

# 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 Dr. R. L. Brohier at least a fortnight before the date of publication of the Journal.*

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

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### **THE UNION AND ITS NEW PRESIDENT**

The Union was founded in January 1908 and has been fifty nine years in existence. It has weathered many changes and changing circumstances of the times but yet remains representative of the Community after which it was named. It is the Community sense that The Union primarily fostered and promoted, yet unostentatively it also carried out other operative aims to a much larger extent than was first thought possible in not so amenable a Community — with its divided interests, its sensitiveness, and greater concern and a desire for individual and personal victory rather than for the promotion of welfare as a whole.

Howbeit let us pass on to the latter years which brought with them vast and revolutionary changes of a far-reaching nature both in the social and the public life of the people of Ceylon. Like most other Institutions, the Union was in this period of reorientation and changing values subjected to many ups and downs. These were inevitable in the march of events which introduced them.

Hence, deprived of its old status, placed in keen competition with other races who outnumbered them by at least a thousand to one, and bereft of capable leadership, the small Community which the Union represented, came to be a puzzled body of people acting as it were each for himself. Families came to be disintegrated by migration, and a fatal sense of defeatism had all but enveloped the Community which once had in itself all the evidence of a vigorous growth. In those changed circumstances, the membership of the Union which stood at nearly 600 in 1943 dwindled to an insignificant 190.

The fact cannot be denied that the Community itself is largely responsible for its most distressing frustrations and anxieties. Weary of changes a new era brought, its members grew both timid and half-hearted in efforts to rekindle what was once a living and effective force. The inevitable end can be nothing else but absorption, unless the Community bestirs itself and faces the facts which are all too plain for those who wish to see.

Happily, we still have in our midst, a few loyal members who think more in terms of what they can do with goodwill to promote the objects of the Union and the welfare of the Community, rather than take

measures in terms of what they can get out of it. The first condition for a possible regeneration of the Union must be faith in leadership. All critics who genuinely seek the welfare of the Community will perceive that the one great need at present is criticism which is constructive and moreover is accompanied by a willing and disinterested co-operation. The other kind is easy enough to find, but profitless.

The truth will brook no evasion that the task of regeneration is by no means easy. Dark clouds of misapprehension and misconception have to be dispelled and personal prejudices, which have kept potential members "of our own household" from entering into mutual compact, should be laid aside for the common good of the Community. It is only by each and all doing their full share of work heartily, with a will, in mutual concert, that we can hope for success in the great work of reclamation and regeneration.

*Let it be understood clearly that it depends on our perfecting each his own outlook and methods first, that the Union can be made once again a moral force in the service of its members.*

There is every hope and sign that the present is propitious for a revival which would place the Union again in a position not merely to serve the members themselves, but also all other communities with whom they are associated in the bonds of friendship and fraternity. The first reason for saying so is that the Rules of the Union have been so amended recently within the principles on which the Union was organised as to permit of the co-optation of friends, sympathisers and well-wishers of other communities, as Associates.

The second is that the building which has been the habitat of the Union for close on fifty three years, has recently been thoroughly renovated and decorated. This should go a long way in helping to bring about more social intercourse among the members of the Community, Associates and their friends, than unfortunately has been the case recently,

Lastly, and the most cogent reason why the moment is propitious for a revival, is that the Union has now as its President Mr. W. Brian Jonklaas, a representative of that type of men who cannot rest satisfied unless actively engaged in using their ability, industry, and judgment to right what is wrong.

Mr. Jonklaas accepted office altruistically when no old member was prepared to do so. In the circumstances he merits the unanimous and fullest thanks and confidence of the Community, moreso as there is the prominence he has attained in business circles and the public life of the country to support him.

One other qualification might be quoted. Mr. Jonklaas proved himself one of the ablest Presidents who held sway over the Talduwa Club. While he therefore might not be fully equipped at present to promote the operative aims of the Union, he is possessed of experience in the highest degree to reorganise the general management of the Union's affairs, and to introduce that essential sense of decorum which was loosening rapidly in recent years.

We therefore commend this new era in the history of the Union to the Community with the words "Spes Est Regerminat", and appeal to one and all to give Mr. Jonklaas full co-operation in the task he has undertaken with open-mindedness. We anticipate that with the assistance of Mrs. Jonklaas — always ready to play her part, and with the members he has selected and have come forward to fill the offices of the Secretary and Treasurer, the interests of the Union will be safe in his hands.

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#### A QUOTE

*"History is like a surveyor's theodolite. Unless we use it frequently to look back and get our bearings, it will not be of much help to us in running a straight line ahead".*

SUMMARIES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECRET WAR  
COMMITTEE OF THE DUTCH POLITICAL COUNCIL OF  
CEYLON DURING THE WAR WITH KANDY

1762 — 1766

(Continued from p. 24 of Volume LVI)

270 3rd August 1763.

