so much cost. Governor Simons, in his Memoir written in 1707, devotes much space to this subject, and he refers to the earlier Memoir left by Governor Joan Maatzuycker as early as 1650. Governor Schreuder too devotes more than one Chapter to this subject in his Memoir written in 1762.

There were 30 Governors in all who held office as such during the period of Dutch rule in Ceylon. Eight of these died while in office in the Island, and no Memoirs by them were therefore available for their successors. Nine of the remainder do not appear to have complied with the order of the Supreme Authority in Batavia in this respect, and left no Memoirs on their administration for the guidance of their successors. In the case of some of these, the failure to do so must have been due to their sudden transfer or removal from office. This was certainly so in the case of the infamous Governor Petrus Vuyst (after whom, incidentally the place now known as 'Vuystwyck' or Vuyst's Retreat in Mutwal, where he had his country seat was named), who was apprehended and removed from his office after a short but tyrannical rule of nearly three years as Governor of Ceylon.

Fortunately for students of history in Ceylon, thirteen of the Dutch Governors left most interesting and useful Memoirs on their administration in this Island, and these furnish a more or less complete record for a study of the development of the political, economic, social and religious conditions that existed at the time. English translations of all these Memoirs but one are now available for students of Ceylon history. Ten of them, with detailed notes and introductions, have already been printed and published from time to time during the present century, and manuscript translations of two others have been procured by the Government of Ceylon and are available for reference at the Government Archives.

While on this subject of the "Memoirs of Dutch Governors", mention must also be made of the valuable set of 'Instructions', left as a Memoir by one of the earliest and ablest Governors of Ceylon, Ryckloff van Goens the Senior, who later held the office of Governor General of the East Indies at Batavia. These 'Instructions' do not really fall under the category of "Memoirs of Dutch Governors" for their successors, which is the subject of my article but it would not be inappropriate to refer to them, as they contain a full and complete record of the Instructions issued from time to time during the very early period of the Dutch Administration in the Island from 1656 to 1675; and they form the basis on which this country was maintained throughout by the Dutch. The fact that Ryckloff van Goens the Senior was appointed a Special Commissioner to Ceylon in 1659, and later served as Governor from 1660 to 1675 with a short break, gives a special value to this compilation.

What I have so far said is more or less an introduction to the subject of the "Memoirs of Dutch Governors of Ceylon"; In subsequent paragraphs I shall endeavour to give you a more detailed account of the salient features of some of the Memoirs themselves, quoting extracts from them to illustrate the value of these historical records for acquiring a correct estimate and understanding of the aims and objects of the various Dutch rulers of that period, and the several policies adopted by them from time to time in the discharge of their responsible duties on behalf of their Lords and Masters, in the light of the peculiar conditions in which they had to govern the destinies of this land.

The possession of these historical Memoirs is a National cultural asset to this country, and it is fervently to be hoped that the good work that has been accomplished in the past of translating and publishing them from the Dutch, in which language they are written, will be continued for the benefit of the future generation in this country.

I now proceed to an analysis of this rare and interesting documentary evidence on the history of the development of the administration of this country during the period of Dutch rule over the Maritime districts of this Island from 1640 to 1796 A. D.

As I mentioned before, English translations of thirteen of these most valuable memoirs are available for those who wish to make a detailed study of the subject. It will hardly be possible for me in this brief talk to touch on the individual merits of all these memoirs. I shall, however, endeavour very briefly to give you a resume of the special features of some of the more important memoirs of the earlier stages of the Dutch administration, quoting some extracts from them to illustrate both the wealth of first-hand information which they furnish and the elegance of the language of their respective authors.

The first of the series of Memoirs left by departing Dutch Governors for their successors was that of Governor Joan Maatzuycker for his successor Jacob van Kittensteyn, written in the year 1650, six years before the capture of Colombo by the Dutch, when Galle was the official Headquarters of the Dutch East India Company's administration in Ceylon. Maatzuycker's predecessors were Willem Jacob Coster, who was murdered in 1640 a few months after his assumption of office, and Jan Thyssen, who was recalled by the Dutch authorities at Batavia on his precipitating a crisis in the Company's affairs in Ceylon by declaring war against Raja Sinha the Second, King of Kandy. Maatzuycker had the unenviable task of remedying the state of affairs in Ceylon for the Dutch, which he did by finally conducting a Treaty with Raja Sinha in August 1649, a few months before his departure from Ceylon. The friendly relations which then existed between the Dutch and the Kandyan King did not, however, favourably impress Maatzuycker, who warned the Government at Batavia "that no trust could be placed on Raja, who would never abandon his treacherous machinations." The usual presents were nevertheless exchanged at Maatzuycker's departure, the King sending him a costly jewel and Maatzuycker arranging for the despatch of a Tutucorin bell and a screw-jack "with other trifles" His Memoir is of special importance in that it includes a detailed recapitulation of the earlier history of the Dutch in Ceylon. He also narrates in detail the difficult relations which existed at the time between the Dutch and Raja Sinha, who, he says, "was often more than a match for his sagacious allies".

His Memoir also affords valuable information regarding the ancient system of service tenures, and illustrates the village economy in land where, as he says "no workmen can be obtained for payment on hire".

The Next Memoir, that of Governor Ryckloff van Goens (the Junior) for his successor Laurens Pyl was written in 1669 A. D. Referring particularly to the importance of the cinnamon trade he

says "Cinnamon is the bride round whom they all dance in Ceylon, and that which must bear the burden of the administration". An interesting comment in this memoir is that "boys who were of fit age to become soldiers were taken into the Company's service on salaries of from 9 to 10 guilders a month (i. e. less than Rs. 10/- in terms of current values). Referring to the annual Durbar (called "Paresse" of local chiefs, he says: "Twice a year all the mayorals and chiefs of each caste have to appear before the authorities to suggest in general what is necessary. Each has to bring some present. The mayorals bring fowls, and each caste offers some of the products of its trade. It is important to continue this custom. It was introduced in the time of the heathen Kings, was kept up by the Portuguese, and is now still observed by the Honourable Company".

The next memoir of Governor Thomas Van Rhee for his successor Gerrit de Heere was written in the year 1697 A. D. Governor Van Rhee's Memoir deals fully with many subjects either entirely omitted or only meagrely treated in other memoirs of prior or later date, e. g. the topographical description of the Company's fortifications, factories and Civil stations, and the characteristics and services of the various castes of the inhabitants of the Jaffna district, ranging from the Bellales down to the Wallias, whose duty was "to hunt and supply hares for the Commandant's kitchen". Detailed accounts of the names and properties of the seven different kinds of cinnamon are also given, and the several grades of the Chalias or Salagama people, who, according to a petition addressed by their representatives to Governor Rumpf in 1723, claimed to be a distinct race, which had been invited to Ceylon by the Sinhalese King some 650 years previously, nearly the same time as the Norman invasion of England.

No memoir was left by Governor Gerrit de Heere, who died in Ceylon while holding office as such. The next Memoir was that of Governor Cornelis Joan Simons for his successor Hendrik Beckker, which was written in the year 1707 A. D. Governor Simons was a Graduate in Law, and two important events of permanent influence have always been associated with him, e. g. the compilation of the Thesawalami, or Tamil Code of Laws, and the building of the first Leper Asylum at Hendala. Being a lawyer, a good part of his Memoir is devoted to the subject of the legal rights of the Dutch East India Company to the territories possessed by them in Ceylon. He also refers in detail to the relations between the Dutch and the King of Kandy, Sri Vira Parakkrama Narendra Sinha, describing him as a lad "only" about 17 years of age, but has already on various occasions shown a violent temper, directly opposite to that of his father, who was very mild, and displayed much zeal for the religion of the country". This description tallies with that of the Dutch historian Valentyn who says that he was a lad "of a very wild disposition, who showed in all his acts to be a dangerous man and a great tyrant"; though the Mahawansa, on the contrary, describes him as "a temple of wisdom and valour and virtue", and has nothing but praise for

his character as a most religious and meritorious ruler. This may be accounted for by the further comment made by Governor Simons that "on this account, the priests had a great deal of influence with him, and he chiefly followed their advice". The Governor also mentions a visit made by the late King to Adam's Peak to perform his devotions, when he offered a massive silver "Sombreiro" or sunshade and other presents.