Read a further letter from the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales to the Dutch Dissava, containing overtures for peace etc. It is decided to leave it unanswered as it needed no reply.

274 6th August, 1763.

The Governor stresses the need for further timely precautions against the King, as well as against the English.

275 It is decided to take post with a force of Europeans and Malays at Vandeloos Bay (known by the natives as Treemangelawe), and to order the Commander there not to admit any foreigners under any pretext whatsoever, resorting to force if necessary

277 on the plea of the present war with Kandy. He also stresses the need for maintaining the Dutch rights of the shores (*jus littoris*) between Trincomalee and Batticaloa.

278 Tabled a report on the soundings and charterings along this coast by a Special Commissioner appointed by Pieter de Graauw, Chief Officer of the Fort of Batticaloa.

279 It is resolved to take action to prevent the English in their undertakings and to force the Kandyans to conclude a favourable peace by a military expedition under van Imhoff, Chief Officer at Trincomalee.

280 The Commander of the expedition is to be ordered to treat the inhabitants in a kind and friendly manner, assuring them verbally that they had nothing to fear and that they could without any anxiety continue in their former prerogatives, customs and

281 manners of life. Similar expeditions are to be undertaken at Appretotte, between Batticaloa and Matara.

283 8th August 1763.

The draft of a letter conveying orders and instructions to Trincomalee on the terms decided at the last meeting regarding the expedition there is read and approved.

293 25th August 1763.

Read a letter from the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales remonstrating against the non-withdrawal of the Dutch troops from Puttalam as promised by the Governor and of plundering of the natives by these troops, and asking that early steps be taken to restore peace and friendship between the Company and the Kandyan Court.

294 Replied to the above, denying any promise to withdraw the troops at Puttalam, the only assurance given being that their request will be reported to Batavia and a reply sent in about three month's time, this being the time normally taken for a reference to and reply from Batavia; also denying any knowledge of plundering etc. by the troops, and stating that an investigation will be made and any culprits will be duly punished. Adds that the Court has not yet kept its promise to send the Company's native headmen who had fled to Kandy as a preliminary to any move towards a truce.

297 10th September 1763.

The proposals from the Matara officers regarding the posting of troops are approved, and it is decided accordingly to place troops both at Appretotte and at the river Jalyput between Appretotte and Matara, and to order the withdrawal of the garrison at Polwatte for this purpose and replace them with the Cochin Company of Sepoys from Galle.

300 Also that Bombardier Jacques Louis Guyaard, being a good draughtsman and surveyor, should accompany the expedition to make a map *en route*, and that a report be made by them first before they actually begin the expedition, the time and opportunity for commencing the same being left to their discretion;

301 and in view of the paucity of the present troops for carrying out the plans of hostilities, it is decided to form a Company of Marines from the seafaring men at Colombo and Galle under the command of the ship's Commander Jan Pieterzoon Jager, the Senior Pilot at Galle Daniel Lugt and the Third Ship's Officer Cornelis Jakelis, as Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign respectively.

302 Decided also to form a Company of Malays for the same purpose from the Eastern exiles and slaves under the command of Jassera Negara, Jessera Wajeya and Jeco Lima, as Captain,

303 Lieutenant and Ensign respectively. And, in order to avoid creating any misgivings by the suspicious Kandyans on this account, it is decided to write to the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales a letter warning against rumours reported of hostile movements by the Kandyans against Puttalam, Chilaw and other places.

305 **16th September 1763.**

Read and discussed letters dated 14th July 1763 and other documents received from Batavia, advising the conclusion of a peace with the Kandyan Court: and in view of the firm conviction that there is no other way of achieving this than by force, it is decided to proceed with the plans already agreed upon.

308 Read also letter from the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales making further similar remonstrances as in their previous letter. Decided to leave it unanswered as it needed no reply.

310 It is decided to send a Circular letter of instructions to all Chief Officers with a view to preventing and opposing all correspondence and intrigue by the native Princes on the opposite coast or others (whites or blacks) with the Kandyan Court, offering due rewards for any suspects arrested.

313 **29th September 1763.**

Read a further letter received from the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales, and decided to leave it unanswered too.

316 **14th October 1763.**

This meeting is summoned expressly to consider what steps should now be taken, with the approaching dry season, to make definite arrangements for undertaking against the Kandyan King what had already been communicated to Batavia in the letter of 30th September last, viz: "should he not be brought over to enter into a favourable treaty by good means, which is not likely, he should then be attacked on all sides, vexed and embarrassed, and if possible, forced, the sooner the better, to enter into an honourable and favourable treaty with the Company".

It is also considered whether, before undertaking the expedition, a courteous communication should not in the first instance be made to the Court with a view to a peaceful settlement, expecting a categorical answer within 8 or 10 days, either "Yes" or "No", with no further delays, messages or exceptions, and with a warning that otherwise the war will be immediately proceeded with. Alternative suggestions were

319 also discussed and definite plans were finally agreed upon. The expedition is to be carried out from four sides, i.e. (1) from Trincomalee, with 300 troops (half of European and half of Malays) under Captain von Frytag, with draught cattle requisitioned from the Vanniyar Sandere Segere Mudaliyar, and with instructions to deal kindly with the inhabitants who show a disposition to submit, and to impose nothing on them which may be against their sentiments or demand anything from them, but to oppose violently all those who resist; (2) from Matara, with 300 or 400 troops (half of European and half of Malays) under Captain van den Borne; (3) from Sitavaka, with 400 troops (half of Euro-

323 pean and half of Malays), through Saffregam and the Three and Four Korales, under Major Bisschoff; and (4) from Chilaw, with the main force, through the Seven Korales, to be commanded by His Excellency the Governor in person. Captain Prins, who knew the Malabar language, to proceed there in advance and make all the necessary arrangements and erect the necessary stockades etc., and the Dissava Bauert to proceed there after this and to prepare for His Excellency the Governor to take over the general command for the advance on Kandy. The Governor is to be attended on the march by one or two sworn clerks. the to

342 **2nd December 1763.**

Read a translation of a Sinhalese ola received from the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales, named Dumbara, asking for an early reply regarding the promised peaceful settlement of the present disputes.

346 Decided that "As it sufficiently appears from the said ola as well as from other circumstances that the Court expects, or intends to make, no other peace than, so to say, to forget everything that has passed and to live at peace as before, and nothing more, our plan, viz; to compel the Court with our present forces to conclude a peace favourable to the Company, was to be preferred above all others, and, besides, it would be unaccountable for us with our present forces not at least first to have made a trial, while a milder way could always be found later". But there was difficulty with respect to what was recommended by Their Supreme Excellencies in their letter of July 14th (namely, that *if need be* and *not* otherwise, we might recede from our demands for the costs of the war and the cession of those parts of the coast not already occupied by us), that in the event of everything not being stipulated for at the first demand, nothing more could be added later, and if everything was stipulated for at the first time, it was possible that the Court would be unwilling to come to a settlement.

347 But as since that time we had already taken post between Matara and Batticaloa and between Batticaloa and Trincomalee, and also at the limits of the Wanny of Sandere Segere, and accordingly now lack almost nothing of the coast, and therefore nothing more remains from our total claims than the territory which formerly came to us from the Portuguese or rather what was, abandoned by Governor Pyl, as well as the costs of the war:

That it was better to demand everything outright first by letter than to receive ambassadors specially for that purpose and to confer with them, which could always be done afterwards, as the favourable time would have passed and thus almost a full year would be lost, which time the Ministers of the Court know wonderfully well how to prolong in order to attain their object viz: a postponement of the issue at hand:

That it would therefore be best to stipulate for all that Their Supreme Excellencies have recommended to us, as it were in one breath, and to request short and good answer thereto, and in that case to accept Ambassadors, but, on the contrary, to write somewhat sharply, knowing that the Court, seeing that we were ready, would immediately give way, although it was by indulging the hope that it would undoubtedly have, viz: that through their Ambassadors one thing or other could very well be arranged.

His Excellency the Governor, although he was well aware that the Court, among other things, was not very much in favour of making good the costs of the war, wished that that article should above all others be stipulated for at the first attempt, in order, should it be possible, thereby, to come to terms at the conference in an indirect way for a yearly tribute, although it was only of two elephants, which, it was possible, the Court would accede to rather than the other, as the procuring of one or two elephants was a trifle for the Court, i.e. if it was ignorant of what the rendering of a yearly tribute actually implied (which, so to say, would straightaway make it tributary), which is for us a matter of extraordinary importance as was pointed out categorically to Their Supreme Excellencies by our letter of the 30th September last, and which His Excellency the Governor considered should never be lost sight of, etc". as he had received reliable information from Coromandel that the matter had been represented to the English Court by the English Ministry in these quarters and that the answer had come that (if an opportunity presented itself) it was fully at liberty to treat with the Kandyan monarch without violating the treaties, in consideration of the fact that he was not a tributary but a Sovereign; also that Admiral Cornish must have been unaware of this, for if he had knowledge of it, Trincomalee would not have been necessary for his purpose but other open places which we had already taken the precaution to occupy by taking post at Jaliput, Heldeoye, Vendeloos Bay, etc., of which that Admiral is still ignorant:

350 It was accordingly resolved, regarding the latter portion of the said ola, to answer in such terms as those arrived at by our resolution of the 14th October, according to which we were first to write to the Court before undertaking the expedition decided upon therein, with this exception however, viz: that if the Court would not accept those conditions, His Excellency the Governor was prepared to come himself and treat with the King; also in respect of the rest of the ola, summarily to expose the pretensions made here and there and to silence them; everything to be done in such a manner as is inserted below".