The next Memoir is that of Governor Hendrick Becker for his successor Isaac Augustyn Rumpf, which was written in the year 1716 A. D. He assumed office at a time when the Company's revenues were greatly depleted, chiefly through neglect and dishonesty on the part of the Company's officials. The vigorous attempts to reform matters by a definite change in the general policy are best described in his own words: "From the commencement" he says "I made it a point to endeavour by every available means to discover the real state of affairs, and with God's blessing I have worked on steadily from year to year, and have been in a position to expose all the fraud and to lift the veil from the subtle mysteries presented before the eyes of rulers by dishonest servants. I met with many obstacles and much opposition, especially because the evils I proposed to reform were longstanding". With a good deal of pardonable egotism he proceeds to enumerate the various reforms effected by him, by which, he says "larger revenues were obtained than at any time previous to my rule".

The next Memoir in chronological sequence is that of Governor Jacob Christiaan Pielat for his successor Diederik van Domberg. This was the first of the series to be translated and published in the year 1905. I do not propose to comment in detail on this memoir, but shall pass on to one of a later period, where I shall refer in passing to extracts from this memoir.

The Memoir of Governor Gustaaf Willem, Baron van Imhoff for his successor Willem Maurits Bruynink, written in the year 1740, demands special attention. This memoir throws much light on the policy of the Dutch, and will furnish sufficient proof of the fact that they were not always, or entirely, guided by mercenary objects, a charge which is often brought against them. It will be found that under the rule of large-minded and enlightened Governors of the stamp of Van Imhoff, the interests of the country and its people were constantly kept in mind. The literary genius of the author is effected in the elegant and graceful style and language in which it is written. It is rich in proverb and metaphor, which the author freely uses to emphasise his arguments. A characteristic feature of the memoir is that the author does not hesitate to express, time and again, in bold and outspoken terms, with even a tinge of graceful sarcasm, his disappointment and vexation over the rejection by the Supreme authorities at Batavia of certain proposals made by him for reform in the administration. Referring to this in his advice to his successor, he says: "I cannot give Your Excellency any better advice, as no better was given to me when my considerations containing alternative

propositions for reform were rejected. I know that the opinion of His Excellency the Governor General and the Council of India does not agree with mine, and, as a matter of course, their suggestions have prevailed over mine with Their Excellencies in the Netherlands but how far, why, and to what purpose I cannot say. You will, therefore have to make the best of the matter, and adapt yourself to time and circumstances". He however, modifies his criticism in the latter part of his memoir. He stresses the need for continuing the usual practice during the annual embassies to Kandy of giving presents to the King and his courtiers, a course which, as he frankly admits, "he himself once rejected as being prejudicial to the dignity and good name of the Honourable Company". He discourages the practice of giving out too freely gifts of Company's land (Crown lands in modern terminology) to the local chiefs to ensure their loyalty in the service, though later, he carefully weighs the *pros* and *cons* of the existing native headmen system and ends his remarks by quoting the saying "The chimney must smoke for both parties". Governor Pielat too, in his Memoir, commenting on the same subject say ("This shows that the natives must be sometimes dealt with kindly, as) more flies are caught with a drop of honey than with a whole cask of vinegar". Referring to the extravagance in the expenses paid for local purchases in connection with the Company's internal trade, he again aptly quotes the saying "Even gold may be bought too dear". Both Imhoff. and Pielat before him, refer to the general slackness and in efficiency in the cadre of the Company's service at the time. Stressing the need for constant supervision of their work, Pielat quotes the Dutch proverb "The eye of the master fattens the horse", and van Imhoff, in his final note of encouragement to his successor also quotes the old proverb "We must row with the oars we have". He adds "We must not give way to our despondency, although we sometimes feel inclined to exclaim "The wise and the foolish receive the same treatment; as the one is dealt with, so is the other". Such considerations do not make right what is wrong, and would only weary us. Therefore, which ever way we may turn" says he, "it comes back to the same point of rowing with the oars we have in the vessel which is almost sinking from old age and decay. This I leave to Your Excellency as the principal axiom".

English translations of six Memoirs in this series have been printed and published by Miss Sophia Pieters, who came out to Ceylon early in the present century as Dutch Translator to the Government, under the able guidance and direction of the late Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist at the time, whom she eventually married in Ceylon. English translations of four others were later published by Mr. Anthonisz's successor, Mr. E. Reimers. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Government Archives Department and to these officers in particular, for their unstinted labours in translating and bringing to light this wealth of historical material which so long lay buried and forgotten in the repositories of the Government Archives. Even these published translation are now so rare that they are well worth re-printing.

CHARLES AMBROSE LORENZ

A Memento

Much has been written of the career and life of Charles Ambrose Lorenz. Recently there has come into our hands a little poem, by Simon de'Silva, author of the "English Garland in Ceylon", written and printed in Sinhalese shortly after Lorenz's death in August 1879, together with an English rendering of it. The poem is a little known publication and has been forgotten with the lapse of time.

In a preface the author commends his work to the public, trusting that it will be received favourably by all, in token of the invaluable services rendered by Lorenz to his fellow-countrymen. He says, that to furnish a true and lively description of his great talents and deeds which distinguished him both in public and private Society, is a task which should be undertaken by abler hands, and consequently he hopes that the public would overlook the blemishes that may be found in his work and will accept it as a record of the deep sense of gratitude and esteem the native community entertained towards their departed friend and benefactor.

Some years after the poem was published, actually in July 1908, a student who signs himself, D. Ethis Jayakoddy, made an English translation from a rough paraphrasing of the original poem by Simon d'Silva. He admits that beauty of language, idiom etc: which added lustre to the poem have been lost in the paraphrasing and that the English rendering has deprived the original of its classical value. Thus we have in the translation the poem expressed in rather a literal sense with somewhat faulty and out of the ordinary English words and expressions inserted on purpose to retain as far as possible the Sinhalese expression. (*Introduction by Editor.*)

— The Translation —

Sprung from the illustrious Judge John Frederick Lorenz, hailing from Germany, a Country in Europe well known for its warlike men, excelling in arts and sciences and famous to the world, Charles Ambrose Lorenz came over to the Island of Ceylon, the fame of which is known to many a country, and dwelt in the town of Matara.

Born on the 8th July 1829 Lorenz like all other children spent his earliest days of childhood playing about and enjoying himself as becomes children and was a source of joy to his parents and brothers and sisters.

This is incorrect. He was actually born at Matara.—Ed.



C. A. LORENZ ESQ. R.L.

D. J. WIMALASURANDRE
MUHANDIRAM
ENGRAVER COLOMBO

Copied from a Photograph

In the company of a number of young friends the child Lorenz used occasionally to play about and go to the Hat Bodiyawatte Walauwe. With his pleasant and jovial ways he won the hearts of all with whom he came in duly contact.

As years advanced the youth made rapid progress and became wiser, and with his friends used to go to the Kacheheri Gardens and bathe and play about in the Nilvala Ganga which flows alongside. In spite of his being a jovial and playful youth he often sought advice and instructions from his father, and thus became a very clever man, and had the favour of all his friends and relations.

At this stage he came over to Colombo when he sought admission to the Academy, and obtained instructions from the Reverend Boake. Here he made rapid progress in his studies and won the coveted "Turnour Prize". While he devoted his time to his studies, he also had a taste for and attentively studied vocal music. He also with the help of his friends issued an interesting pamphlet entitled "Young Ceylon" which was much appreciated and which contained a number of humorous articles and a deal of useful information.

Being now well versed in English Classics, he became apprenticed to his brother-in-law Mr. Driberg intending to acquaint himself with such requirements as are necessary to qualify him to be a Proctor. In time, following the advice and instructions of his master and brother-in-law, he became a Proctor and won the favour of people.

He fell in love with, and shortly after, made a happy marriage with the beautiful and accomplished Miss Eleanor Nell with whom he lived in harmony for a time here, and left for England taking her with him. In England he entered Lincoln's Inn, where he studied for a time and there made the acquaintance of many a learned man—he visited Holland and Germany and toured in the country visiting all places of interest and meeting many a man who was pleased to see him. After a period of two years he came back to Ceylon. His first concern on his return to the Island was to well establish himself as a Proctor. He performed his duties as such so satisfactorily that the phrase "Proctor Lorenz" was almost a household word. While thus practising his profession he was elected Member of the Legislative Council to represent the Burgher community. Here with the aid of the Singhalese and Mercantile Representatives he raised certain discussions regarding divers liberties of the people, but failing in gaining his objects he resigned from office with all the other elected members representing the various communities of the people. He was instrumental in organising a League for the furtherance of native interests and made representations to England when the peoples' rights were overlooked. And for the further advancement of the people he started the "Examiner" Newspaper and became its first Editor. In 1865 he was elected a member of the Colombo Municipal Council for the Kotahena Ward and did material good to the residents of that locality.