(Here follows the draft of the letter to the Dissava of the Threa and Four Korales).

353 It is also decided to pay extra rations to the troops and coolies employed on the expeditions now ready to depart in order to encourage them, as very much depends at present on the item of the coolies.

(Pages 354—520 omitted)

521 On representations received from the Chief Officer of Trincomalee regarding difficulties in mustering sufficient troops for the proposed advance from there against Kandy, it is decided to relinquish the plan of advancing towards Kandy from that direction, and instead to concentrate the troops there in subduing the rebel Vanniyar Chiefs in the adjacent territory. In order to do so more effectively and to alarm and terrify the Court still more, it is decided to order Captain-Lieutenant Baatke to proceed from Mannar with the Company's sepoys there to Arippe, and to advance from there equally with the Trincomalee commando, and together capture a great and strongly-built pagoda where the King is accustomed to come and make his offerings.

523 His Excellency the Governor informs the meeting, on reports received from Dissava Bauert and the architect Braunwald and the Engineer Paravicini, that conditions at Chilaw did not conform to the reports received earlier and the favourable impressions conveyed thereby, and that as Katana was reported to be a far better position, he had ordered them to proceed there and take post immediately.

526 12th January 1764.

Read and discussed a letter received by Dissava Bauert from the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales in order "to see once more and for the last time whether, after due consideration of the same, there might not be discovered some other possible and convenient way, besides the decisions already arrived at, to bring the Court to terms in an advantageous and honourable manner for the Company, under such safeguards as Their Supreme Excellencies have been pleased to state and have so urgently recommended to us".

530 It is resolved that "whereas it is clear from the said letter that the Court is not disposed to anything other than only to let bygones be bygones, or, so to say, considering dead and null and void all matters at issue, to live as before with each other without accepting the least proposal made by us or bargaining in any way regarding them, and that the Court will not therefore be brought to terms such as those desired by Their Supreme Excellencies except by immediate and undisguised force, all the more as it does not appear to pay attention to our threats or to the active measures which we now for sometime are gradually beginning to take round about its territory; accordingly, having discussed one thing and another earnestly and in detail, also

having considered that the Lords Directors, who not without some reason are assisting us with such considerable reinforcements, appear to be aware that the Kandyan monarch cannot be brought to reason otherwise than by the exercise of force and constraint, the members of the Council collectively decided that nothing better was left to us, for our part, than absolutely to persist in the resolutions successively passed in that connection and the plan of hostilities thereby decided upon, and, in the expectation of God's blessings, for good and all immediately to undertake and carry them out", with certain amendments in the original plan of expeditions.

And "in order to put the Court off its guard for a short time longer and to enable us to make our final preparations without any interference, to inform the bearers of the letter verbally, according to former practice, that the said letter would be answered within a short time".

542 **20th January 1764.**

In view of information received that the Calpitiya garrison needed reinforcement owing to the prevalence of sickness at Puttalam and difficulties in the progress of the plan of expedition in other places, it is decided to send further reinforcements to Calpitiya.

(From the Dutch text in Government Archives, Dutch Records No. 4865)

1 **24th January 1764.**

Information having been received from Matara that sickness among the military at Heldeoye and Jaliput was on the increase, it is decided to send fresh reinforcements there.

4 **31st January 1764.**

Further reports are received of deaths through illness at Aroekgamme and Jaliput. It is inferred that this is due to the unhealthy climate there at this period, and it is accordingly decided to reduce the garrisons there and to send two crusier-patjallangs to stand by and guard the coast before these two places, in case of any unexpected contingency, for the retreat of the Military.

7 **7th March 1764.**

The Governor having returned from the expedition to Kandy owing to the heavy rains, and the Kandyans having come down to the low country and stirred up the inhabitants there, orders are given for the despatch of troops to Minuwangoda, Pitigala and Ruanwella and for the issue of a mandate ola of encouragement, advice and warning to the inhabitants everywhere. (Text of the mandate ola is entered here).

11 **8th March 1764.**

Further reports are received of attacks by the Kandyans on the post of Goenewille (Four full hours' distance from Tammerawille) and it is decided to strengthen this post. The Dissava Bauert being ill and indisposed is allowed to return to Colombo, and Captain Duflo is sent in his place with his Company of (French) volunteers.

14 Apretotte and Jaliput are abandoned owing to the increase of illness at these places and the difficulties experienced by the approach of the bad monsoon. It is also decided to defer to the Chief Officer of Trincomalee the withdrawal from Vendeloos Bay, provided Koetjaer and Tangleam were reinforced.

16 **5th April 1764.**

The Secretary, Mr. van Angelbeek (who had accompanied the Governor to Kandy) is given a seat in the Secret Council and takes his oath.

18 The Governor summons the meeting specially to discuss and advise him as to what should be done in view of the failure of the present expedition to Kandy.

19 It is eventually decided to circulate the Governor's proposition among the sick members (Mr. Bauert and Major Felix Bischoff) for their opinions in the first instance.

20 It is also decided to post troops (mostly Malays) at Cattoene, Hakmana, Tangalla, the Walauwe river (only a lascarin's watch post), at Polwatte (the Sepoys) and in other places at Matara. The Sepoys of Trincomalee are transferred to Jaffna in order to prevent invasion and attack by the Sinhalese from the Soerli Pattu in the Wanny.

21 The Governor tables an ola received from Dassenaik Wickramesinghe, Mudaliyar of the Hapitigam Korale, who had been captured and carried away by the Kandyans, which was first thought, according to reports received (which indeed could be true), to have been done with his own connivance, but who, according to the testimony of the Dissava to whom he had sent the said ola, was an intelligent and trustworthy native headman, and before this had been employed by him with success in obtaining various accurate reports from the Kandyan Court, and had also been able to be of some service to the Company through the good understanding which he has had for a long time past with a certain High Priest named Kobbekaddoewe Maha Teroenwahanse, offering his services to bring about an amicable and honourable settlement of the dispute to the satisfaction of both parties.



The text of this ola is inserted. The postscript, which is sent in a separate scrap ola, contains information regarding the movements etc. of the Kandyans." Which ola, whether it was written with good intentions on the Mudaliyar's own initiative or by instigation of the Court, clearly shows that the Kandyans are doing their utmost to secure a peace, but on the old footing".

25 It is decided to inform him that he could safely come to Colombo *incognito* without fear of any harm, and orders are issued accordingly in order that after his arrival a good use might be made of him according to circumstances.

26 **10th April 1764.**

Adrian Moens, at his own request is relieved of his duties as Secretary of the Secret Committee, with grateful thanks for his services during the past 10 months in addition to his normal duties in the Pay Office, and Mr. van Angelbeek is appointed to succeed him.

30 Read the following opinion received from the Hon. Mr. de Ly in response to the Circular referendum decided on at the last meeting on the 5th April :—

31—35 "Although, at the first glance, it appears to me from the circular.....that it has been decided to resume the unsuccessful attempt, should the obstacles and particularly the lack of (suitable) coolies be remedied in the future, I shall however not be mistaken if I imagine that the intention is that every member shall advise in writing as to what should now be done for the greatest profit and advantage of the Company. Indeed that is how I understand it, and I shall accordingly point out, seeing that the Company's resources have so greatly been impaired by wars and various misfortunes, that it would be difficult, indeed almost impossible, to force the King to conclude such an advantageous and honourable peace as that which Their Supreme Excellencies have prescribed, and that although the Company might direct its utmost efforts and resources to that object, it is very clear that thereby it would be ruined just as the Portuguese before: that being so, we might ask whether there were no means of arriving at a profitable and honourable peace, that is according to what may be understood thereby, for what one may consider to be profitable and honourable another may possibly think to be just the opposite. Then, whereas I should hold to my own views in the matter, which my experience has given me suitable opportunity to form sanely and according to the disposition and constitution of the Company, I shall only say that it appears to me that without such a treaty as that which Their Right Honourables have been pleased to prescribe, the King of Candea could very well be induced to conclude a peace both profitable and honourable for us, such a peace, I maintain,

as would be to the greatest benefit of the Company according to present circumstances, and which would secure us as much as possible against the intrusion of our rivals and give us opportunity to enjoy the products of this land in security and sufficient quantity.

While, as I have said before, the Company is in no fit state to provide any longer the intolerable expenses of the war, and if we should in that case have to retrieve our losses after the peace, we must considerably reduce our means to do so. It is therefore clear that we should try as much as possible to make a peace, the terms and maintenance of which should be to the interests of both parties; for if it be disadvantageous in a marked degree to the Kandyans, we have no ground for the security, which would be absolutely necessary, by an ordinary occupation of the island. I am therefore of opinion that we ought to make the terms of peace generous and at the first request that might be made, or, in default of such an approach, in the best possible manner that might be arranged.

32 And far from proceeding to possess all the territory which the Portuguese formerly occupied and bringing ourselves into the same state that they were in at the time of our arrival, viz: the general object of hate and abhorrence, I would recommend that all the territory taken possession of by us, viz: Putulang, Chilaw, Trincomalee, etc., should be given back, and, following that, a friendly and gracious treatment be accorded them and more presents be given them than before, in order thereby to induce them to have the former confidence in the Company, and accordingly to make them turn away from all other nations; and in the event of war with a European nation we could rest assured that we would be in a position to repel all hostile attempts.