He contracted a chest disorder and for some time had taken treatment from Doctors Charsley, Roe, Koch and Loos, but their united efforts failed and on the morning of 9 August 1879 in the presence of his friends and relations he breathed his last.

Many indeed were the poor who mourned his loss—at every turn were to be found people who greatly regretted his demise.

By telegraph and otherwise the news "Lorenz is dead" spread throughout the length and breadth of the Colony. Sir Hercules Robinson the then Governor expressed his great regret by means of a letter of sympathy in which he deplored the loss to the Colony of such a great and useful man as Lorenz. Advocate Cayley on behalf of himself and the other Advocates and Proctors of Colombo addressed the District Judge in his Court expressing regret at the death of Mr. Lorenz an useful member of the Bar, and moved for an adjournment of the Court out of respect to his memory. Proctor John de Saram addressed the Judge in the Court of Requests in a similar strain, while Mr. James de Alwis did likewise in the Police Court and the various Courts suspended their day's work. Streams of friends and wellwishers and relations kept calling throughout the day to obtain a last glimpse of the face of one whom they counted as a friend and advisor, and the vicinity of Maradana presented a busy scene. Numerous indeed were the poorer people who called at "Carlsruhe" to mourn the loss of their benefactor.

Meanwhile the members of the deceased's Mazonic lodge made arrangements for a site in the Cemetery for his interment and sending workmen built up a Vault for the reception of the corpse.

On the Wednesday fixed for the funeral a large concourse of people attended. The funeral procession started from the house led by the Masons headed by Brother Ferdinands, Messrs Layard and Morgan and four other gentlemen uniformly clad in mourning walked on the sides of the hearse, while two or three thousand others followed the procession, which silently wended its way along Baseline Road and eventually reached the Cemetery Gates where the Reverend Mr. Bacon met the Coffin. He officiated at the graveside, and addressing the assembly said that all had to submit to the Holy Will of God and give heed to His call. The Coffin was lowered into the grave, and the large assembly, including Europeans, Singhalese, Burghers, Tamils, Moors, Malays and Bengalees who had gathered to pay their last respects to a great man silently dispersed.

Thus at length death overcame one who like unto the sun held, for a time, brilliant sway in the firmament of Ceylon. What then are the uses of worldly glory! And why do we men seek them?

As a remembrance of this great man I, Simon d'Silva has composed the above poem.

(Translation signed D. Ethoris Jayakoddy)

THE GOOD OLD DAYS — II

BY BAAS KIEUVELAAR [*ie* Baas Chatterbox]*(Serial continued from Vol: LI; Nos. 1 & 2, p: 41)*

Everyone was saying that the Rev. Gottlieb Heyliger was much too good for Negombo. He was a learned divine who should be stationed at Colombo. But the Negombians were not going to lose him in a hurry and the Predikant himself had no special desire to leave Negombo. What made the Rev. Gottlieb Heyliger regarded as a "stand out" Predikant was his knowledge of the history and geography of the Holy Land and the places mentioned in the Scriptures. He was specially strong on Mesopotamia—that blessed word. In one of his sermons he gave such a glowing account of the place, its fig-trees, date-palms, cedar and sycamore trees, its rippling brooks where the voice of the bul-bul was heard in the golden morn, that it fired the imagination of Jan Hartcop, the *opperhoofd*¹ of Negombo, who determined, in spite of the protestations of his wife, to take leave and visit the place. But no Dutchman felt disposed to accompany him on his journey. After some difficulty he found a cheap scoundrel of a coast Moorman, Abdullah, who said he knew the country and language and his services were gladly accepted. Hartcop wrote to his friend Johannes de Croes, Director of Persia, asking him to assist him. He was stationed at a place called Gamron, I think. Hartcop received an answer that a caravan would be leaving for Mesopotamia in a few days and that if Hartcop was prepared to undergo the hardships and privations of the Journey, he could arrange with the Arab chief to allow him to be of the party of weary travellers. Hartcop was mighty pleased when he received the letter, but everyone regarded him as an idiot. His wife Sara van Dam, the daughter of Steven van Dam, Commandeur of Galle, threatened to sue him for a divorce on the ground of malicious desertion and to return to her parents, if he persisted in undertaking the journey. But Hartcop was obdurate. Curses were heaped on the devoted head of the Predikant by the Hartcop family for being the cause of Hartcop's mad resolution, and the Predikant, finding that Negombo was no place for him, secured a transfer to Colombo. Some Dutch ships were leaving Ceylon for Persia and Hartcop and his faithful Abdullah were soon on their voyage and arrived safely at their destination. Johannes de Croes was absent from his station on an embassy to the Court of the King or Sultan of Persia, but he left full instructions that Hartcop should be properly started on his journey.

Never was a man so sadly disillusioned as Hartcop. Abdullah proved to be a fraud and deserted him. Instead of bul-buls and fig-trees Hartcop found the place full of flies, and smelly. It was not a fit place for a Christian to live in. But Hartcop was pigheaded and was not disposed to acknowledge his error. Instead of returning to Ceylon before the expiration of his leave, he was determined to stay

1. Chief Citizen

in Mesopotamia. In order to keep himself employed he engaged the services of a Mohammedan priest to teach him the principles of the Mohammedan religion. This priest pointed out to Hartcop that it was quite clear that the predikant was not telling the truth when he said all he did about Mesopotamia, and that if he could tell lies about Mesopotamia what he said about Christianity could not be worth much. Hartcop thought there was something in that and agreed to renounce Christianity and become a Mohammedan.

The state of feeling at Negombo could be better imagined than described when Hartcop returned to his station dressed in the weird costume of an Arab and resumed his duties as *opperhoofd*. It had got about among the Mohammedan community that Hartcop had been to Mecca and had been invested with some high rank among the faithful. Steps were immediately taken by the followers of the Prophet to give their "Lord Bishop," as they called him, a fitting reception. Pandals were erected, feasts were prepared, and the Moors were bustling about as if the fate of nations depended on the success of the function. In fact the lordly airs assumed by some of them so roused the ire and jealousy of the Buddhists that breaches of the peace were feared, but the *commandeerende*² sergeant Stokslager and his gallant half company had made every preparation to quell any disturbance, if such took place, which happily did not.

The function was quite a success, carried out as it was in that lavish scale characteristic of everything undertaken by the Moors. A full account of it was published in the volume of the *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*³ for that year. The Dutch community of Negombo mustered strong and were no doubt highly amused. Hartcop who was seated on a dais was sprinkled with rose-water, offered innumerable limes, and honoured with numerous kalinjes of Egyptian gold by every Moor presented to him. This precious metal would have come in very handy to Mrs. Hartcop as the basis of jewelry for her personal adornment, but she swore that she was not going to have anything to do with such a shameless apostate as Hartcop, and remained at Galle with her father. The Governor von Thorenlacher (who was German born) was a bit of a *farceur* and would have loved to be at the function but he could not leave Colombo that day as he had to receive a high official from the Coromandel coast who was coming on a special mission about the trade in arecanuts. The Governor was not for making any fuss about this affaire Hartcop. *Alles Zal recht komen*⁴ said he, and he was right.

It was not long before Mrs. Hartcop, who was still with the Commandeur with her daughter Sophia, received a visit from the predikant. He had succeeded so well in making peace with her that a few months afterwards she became his wife. Everybody was agreed that the apostacy of Hartcop *ipso facto* effected a dissolution of his

2. District. 3. New Netherlands Year Book. 4. All will come right,

marriage and left Mrs. Hartcop free to contract another alliance. When Hartcop's co-religionists heard of this they were for getting a Mohammedan wife for him. But as no Dutch woman in Ceylon would consent to qualify for the position, an up-to-date Moorish jeweller nicknamed "Abdul Hamid the Magnificent" said he knew a nice young lady at Smyrna, quite Dutch in her ways, who would suit. He fixed up the marriage on his return to Smyrna and the new Mrs. Hartcop was duly installed at the Residency, Negombo. But Hartcop somehow could not "hit it off" with his new wife. He bore with her for a few years and found no difficulty in divorcing her according to the Mohammedan law, returning her *maggar* and *kaicoolie* and sending her back to Smyrna but keeping with him the child of the marriage, Zenobia.