But I would add thereby that the Kandyans, for their part, must hold and acknowledge us as lawful sovereigns of our own territory and of the sea and coasts round the whole Island, provided that we permitted them to use thereof as before and they did not dispute the free passage along the same for our elephants, as otherwise.

33 In addition, we should endeavour to obtain thereby (without prejudice to the usual embassies) the free and unrestricted collection of cinnamon in those places where the best and most are found.

By the former, we would be assured against all foreigners who would meddle in our affairs, and, by the latter, the expenses incurred by us through the disorders would be made good and the Company would derive a sure income by which it would flourish, should the quantity be supplied in full according to the requirements specified beforehand, which a profitable and honourable peace must include.



All this would a thousand times be more worthwhile than a precarious occupation of Puttlam, Chilaw, the Seven Korales and Tamblegam, indeed than an uneasy control of the whole of Ceylon.

It might be urged to the contrary that it might very well come about that the Kandyan would not wish to sign a peace treaty, but there would be no need however to insist too strongly on their doing so, as there is no instance that the Court had ever repudiated the letters of the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales, and it would be sufficient to accept the assurances so long given in the customary manner.

Further, it might also be doubted as to whether the Court would readily concede the terms stipulated for in our favour, but merely persist in their demands to make peace on the same conditions as before. In which connection I would readily confess that, should we be unable to obtain it otherwise, it would still be better than the prosecution of this war, attended as it were by the risk of losing everything.

For should a powerful nation intervene, it may happen in all probability, if we hesitated any longer, that we shall undergo the risk that Ceylon, even if we continued to possess a portion of it (which I have reason to doubt), will no longer be of any use to us.

If it may be difficult to arrive at such a peace as that which I propose in view of the orders of Their Supreme Excellencies, which make express mention that all the acquired territory should be retained, I for my part (trusting in Their Honour's sense of fairness) can see no obstacle to their altering their decision, and I would readily agree that negotiations should be prolonged in order that further orders might be received from the Supreme Indian Government.

But to those who nevertheless consider that the expedition should be resumed if means could be devised for remedying the chief impediment, viz: the lack of coolies, I would say that my consent would in no case be given even if the lack of coolies could be made good, which I do not believe could be done in an effective manner, for I maintain that thereby the Kandyan would believe that their freedom was threatened, and as all expeditions that we might make into the hill country, the higher they advanced, the more disastrous would be the consequences, for besides the courageous resistance sprung through the love of freedom, there are disadvantages such as severe sickness, desertions, etc., and the risks attached to felled trees, entrenchments and a multitude of other dangers if one penetrated into that mountainous country which is entirely unknown to us, and we were subjected to betrayal both by friend and foe.

I have put all this down in writing according to what I consider my oath and duty for the service of the Company demand, and I also feel that on the approaching deliberations of Their Supreme Excellencies the entire prosperity of Ceylon depends".

36 As the Hon. Mr. Moens explained that he had received the said Circular only just before the beginning of this meeting, and the Hon. Mr. van Angelbeek declared that when drafting his statement he had confined his reflections only to the two-fold proposition put forward by the Governor, without thinking for a moment that any one of the members would have substituted in its place an entirely different and, at the same, time so very important a proposal as, after reading the document submitted by the Hon. Mr. De Ly, he now found it to be, and that his recommendations as they now were could contribute little towards a proper and well-regulated discussion regarding this delicate, weighty and complicated subject; and as the proposal of the Hon. Mr. de Ly and his arguments in support of the same deserved the closest attention and most exhaustive consideration, also as the Circular has not yet been seen by all the members, and the statement of the Hon. the Dissava had been sent out to him only this morning, that the final deliberations regarding this most important matter could not continue today, and that he and the Hon. Mr. Moens respectfully requested that they might be postponed for the next meeting: accordingly, after the Governor had also pointed out that he too had not considered the proposal of the Hon. Mr. de Ly, and was not sufficiently prepared for a final deliberation regarding the delicate and highly important proposition now upon the tapis, and still less wished to do so immediately, it was accordingly resolved to allow this matter to stand over for the next meeting.

### 38 20th April 1764.

Continuation of the discussion on the Governor's Circular proposal calling for opinions regarding the Kandyan expedition. (The text of the Governor's Circular is reproduced).