Soon after this a bumptious young *advokaat*, freshly arrived from Holland, wrote to the predikant to say that in his opinion Mrs. Heyliger had committed bigamy when she married him as her previous marriage had not been dissolved by a decree of court. The predikant was much put out when he heard this and was on the point of committing suicide. He however consulted a rival *advokaat*—a local product—who did not know what he was taking about, as it was pretty obvious from the derivation of the word "bigamy," that it referred to a man who married two wives and not to a woman who married two husbands, Heyliger told him that his opinion was not quite in accord with the Canon Law, as he remembered it, but the man of law effectually silenced him by saying that they were now concerned not with the Canon Law, but with the Civil Law. The predikant however soon after this, repatriated and, *ex-abundanti cautela*, obtained from the Prince of Orange letters of legitimization of his son Hendrik, the only other instrument of this kind in the East being that granted to the children of Governor General Baron van Imhoff who caused the Lord's Prayer to be translated into Sinhalese as a means towards converting the heathen. Heyliger also applied for a declaration of the validity of his marriage with Mrs. Hartcop, but this was refused as the marriage was clearly illegal, although, by the letters in question the ordinary legal result of illegal unions was not allowed to have its full force and vigour. This was however too subtle for the ordinary folk in Ceylon.

The insoluble points of law which Hartcop's case supplied the Law Students' Moots as matter for discussions, were numerous. It was argued that Hartcop, by his consenting, as he did to be appointed the guardian of Hendrik, denied that Hendrik was his son, because if Hendrik was his son, he need not have been appointed guardian, being already the natural guardian. To this it was answered that consent could not alter substantive law, and that a mere disclaimer by a father of paternity does not necessarily deprive a son of his status as such. Again, it was argued that as Hartcop was a Mohammedan at the date of Hendrik's birth, with the right of having four legal wives, the irrebuttable presumption was that Hendrik was his

child. Needless to say, all these discussions were most disagreeable to Hartcop. He soon became "fed up" with Mohammedism and reverted to Christianity, and Sara van Dam to him. But these discussions did not end here. Years rolled by and the Fates ordained that Hendrik and Zenobia should desire to be husband and wife.

The question was, "Could it be done?" "Were they within the prohibited degrees?" Leaving aside the theory of "they twain shall be one flesh," Zenobia and Hendrik were not blood relations. The clergy had doubts begotten of doubts, and the jurists were not agreed, according to the best traditions of their profession. So Hartcop and his previous history were again freely discussed among the busybodies of the place and he was beginning to think that life was not worth living.

The Governor was appealed to. He failed to see any law in the matter. The law was a "hass" and it was a question of common sense. There being no *caveat* filed, he granted letters of *venia* or some such authorization, and the marriage took place in due course.

Hartcop was known as "The man who did", and his case was cited for many years by future generations as an instance of the inconveniences resulting from not being conventional in the Good Old Days.

The objects of the Union shall be :

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.

FRANCOIS VALENTYN, THE GREAT HISTORIAN OF THE DUTCH INDIES

(Translated with notes by the late Mr. F. H. de Vos from the Dutch of Reverend C. A. L. Van Froostenberg de Bruyn in his *Biographisch Woordenboek Van Oost—Indische Predikanten*).

Francois Valentyn was born at Dordrecht on the 17th April 1666 and baptised five days afterwards. His parents were Abraham Valentyn Praeceptor later Conrector of the Latin School there and Maria van Rysbergen. He was educated at his native city and was originally intended as Conrector at the same Latin Schools. He began his academic studies at Leyden on the 20th February 1682. He was thus, when he became a student not, as the Album of that University states twenty years old but only sixteen. This agrees with what we read of him elsewhere that he was already proponent in his seventeenth year, and that he left for the Indies as predikant a month after he attained his nineteenth year. On the 12th April 1684 he went through his preparatory examination by the classes of his native city, and being called to the Indies the same year, he was finally examined by the classes of Schieland on the 21st February, 1685. He left Hellevoetsluis in the jacpt "Moorkapel" (Captain Jan van Vilson) on the 10th or 13th May of the last-named year. A month later he preached in the Bay St. Jago (Cape Verde Islands) on board the Amsterdam Ship "de Waalstroom". He arrived at Batavia on the 31st December of the same year and lodged with the predikant of the Malay congregation, Isaac Hellenius¹.

Shortly before his departure from Holland he had preached for the predikant Abraham Hellenius at Nieuwkerk close to Zouda. What family relationship there was between those two Helleniuses is not known to me. Abraham Hellenius was the son of Johannes Hellenius Rector at Zouda. He himself was first conrector at Dordrecht, but in 1674 he was called to Nieuwkerk on the Yssel as predikant and he died there in 1691. Perhaps they were brothers or the one was a dear teacher of Valentyn's young days, but it is remarkable that Valentyn had lodged with both.

On the 21st January 1680 he was called to Amboina on a salary 80 guilders a month. He enjoyed this for a year. Afterwards this was increased to 100 guilders on account of his zeal in his Malay studies and his undertaking to preach in that language. This had relation to his first agreement for five years. On his voyage from Batavia

¹ Arrived at Batavia by the "Hellevoetsluys" 9th Dec. 1680. Died 30 Augst 1689.

to Amboina, Valentyn had remained at Japara from the beginning of March to the end of that month. This has perhaps given rise to the impression that he was stationed there as predikant. With the store ship "Voorschoten" he set sail afterwards from Java to Amboina where he arrived after a month's sailing, on the 30th April 1686. Valentyn was intended by the Seventeen expressly for Amboina at its headquarters Fort "Victoria". He could not therefore be appointed to other stations. And was also relieved of the duty of church visits to such stations. But these favourable arrangements of the Seventeen were not regarded in the Indies. On the 17th July 1687 Valentyn was sent from Amboina to Bonda. Indeed according to the express orders of the Council of India and the Governor-General, the most junior Amboina predikant Cornelis van Brussel² was to go there. Valentyn did the journey in the ship "Naardermar" and arrived there on the 8th August.

He remained there ten months. On account of the death of Rev. Jacobus de Bois³ and the departure of Revd. Carolus Manteau to Batavia, Valentyn had by himself to take charge of Neira, Lonthoir and Poelse—Aij and had to preach every third week at each island. About this time, 1687, a brother and sister had come out to him from the Fatherland. The former, Johannes Valentyn, was appointed at Banda Overdrager van't Soldijcomptoir, but died at the end of the following year at Banda—Lonthoir, perhaps of poisoning. His sister, who had just arrived when Valentyn had to go to Banda, remained temporarily at Haroekoe with his friend Abraham Veekens and his wife. Later, after the return of her brother from Banda. She went to live with him and keep house for him at Banda, but she soon afterwards married the Ensign Paulus de Brieving. Her son was baptized Simon. In May 1688 Valentyn returned to Amboina. He had by now preached for some time in Malay and religiously continued to do so, by reason of which, his salary was raised to 120 rix dollars a month. From 1689 he was busy with the translation of the Scriptures into low or ordinary Malay, a work which created a great stir both in the Indian and Dutch church circles for many years. On the 12th October 1692 Valentyn married at Amboina, Cornelia Snaats,⁴ widow of Henric Leydekker, "Borger—Capitein" and member of the Court of Justice. This Mr. Leydekker appears to have been a rich man, at least he lost at a fire from 16 to 18000 rixdollars. The widow Ley-

² Arrived in the Indies as Krankbezoeker 27 Aug. 1685 in the ship Voorschote. Died at Haroekoe 20 Sep. 1691.

³ Born at de Ryp (N. Holland) 1645, arrived at Batavia (ship de Vryheid) 1st April 1680, died at Amboina in Valentyn's house 25 May 1687.

⁴ Cornelia Snaats was the sister of Antony Snaats of DenBriel Commandeur of Galle 1715—19.

dekker had, when she married Valentyn, two sons and two daughters⁵. The youngest of the girls was named Patronella Cecilia, who, in her thirteenth year, was already a celebrated linguist. In his great work *Oud en Nieuw O—Indie D1. 1* (Beschryving der Molukkos) bl. 120 en 121, Valentyn has himself preserved a copy of a letter dated 21st November 1709, from the King of Batsjan with an Arabic letter by Juffr. Cornelia Valentyn. The manuscript is preserved in the Academical Library at Leyden No. 1625. 4/10 pages, and the addition "juffrouw" in the copy of the said letter confirms my opinion that this juffrouw was the wife of Valentyn. I suspect that here by the words "Juffr. "Cornelia Valentyn" is meant the wife of Valentyn. If my opinion is correct, I found thereon a supposition. By "Cornelia" is meant his wife, she was longer than he was in the Indies, perhaps born and educated there. If so she knew better than he the low or common Malay, his fondness for which Valentyn so often loudly proclaims. If this be so, he was able to obtain much profit in this respect from her. Most likely she learnt from him the Arabic characters and could therefore get a better insight into the constitution of the Malay language, so that the one turn helped the other, and in this manner, his daughter also could get a name early in life, unless Adelung had made a mistake in the name of the daughter. Valentyn's own daughter was called Maria.

He had also by marriage a brother-in-law Antoni Snaats. On account of his shaken health Valentyn resolved to return to Holland. Another object of his repatriation was to see through the press the publication of his Malay translation of the Bible. He thus left Amboina on the 7th May 1694 and arrived, on the 7th June, at Batavia. On this voyage Valentyn, his wife and five children—among whom were the four step-children—nearly suffered ship wreck at the "Laars", a dangerous sand-bank not far from Macassar. He embarked at Batavia with his family in the ship "Waddinxveen". The voyage to Holland had to be done in company with 7 more return-ships⁶. At the end of February 1695 they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. They remained there till the middle of April and on the 24th August they arrived at Hellevoetsluis. In 1695 Valentyn had been absent ten years, three months and eleven days. He went to reside at Dordrecht. It will not seem strange that

5 The two sons were Gerard and Bartholomeus Gerard Deydekker married, 2 March 1710, Anna Wolkman widow of Paulus Augustus Rumphius, chief of Larike, son of George Everhardus Rumphius Anna Wolkman's daughter by her 1st marriage was Adriana Augusta Rumphius, who married 19 July 1711 Gerard's brother, Bartholomeus Leydekker orderkoopman. One of the two daughters was Petronella Leydekker who married at Amboina 8 July 1708 Balthazar de Bruyn.

6 The Admiral of the Return — Fleet was Regnier de Vos opperkoopman and late Dissve of Matara and later "Schepen" at Batavia. He was assistant (Galle) 1667, onderkoopman (Matara) 1674, chief of Baticalo, Dissave Matara 22 Sep, 1684. He married at Matara August 1674 Elizabeth de Ville, widow of Andreas Peitirs Pellicaen, Schipper, and had by her Bartholomeus de Vos, baptized at Matara 18 Aug. 1675.

Valentyn should be very much attached to his birth-place and that he received there many proofs of special love and regard. On his second departure for the Indies he was obliged to preach a farewell-sermon to the congregation there. He delivered this sermon on the 8th March 1705 in the Groote Kerk taking his text from the Acts of the Apostles 20—4. His return was due to the solicitations of some influential men and good friends. And it was without precedent in Indian History that Valentyn should be elected direct for the congregation of Amboina by a "distinguished lawful call", and indeed for the capital, where, on his departure there, were six predikants.

Thus he left for the second time for the Indies accompanied by his family and sailed from Texel on the 10th May 1705 in the ship "t Hof van Kpendam" (Captain David Codde) in company with 9 East-Indian ships and escorted, as far as Gibraltar, by 15 war-ships. Through the caprice of the chief sturman they sailed past the Cape of Good Hope, whereby, under the circumstances in which they were placed, they could not be exposed to the slightest danger. When they arrived at the Cape on the 29th September, there were 60 ill on board and 14 of the crew had already died. At Stellenbosch Valentyn preached very often for Revd. Petrus Kalden. On the 7th October they left Table Bay and arrived at Batavia on the 27th December 1705. On the 1st February 1706 Valentyn appeared before the meeting of the Church Council, the then highest church governing body at Batavia. About his reception by that body and the suspension of the publication of his Malay translation of the Bible, see the letter from Batavia to the classis of Amsterdam dated 7th February 1707. The church council declared that they had never seen his translation and requested inspection. Valentyn agreed to this and the church council commissioned Revd. P. V. D. Vorm, H. Coldehorn and Corn. van der Sluys to examine the same. This commission disapproved of the work and proposed corrections, to which Valentyn said he agreed. "But it appeared from this also how Revd. Valentyn had misled the Synod" "and the classis. But the church council wished to give Valentyn" "friendly warning and forget every-thing". He produced a letter from the Synod of North Holland and one from the classis of Amsterdam. What regard and consideration the ecclesiastical Societies had for him is seen from the following words of the said letter from the Amsterdam classis to the Church Council at Batavia dated 13th January 1705. (This letter was in a very valuable collection of letters in the possession of Mr. Boigers, then book-seller at Utrecht, who very kindly allowed me the use of the same) "the commissioners of Indian affairs were asked" to write on behalf of Revd. F. Valentyn to the churches of Batavia under Amboina (?) "so that the brethren there may receive him with sincere affection in consequence of the worthiness of the man, who is known to be a" "moral, amiable, refined man of most pleasant intercourse which" the Christian Synod of North-Holland also take him for, he being "further endowed with many gifts required in a faithful servant of "the New Testament etc."

On the 22 June 1706 Valentyn was chosen army chaplain for an expedition to the east part of Java. The predikant Abraham Feylingius, who was intended for this purpose, was ill. Valentyn felt not a little embarrassed by this resolution of the Governor General, the more so as it was a strenuous and difficult expedition. Indeed he was appointed by the Directors expressly for Amboina and could not be sent from there to any outside stations. He was threatened that if he refused to go he would be sent back to the Fatherland. Valentyn sought in vain to be exempted from undertaking this unpleasant Journey. The brusque answer he received from Mr. Abraham Van Riebeeck is well known⁷. van Riebeeck was then only Director General of Commerce, later Governor-General and by this answer the Directors, so to speak, received a slap in the face. van Riebeeck dared to as follows:—The Directors in the Fatherland have so resolved and it is also thus laid down to us: that is so. But the Directors can resolve "what they like but we shall do here as we think best to their service. "You may go round to all the Councillors as you like. You will either go on this journey or return to the Fatherland." And that the threat contained in the last words was in earnest is quite clear as afterwards the Directors do not seem to have taken any notice of it or taken any steps to punish such behaviour and bold language. Valentyn went and followed the military force at Java: the krankbezoeker Hillebrand Janszoon of Ulkmaar accompanied him. But the (Valentyn) became deadly sick and was still sick and weak when he returned to Batavia in the middle of November.

Valentyn returned in the ship "Slooten" (Captain Koert Gerritszoon Hooft) on the 7th February, 1707 from Batavia to Amboina when he, about, the middle of March, landed with his family. Two stepsons and one step-daughter married there. Valentyn wrote—so it was stated from Batavia to Amsterdam 9th January 1710—as scriba epistolarum of the church at Amboina very artfully bitterly and sharply, with scorn and abuse of the church council of Batavia. About him, his Malay translation of the Bible and the use to be made of it, see the letter from Batavia to the classis Amsterdam dated 20 Oct. 1710, and ditto 29th Dec., 1712. Valentyn remained at Amboina till 1712. In November 1712 he was ordered to Ternate. But he declined to take up the appointment on the ground that he was not bound to do as for the well known reason that according to the Directors, he was expressly meant for Amboina.

Thereupon his salary and emoluments were cancelled. At last, at his request, he received his discharge to repatriate but without office. In a letter written at Batavia 8th Feb. 1713 to the classis of Amsterdam, Valentyn gives his reasons for his refusal to go to Ternate,

⁷ Born at the Cape 18 Oct. 1653, son of Johan van Riebeeck of Culemborg founder of Cape Colony, and Maria Quevellerius. He married at Batavia 1678 Elizabeth van Oosteh, born at Delft 1660. His daughter Johanna Maria Van Riebeeck, born at Batavia 15 February 1679 was the second wife of Gerrit de Heere, Governor of Ceylon.

complained of the injustice done to him and requested the help of the classis to grant his resignation. To this he added a very appreciative farewell and testimony of worth from the Church council of Amboina, dated 20 May 1712 signed by Revd. Arnoldus Brants. There are a few of such letters in the Archives of the classis of Amsterdam.

In November 1713 he embarked with his family on board "de Engewormer". After a stay of 43 days at the Cape of Good Hope they reached Holland in August 1714. So glad and pleased was Valentyn by "God's special favour to find himself so close to the Dutch coast and their" port (opposite Helvoet), that he, in sheer gladness of heart gave to the pilots all his fine Cape Constantia wine (although he had not much to spare) and $\frac{1}{2}$ anon fine Cape preserved quinces, together with $\frac{1}{2}$ an anon of fine salted cabbage" ("although" he says "I felt sorry for it afterwards"). He also gave them, before they left, some presents and sweets for their wives and also some pounds of tea as a present. In 1715 they had him in view as predikant at Dordrecht after the departure of Revd. de la Morasiere (schotel. klk. Dordrecht II bl. 192). Again he took up his residence at Dordrecht. Valentyn set up at Dordrecht, before he settled at The Hague, a collection of Marine specimens about which members met at stated times and had scientific discussions on each others collection of shells, including Indian shells. He died at the Hague on the 6th August 1727. These are three pictures of him. That made for his great work by Houbraken, represents him in his 58th year.