40 41-43 Advice given by Major Bisschoff as follows:—

"Although my debility due to a sensible relaxation of my entire nervous system has rendered me sufficiently unfit for collecting my thoughts, and I should accordingly be excused for a short time, or until my restoration to health, from stating my opinions regarding a matter of such extreme importance as that referred to above, I however feel at this moment that my zeal for the interests of the Honourable Company overrules my enervation, and that the latter should not prevent me, according to my poor ability, from satisfying the former by stating below my sentiments which have been required of me. According to the same, the protracted measures for securing the chief object of Their Supreme Excellencies, viz: to arrive at a peace for

Ceylon, are now more certain and effective, and the bright prospect of a little advantage gained in an undertaking should, in my opinion, urge no one to prosecute it further if its execution was accompanied by so many difficulties and if the interests of the Hon. Company were opposed to so many dangers. As long as there is the latter possibility, which I trust no one will deny, so long, methinks, it would be doubly worthwhile to express my opinions regarding the measures which should be adopted to attain that object of Their Supreme Excellencies, should, contrary to expectation, the efforts already made have to be suspended owing to hundreds of fortuitous causes.

- 42 According to my way of thinking, a good use should be made of the forces which we now have or those which we are now expecting from Europe, by a judicious placing of detachments according to a knowledge of the country for guarding the coasts, or, where that was absolutely impossible owing to the unhealthy climate, by frequent cruising at short distances, is one of the measures proposed by me, which together would prevent or at least make so difficult the supply of salt and cotton goods to the hill country, that it would contribute in a large measure to making the Kandyan King recognise his dependence on those in possession of his coasts, all the more as, with the beginning of the good monsoon, raiding parties stationed here and there could advance to a 2 or 3 hours' distance into the country and destroy the unripe crops of grain, fruit trees, etc., and thereby drive a crowd of ruined inhabitants into the interior, accordingly forcing the King either to attack our dispositions on the coast, or himself to offer to make peace. Few or no coolies being necessary for carrying out such a plan of operations, it is therefore all but unnecessary to consider this material impediment.

- 43 If the poor state of my health does not permit me to state my views in an acceptable manner, I trust however that my good intentions may make amends for any error, all the more as I affirm that I should be the first to adopt a contrary opinion as soon as I have reason to feel that I have been mistaken in my way of thinking, and that the other is more advantageous for the interests of the Honourable Company and the honour of my present ruler."

Advice given by the Dissava Bauert as follows:—

"Seeing that the expedition to Candea had to be suspended owing to desertion by the coolies and the heavy rain that had fallen, I have read with attention the above mentioned Circular and the copy of the resolution, and have seen thereby that there were no other obstacles than the flight of the coolies and the heavy rain; wherefore the chief impediment, viz: the lack of coolies, should be remedied in the future, and I respectfully

- submit that this should be deferred to our illustrious ruler the Governor, to obtain from other places or elsewhere for the forthcoming expedition coolies who were in attendance on similar occasions and would not be frightened by a shot or if it should happen that any of them might fall; but, on the contrary, in the event of such coolies not being obtainable, I am then of the same opinion as that of the Hon: Major which, in that case, should by no means be rejected, as, according to what has already happened, no dependence whatever can be placed on our coolies.
- 44—49 Read the opinion already given by the Hon. the Chief Administrator A. J. de Ly at the meeting on the 10th April (which is again reproduced in the text.)

- 50—55 Advice given by the Paymaster Adrian Moens as follows:—

"That the plan decided upon to compel the King of Candia by force of arms to conclude a peace both profitable and honourable for the Company should not be abandoned before its impossibility has actually been demonstrated.

That immediately abandoning that plan just because the recent expedition should remain suspended is premature, as the Lords Directors who were informed regarding it would have taken action according to our report, and all the more as by our first expedition such good progress was made and thereby the Court made apprehensive, also as by it Goenewile situated on the boundary of the Seven Korales and so advantageous for the Company has been occupied by us. That such a sudden change of plan at a time that the Court appears, as at present, disposed to make peace in spite of the suspension of the recent expedition, would not a little be to our disadvantage, as the king who now appears definitely inclined to come to terms as he very possibly believes that it is not our intention to abandon the expedition, would, on the contrary, adopt another tone, and we should not be able to progress any further than on the old footing, all our expenses would have been in vain, and the Company's prestige both here and in India would be greatly undermined, as I am convinced that, if we cannot compel the King by force, he would not accede to any terms favourable to us, unless it were something that might just come into his head. Therefore, our plan, viz: to settle the matter with sword in hand, for which the Lords Directors have prepared us further by considerable reinforcements of men and ships, should accordingly be the basis of our measures; that is according to what has been amply noted in our Secret resolutions and letters.