Valentyn's chief merits are as a writer. His invaluable work "Oud in Nieuw Oost-Indie" Dordr. en Amsterdam 1724—1726, 5 dln. fol 10. 8, bounden enriched with more than 1050 engravings, for that time" a sort of encyclopaedia for information regarding the East Indies, lays a certain foundation for he has looked into an inconceivably large quantity of matter and published his data generally with much trustworthiness. That work, a wonder of the age written in spite of the then inevitable rule about secrecy, is the strongest refutation of all sophisms for secrecy, for up to this day (15 March 1862) no work has seen the light that for detail and wealth of information, has been of more use to the East Indies. Valentyn's example has scarcely been followed, never equalled, indeed everything written before and after him about the East Indian Archipelago, must be compared, investigated and tested by his work. Such value was attached to this great work that more than 50 years ago the booksellers, Joh. van der Hey & Son had ventured to start a subscription paper to reprint this work in 6 octave volumes. They could however not get the requisite number of subscribers for such a costly undertaking. In our days prof. S. Keyzer has provided a new edition to meet the needs of our times, containing notes, full index, chronological lists etc. in three parts at the Hague 1856—1858. The first idea of such an edition was started by A. Baron Collot d'Escury.

When the Governor-General van der Capellen⁸ visited the Molocess in 1824 he found so much of what was true in the description by Valentyn that he could not believe that this work had already been written 100 years ago. Often have I read out of it to one who had been many years in the Indies and he often involuntarily exclaimed. "It is still just so."⁹

8 Mr. Godart Alexander Gerard Philip, Baron van der Capellen, born at Utrecht 15 Dec. 1778 was the son of Jonker Alexander Philip van der Capellen and Jonkvrouwe Maria Teats van Amerongen.

9 *Valentyn. Francois* — Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vervattende, Naaukeurige en Uitvoerige Verhanbelinge van Nederlands Mogentheid in die Gewesten, benevens eene wydlustige Beschryvinge der Moluccos, Amboina, Banda, Timor, en Solor, Java, en alle de Eylanden onder dezelve landbestieringen behoorende; het Nederlands Comptoir op Suratte, en de Levens der Groote Mogols; als ook een Keurlyke Verhandeling van twenz enlykste, dat men behoort te weten van Choromandel, Pegu, Arracan, Bengale, Mocha, Persien Malacca, Sumatra, Ceylon Malabar, Celebes of Macassar, China, Japan, Tayouan, off Formosa, Tonkin, Cambodia, Siam, Borneo, Bali Kaap der Goede Hopp en van Mauritius. 5 Vols. in 8, Folio with over 350 maps and plates; Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724—26

The 5th volume contains a description of Ceylon, a complete English translation of which has never been published, though according to Emerson Tennet, 11, 32, "a very incorrect and imperfect translation" was made by order of Sir Alex Johnston when Chief Justice of Ceylon, the manuscript of which is among the collections of the Royal Asiatic Society. Portions were translated by *Philalethes* in his work on Ceylon.

See also "Ceylon Manuscripts in the Indian Office Library" The Mackenzie Collection by John M. Seneviratna. The *Ceylon Antiquary* Vol. 11 Pt iv April, 1917, page 258.

The objects of the Union shall be :

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

SEVEN TRAGIC MONTHS

When Portuguese Colombo was besieged by the Dutch

By G. V. G.

In the 17th Century the Dutch had for some decades been endeavouring to deprive the Portuguese of their possessions in Ceylon. In 1638 they started their series of conquests with the capture of Batticaloa. In 1639 Trincomalee fell and in 1640 both Negombo and Galle. In 1656 Kalutara was captured, followed by that of Colombo, which took seven months to subdue, which result was attained not so much by the use of arms but as a result of blockade and starvation, both military reinforcements and munitions of war from Goa and food from anywhere at all being prevented from reaching the beleaguered fortress. And whatever Portugal may have to say in these days as to the practically bloodless manner in which India re-possessed herself of Goa last year the Goanese may well give thanks that they were spared such terrors and trials as had to be faced 300 years ago by the Portuguese of Colombo.

The siege of Colombo started on the 18th of October 1656. General Gerard Hulft had by then arrived in Ceylon as the Dutch Commander-in-Chief. His forces surrounded the fortress and he himself set up his Camp on the San Sebastian Hilltop, thus giving to the locality its present name Hulftsdorp. After continuous bombardment of the fortress for some weeks Hulft decided to storm it both by land and by sea. Its area at that time was considerably larger than the "Fort" of the present day, for it included also the Pettah — between Reclamation Road and Norris Road, with St. John's Road and Gas Works Street as, roughly, its northern boundary. Within this fortress the Portuguese had according to Fr. S. G. Perera, author of the "History of Ceylon", "less than 500 soldiers and about half that number of civilians able to bear arms." An anonymous Portuguese account of the Siege — regarded as substantially accurate by Baldeus and printed as an Appendix to his own "Description of the Grand Island of Ceylon" — puts the total within the fortress as 1300, including "black as well as white, weak children and Toepasses, and some 450 Laskarijs." All who could possibly do so, "even the aged and schoolboys" were required to take up arms, and some of the clergy too volunteered. This anonymous account is stated by its compiler to be based on "a Journal kept in Colombo as well as on certain other proofs which have been compared and revised by such of the ecclesiastics and laymen as were present with all loyalty and devotion from the commencement of the Siege up to the end of it."

Hulft's attempt to take Colombo by storm did not succeed and he was himself in the course of it wounded by a musket-ball in his left thigh while helping with the scaling ladders. The anonymous writer states that before this happened Hulft had been encouraging his men, pretending that the S. Jan Bastion had been captured, and adding "They are

invoking S. Iago." He is then said to have also ejaculated "Sante Diabo." Baldeus in a marginal note denounces this statement as a falsehood, stressing that Hulft was too devout a man to have thus attributed sanctity to Satan, even in jest.

Famine

Hulft then called off the attack and decided, as he reported to the Governor of Surat, to "remain quietly in our entrenchments and trust to the famine which is already becoming acute in the town to do the work." Conditions within the fortress had indeed become more serious than ever, for by now thousands from the suburbs had also been allowed to seek refuge within the walls. From time to time hundreds of these were expelled. They tried to enter the Dutch area but were not admitted there either, with the result that most of them died of starvation, some even drowning themselves in the lake. "They were almost all Christians", says Rebeiro, (Pieris' translation) "brought up amongst us and living under our protection." The lack of food compelled some to eat what roots they could dig up, while others ate dogs, cats, and rats and the flesh of dead elephants. "Entire families of Portuguese of position were found dead in their own homes." Rebeiro also says that one native woman who had "her little infant at the breast when her milk began to fail her and thinking it was sure to die" killed it, intending to use it as food. She was arrested and condemned to be shot whereupon some pious priests "pleaded with the General that she "could have no greater punishment than being compelled by hunger to kill her own son" and she was pardoned. There were "rumours of other like cases" too. The more wealthy ladies bartered their best jewels for a small measure of rice.

Disease and Drought.

Shortage of food was not the only trial the Portuguese had to face, for disease, including dysentery and small-pox, also began to take its toll of the population. According to Rebeiro between the 15th of March 1656 and the 20th of April no less than 22,030 persons were buried. "After that date men were wanting for burying the dead." Unseasonable drought too was a further trial. "God in His wisdom ordained that though it rains here three or four times a day as it is so close to the equator, yet during the whole period of the siege it never rained." No wonder the anonymous writer said "All existing Powers seemed as it were entered in league against us." A Black Market too began to exist and many public servants also took to forging and uttering base coinage to "alien traders in the name and on behalf of the King."

All military action between the parties was not however wholly suspended, for they kept on cannonading at each other, not to mention resort to musketry and grenades and mines, whenever possible. The Portuguese also found it next to impossible to repair their damaged fortifications, for which purpose beams had to be removed even from churches.

The types of missiles used by the Dutch also seriously disconcerted the besieged. Even stones and grenades were often discharged at them from Dutch mortars, one enormous grenade in particular being described as "a hell-born monster." Bombs "of great size" also often fell and even smaller ones which carried "20 to 25 tubes like little pistols charged with two balls," which scattered in all directions even before the bombs themselves exploded. "The greatest trouble," says Rebeiro, was caused by a device which "only the devil himself" could have invented. It was one whereby "wedges and large stones" were shoved into mortars and fired at the same angle and target as the bombs. The Portuguese retaliated by using stones in a small mortar from which they used to fire into the Negombo Fort coconuts (filled with powder and covered with tow, resin, and other stuff," and which though ridiculed by the Dutch caused them, says Rebeiro, "a deal of anxiety.") At certain points, according to the anonymous writer, the two parties were found at such close quarters that even stone-pelting was indulged in, as also sometimes some conversation.

Though the Dutch pinned their hopes mainly on the effects of starvation they still continued to create breaches in the walls and to seek entrance at various points by mining, by which means the Portuguese also tried to get at closer grips with the enemy. Finding their position daily getting more hazardous they even appealed to the Sinhalese Emperor claiming that Colombo was "the ancient heritage of the Portuguese nation left to them in bequest by former Kings and Potentates, your Majesty's forefathers, in consideration of important services rendered." This appeal failed, the reply to it being drafted by General Hulft in consultation with the Emperor. Hulft had indeed previously invited the Portuguese to surrender but was met with a refusal. Some months later, and only a month before the final Capitulation, their surrender was again demanded but General Coutinho again refused, declaring that he was "determined to defend the Fort to the utmost of my power for the service of my Master the King."

And so the contest dragged on, a number of desertions also further thinning the Portuguese ranks. Finally a Council of War had to be called. Says Rebeiro, "Some voted for sending the few women and children we had into a church and setting it and the whole city on fire, while the few men who remained should die sword in hand." The Prelates of the religious orders vetoed this suggestion stating that it was "our duty to resign ourselves to the will of God." The result was that negotiations for surrender were opened "to the considerable relief of the Dutch whose casualties were so heavy that of European soldiers," says Pieris, "only 1287 remained fit for service." On the 12th of May 1656, the terms of the Capitulation were signed. The gates were flung open and "with colours flying and drums beating there marched out the men to bring whom to the point of surrender had cost seven months of such arduous toil and so much blood and treasure. First there staggered forth 73 living skeletons, not a few of them moving with the aid of a crutch or supporting themselves with a stick grasped in the one hand which was left." (Pieris). According to Rebeiro, the Dutch assumed that these 73

were all officers and were preparing to receive the rank and file. When told there were no more soldiers "they changed colour, a great sadness following the cheerfulness with which they had received us."

"Thus did His Majesty lose" says the anonymous writer a dominion thrice inherited, more extensive than Portugal and much richer and more prolific, and in all the wide world no finer region does the Sun shine on. So is lost to us the heart of the Orient and thereby all that lies south of Cape Comorin is also endangered."

Heroism

Rebeiro and the anonymous writer recount several instances of remarkable heroism displayed by individual defenders, amongst whom were even some women and priests. Rebeiro instances the case of a woman who, hearing that the enemy had entered the breastwork of the Santa Cruz bastion, seized a halberd and marched bravely to that place and there remained so long as the enemy did not withdraw." A more remarkable case had occurred at Galle when Captain de Brito "had received five wounds and a musket shot which broke his leg and felled him to the ground. The enemy rushed on him to kill him; but his wife seeing this, threw herself over him crying out that they might kill her but that they must not touch her beloved husband who was so badly wounded that he was now at his last gasp.....A Captain of the enemy faced round and kept the others back, telling her that she could be assured that he would defend her". He was as good as his word and also had de Brito cared for by a surgeon. On recovery he and his wife with other prisoners were sent to Batavia where "they were received with every honour."

Of the priests who took up arms it was Father Damiaan Vieira, S.J., who particularly distinguished himself. His behaviour, Rebeiro says, was "that of a most careful and zealous Captain rather than that of a professed priest. I declare that the Society may be proud of such a soldier and the soldiers of such a Captain."

Details of the various services rendered by Father Damiaan are to be found mainly in the account of the Siege given by the anonymous writer. It was not always only aggressive military action that he indulged in, for he also took part in repairing damaged fortifications, collecting cannon balls and even in boarding a Dutch ship which had been abandoned and removing therefrom "several barrels of wine and a stock of salted meat." He used also to venture out to bring in corpses of Portuguese who had perished in battle so as to give them proper burial. As for military activities he was particularly useful as a leader of surprise night attacks on enemy parties. On one occasion he took part in setting on fire a gallery and "in the sight of all levelled to the ground three of the enemy." On another occasion he with seven others sallied out at night and "falling on the enemy's entrenchment brought away the implements with which they had been working." Yet again he once "met the enemy pressing down a street and with two successive discharges of his bacamarte he

soon cleared the street. His weapon, however, being overcharged and overheated "flew off his hand with such violence that he was struck down, but resuming his feet he grasped his sword and shielded by his buckler continued to aid the others." He indeed appeared to bear a charmed life, for it is also recorded that when once in the van of a reconnoitring party "his confederates (who were at a distance of no more than 6 paces in the rear) mistaking him for an enemy, fired their heavy bacamarte charges at him," he was unharmed, "his preservation being viewed as a miracle brought about by the efficacy of the devout supplications of Father Frey Luys, Capuchin, to whom those generally commended themselves who ventured on deeds of heroism."

But in spite of all his valiant exploits, Father Damiaan did not neglect his priestly functions for it is also claimed that many Dutch captives "attained to eternal life by conversion to our holy faith, brought about by the diligence of the Jesuit Fathers, especially Damiaan Vieira".

Amongst the names of Officers mentioned by Rebeiro and by the anonymous writer occur several now borne by Portuguese families in Ceylon, such as Pereira, de Souza, de Silva, da Silva Gomes, Rodrigues, Fernandes. May it not be that many of them are descended from these heroes of Portugal?

The objects of the Union shall be:

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.

NEWS AND NOTES

From a bundle of old news-paper clippings comes this interesting story: — During the last days of the Dutch regime in Ceylon, a Dutchman of Huguenot birth — M. Robert Foressie — and his only daughter Elizabeth, arrived in Colombo from Holland; and being enamoured with the country and its climate, decided to settle down here. Accordingly, finding suitable land areas by the Kelani River's estuary — an overgrown waste belonging to a Sinhalese landlord named Ponsiano — he purchased it and contrived to change it into a riverside resort.

He set to work to erect a fine bungalow which he called "Foressie Mansion" on "Foressie Island" and changed the whole aspect into a restful pleasure haunt, complete with summer house, and linked to the mainland by means of a ferry.

This bungalow stands to this day (though in ruins) and is known as "Ferryside Mansion" while the island has acquired for itself the title of "Crow Island" owing to the number of feathered birds which have found a haven there.

Being a keen business man and having much dealings with the professional and business classes of the Burghers in the Pettah, he made many friends and enjoyed the hospitality of one of the biggest landowners of Portuguese descent by the name of Henricus Mercianus Fernando and of his wife (nee Petronella Meier). Their ties became even firmer when Elizabeth Foressie married Henricus Mercianus Fernando, junior.

Of the children born to these two, Foressie C. Fernando, the eldest, went to Edinburgh, where as a doctor he set up practice about a century ago. His son, Frank Cavendish-Fernando, followed in his father's foot-steps and himself became a well-known physician.

Frank's daughter Olive, who later married a Mr. Law, succeeded to the inheritance of her father, and though still residing in Scotland with her family, continues to draw upon the benefits of her Ceylon estate.

The original Robert Foressie and his daughter Elizabeth lived and died in Colombo and their remains now rest in the old Dutch burial ground in the Pettah far from their original home in Europe.

Thus, through a rather complicate network of connexions, a link between Holland, Ceylon and Scotland is still being maintained through five generations.

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There is more of this type of story one may pick on by plunging into the dust-heap that is history. Among several notable Dutch families which left Ceylon on the occupations of the Island by the British, was one named Uhlenbeek.

Young Uhlenbeek if his family had remained in Ceylon, would probably have been a government clerk, earning a miserable pittance. But he went to Holland and joined the Dutch Navy, in which he rose to the top of the ladder.

In due course Admiral Uhlenbeek, the former Pettah boy, visited Colombo in his flagship and was an honoured guest at Queen's House. He took the opportunity of renewing acquaintance with many of his old school fellows.

Henry Fryer, a penniless Burgher boy, ran away from Colombo, having quarrelled with his relatives. He returned twentyfive years later with £18,000 and founded the mercantile house of Fryer, Schultze & Co... Those were the days!

Moral: If you are happy or frustrated, go west young man, or go south east or north; but come back to dear old Lanka rich and successful or not at all.

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The strange serenity of the little Dutch water-fort, Hammenhiel, which stands sentinel at the entrance to Kayts harbour, may soon be no more. If reports run true it will shortly be converted into a museum housing specimens of archaeological and general interest pertaining to Jaffna's Islands. In forgotten days of tumult Hammenhiel served on the north, like Mannar Fort in the south, to guard the passage by water to the Castle or Key-Fort at Jaffna.

Hammenhiel, the only Fort of its kind in Ceylon, is of conventional Dutch design and octagonal in shape. Within its walls are a number of musty cells, and in the quadrangle facing them there stands a bo-tree which provided very welcome shade. The walls were originally raised and the spot was fortified on the orders of the Portuguese Governor Jaffna: Antonio de Amaral de Menezes, a few years before the arrival of the Dutch. They seem to have used every inch of available space on this coral outcrop in putting up the fortress, leaving only a tiny fringe of coral beach.

The historian Baldaeus who accompanied the Dutch army to the assault on Jaffna, gives a brief description of the blockade and the attack on Hammenhiel by the fleet before Jaffna capitulated. The Portuguese held out for only a fortnight and were obliged to surrender for want of water. Profiting by this, one of the first things the Dutch did on occupying the water-fort was to build a huge reservoir to collect rain

water which the records say was paved with "Dutch Bricks" to prevent seepage. It stands as originally constructed to this day, but the hand of the vandal has put it out of commission by removing the inner lining of bricks.

Not the least of the many appealing features of Fort Hammenhiel is the popular theory how it got its name. The Dutch likened the shape of Ceylon to a smoked ham. *Hammenhiel*, means the "heel of the ham", and with a little imagination this picturesque little water-fort appears to be placed at a point where the shank bone projects. How strangely are place-names derived!

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A columnist in a local Sunday Paper writing on "Anniversaries of the Week", referred recently to Gerard Hulft, Commander of the Dutch forces who was killed by a Portuguese musket ball in a skirmish during the siege of Colombo on April 10th 1556. He makes the statement that Hulft was buried in Colombo, and that later his remains were transferred to Galle, once again exhumed, and reburied in a tomb in Wolvendhal Church. The last statement is apt to be misleading.

Hulft's body was removed to Galle on the 12th April, received with great honour by the Governor (Adrian van der Meyden) and the townfolk, and on the 17th was placed in masonry catafalque above ground. In the following year it was lowered with stately funeral obsequies into a grave within the church (the old Groote Kerk not the present one) on the right hand side of the pulpit his arms, sword and spurs being hung on the wall over the grave. The following year (1658) the Dutch conquest of the Portuguese territory being completed, the body was removed to Colombo and laid in a crypt in the then official church of the United East India Company sited on what we today call the Gordon Gardens. The edifice in Portuguese times was known as the Church of St. Francis.

A floor-stone with inscriptions which covered the crypt, in which Hulft's remains lay, appears to have been removed soon after 1813 when the remains of the Dutch Governor's and their relations buried in the Gordon Gardens church which had fallen to ruin, were removed for re-interment in the Wolvendhal Church * Most of the other tomb-stones were removed later and for years lay scattered in the compound of the Church. Years later some of these were set up against the other walls of the building. However, very strangely, Hulft's tombstone is not among these and has not been traced. Apparently, as some letters among the old church records go to show, the very unfortunate practice of selling tombstones lying in the compound of the Church to commemorate the more recent dead had been resorted to. Tradition has it that when a tablet was put up in St. Peter's Church to the memory of Sir William Coke, the Chief Justice, who died in 1818, Hulft's tombstone was utilized for the purpose and the new inscription cut on the reverse side. The

* For details see DBU Journal Vol: LI, Nos; 3 & 4, page 74

truth of this will be ascertained when St. Peter's is demolished, or given over for some secular purpose, and the mural tablets are removed. J. P. Lewis mentions this tradition in his monumental work: "Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon", and describes the Coke monument erected in 1831 as consisting of "a very large tablet of local stone in a frame of classic design with Ionic pillars and entablature all in black and white masonry."

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It is indeed sad when science steps in and elbows out romance from legends which years have encrusted. Batticoloa's "singing fish:" long accepted as an unexplainable phenomenon, to whom thousands of people have paid homage by venturing under nocturnal conditions over the ruffled waters of a wind-swept lagoon to hear, have been identified by a team of Japanese fishing experts as *Guchi*, a variety of fish common in the waters off Japan. One expert in the team, explaining the phenomenon, said that the singing notes were produced by friction when the fins of this variety of fish moved about slapping the body, or that the sweet notes was caused by vibrations when air or water went through some bones like the nasal bones during breathing by the fish.

Another member of the team, says that he had seen this identical fish on the East coast off Trincomalee. This particular fish even when hauled on to the deck, continued to make 'singing' sounds. But who is bold enough to say that this settles the age-old controversy? (Not I! Editor)

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When Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands celebrated their Silver Wedding in April and May (postponed from the real date in January mainly because of the weather) the Dutch people gave them a very unusual national present.

In agreeing to accept the proceeds of a special National Fund, Queen Juliana stated some months ago that she wished to devote a large part of any such gift to providing social and other facilities for the young people of the Netherlands, because, she said, "the future of our country lies in the hands of our youth".

So Queen Juliana has agreed that one of the best gifts that could be made for her 25th wedding anniversary would be a detailed report, written practically wholly by young people, showing how the rising generation of today lives and thinks.

Many thousands of young men and women in the Netherlands between the ages of about 16 and 23, whether at high school and college or members of youth's clubs, have been asked to answer nine questions. The answers to these questions will be very carefully collated, and from them a detailed picture will be derived as to just what new ideas and ideals are living in the minds of the young generation.

Such a detailed report revealing the honest views of a vitally important section of the nation will in itself be a realistic and valuable social document, but as it will be followed by definite action based almost wholly on its own contents, it may well prove a blueprint for the future of educational and social life in the Netherlands.

And as a Silver Wedding present from the nation to the Royal Family, and from them back to the people, it surely is a unique gift.

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Mr. W. J. D. Philipse, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for the Netherlands in Ceylon, left the Island recently having relinquished office here. We understand that he will be on holiday pending a further diplomatic assignment. The thanks of the Community are due to him in great measure for the interest he showed in the Union and its objectives. Although not an ostentatious participant in our activities there was not a St. Nicolaas function he missed since he arrived in Ceylon about three years ago. His concern for the social service activities of the Union was manifest in his generous contribution towards the cause.

Not unmindful of the historical association linking Ceylon and the Netherlands, he showed much interest in the nurseries of Dutch history, namely the old churches at Galle, Wolvendahl and Jaffna. The pathetic state of the Jaffna church which he made a special trip to visit, gave him much concern. Apparently the letter announcing his visit sparked some action for he remarked on his return that the Archaeological Department (who are the present custodians) had begun to clean the Church. The bats, who appeared to have been the only occupiers had disappeared, the walls were being scraped for lime-washing, and the floor was clean, he added.

But the task of reclaiming this oldest Dutch ecclesiastical building erected 256 years ago, which is still extant,—more especially as regards repairing the unique Dutch pulpit and organloft, has by no means been done. The task is a specialized one. There will be little satisfaction if posterity is to point a finger and say that we have spoilt in efforts to perpetuate.

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Contrast the concluding paragraph of our previous note with this picture:—

The oldest, still existing, house in the Netherlands, dating from the year 1185 and situated on the market square of the provincial capital 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) will be restored soon to its medieval splendour at a cost of five lakhs of Dutch guilders.

Saved by the national foundation for the preservation of historical monuments the stately house will be appointed as a municipal cultural centre, after it has served through the ages successively as a residence

of prominent citizens, headquarters of national religious uprisings, a bishop's see, military barracks, theatre, tavern, grocery-store and finally as a warehouse.

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By the death of Dr. Francis Ernest Robert Bartholomeusz, known to his many friends as Frank, the Union has lost another elder member. Few doctors there must be who like him kept faith with the Oath of Hippocrates: "I will keep my life and my art holy."

Born on February 11th: 1883, and educated at the Royal College, he later qualified as a doctor of medicine and was appointed House Surgeon, Kandy, in September 1907. He later served at many outstations and from 1932, for over 12 years, he carved an epitaph for himself in the Story of Hendela when he served as Superintendent of the Hendela Leper Institution.

Dr. Bartholomeusz's unceasing strivings to change the status of the unfortunate inmates from outcasts to honourable citizens, must indeed have earned for him merit which will draw on him the mercy of the Creator.

In Union matters he showed interest in its cultural activities, and also served as a helpful member in Committee for many years. He made noteworthy contributions to the Journal, his articles on "The History of Hendela" and the "Korontchi Ceremony", call for special mention.

Dr. Frank Bartholomeusz was the product of the "old school", a good, large-hearted, friendly man, without malice or bitterness. He will be greatly missed by his contemporaries.