51

That therefore the expedition which had to be abandoned owing to the defection of the coolies and the heavy rain that had fallen should be resumed, with such a change of plan as may be considered necessary through the experience gained on the

recent expedition, regarding which I, as I have no knowledge of military matters and still less understand the rules of warfare, can state nothing special but only that, besides a strict military discipline, our European soldiers should be employed so much in the fighting as the native military, viz: the Malays and Sepoys and particularly the latter, as the Europeans are better for controlling the native military, and the latter are rather better to stand fatigues than the former, as well as that our enemy who hold out in the jungle and behind rocks could better be dislodged by a similar, viz: a native people, than by Europeans; and while I am referring here to native military, it comes to my mind that I have heard on good authority that there are found on the opposite coast a kind of native warriors who, while in action, fear a bullet as little than a slash, and, in addition, are just like a kind of freebooters who invade entire territories, and cannot be easily driven back but penetrate into the country; and I do not consider it foreign to our purpose if we could hire such a class of men and have them brought here, on which point I would gladly hear the advice of His Excellency the Governor who undoubtedly will know about that people.

That as it appears from advices received that it would be difficult to undertake the expedition from all directions except through the Seven Korales, accordingly a change should be made in our plan, and we should maintain ourselves on the borders of our territory according to the advice of the Major, and at the same time, in addition, advance with large force through the Seven Korales to Candia to coerce the King.

That the supply of everything that the Kandyans must have from us should be cut off, and they should also be prevented from the possibility of receiving those things through the help of others, the former by effective precautions, and the latter by cruising off the coasts, which, so long as Puttalam and Chilaw which were occupied last year are in our possession, is not necessary on that side of the Island; which hardship as well as the occupation of our newly acquired territories and the advance to Candia would sufficiently urge the King's subjects to force him absolutely to make peace.

That the obstacle, viz: the lack of coolies, besides the rain which should not be taken into consideration, is the only and most important impediment, according to the resolution arrived at in the field and the testimony of His Excellency the Governor, and should therefore be remedied by the employment of coolies who are accustomed to the whistling of bullets like those whom the English and the French take good care to employ on the opposite coast, and regarding which I should also like to hear the advice of His Excellency the Governor.

- 53 That should it not be possible to conclude an honourable and favourable peace on those or any other terms, it would be necessary to think of some other means, as regards which the advice of the Major appears to be plausible, or, according to my humble opinion as to whether it would be better either to enter into a kind of negotiation with the King whereby the interests of both sides would depend on each other, provided that thereby we, above all things, retained the sovereignty of our territory, and, if possible, of the coasts of the Island, in addition to the exclusive enjoyment of its products and trade, or that the King by some means or other be induced to enter into a treaty entirely disadvantageous to himself and alone favourable to us. I may say that it should be considered as to which is better, as he would observe such a treaty no longer than he wished, and we, in case we had to hold him to his obligations, would have gained nothing thereby, in view of the extraordinary forces that would be needed for the occupation of our territories, unless the extra profits derived from such a favourable treaty exceeded or at least equalled the greater costs, and thereby we should be assured of our ordinary prerogatives and those which we formerly had, of which up to this day we have not been sure and also in that respect were dependent in some degree on the caprices of the Court, indeed on those of a single minister.
- 54 Further, that after our statements of advice had all been received in writing, they should not merely be forwarded to Their Supreme Excellencies, but that they should earnestly and dispassionately be discussed with each other regarding such an important and weighty matter (regarding which much had been written and considered by great men in the past, viz: by His Excellency van Goens who said that it was necessary, and by His Excellency van Imhoff who said that it was possible, and as regards which His Excellency our present Governor believes that it is both necessary and possible and has undertaken to carry out in person), and, according to each one's knowledge and judgement and their collective arguments and recommendations, a definite decision be arrived at as to what we consider necessary for the greatest benefit of the Company.

- That, at this opportunity, we should chiefly keep in view the essential advantages of Ceylon, both as regards itself and foreign considerations, by the latter of which I in fact mean its situation as regards the West and also all the other factories of the Indies, and its importance accordingly for our Republic, and that we should also seriously consider the activity and turbulence of a certain powerful nation, by whose help the Nabab of Arcadie has now again blockaded the city of Madura, the Commander of which by name Canne Sayboe according to reports is still valiantly acquitting himself and is expecting relief, the result of which is also of extraordinary importance to us. That by these presents I further reserve to myself after hearing the collect-

tive recommendations, and, in particular, those of His Excellency the Governor, the option of varying my opinions in so far as I might be convinced of their fallacy, as my natural disposition of adhering to my own manner of thinking is not so great that, being convinced to the contrary, I would not immediately depart therefrom. Finally, that whatever might be the outcome in the matter under discussion, the same should at the first opportunity, together with the relevant arguments, be referred to Their Supreme Excellencies, that, in the event of their not approving our decision, we might be fortified in time with their further and final orders."

Advice of the Chief Secretary J. G. van Angelbeek, as follows:—

56 "Although I had wished, with my whole heart, to have been spared the necessity of expressing my poor sentiments in answer to a question which possibly is the most important, and, in view of the uncertainty of the outcome of human affairs, the most critical which has ever been placed before this table, and for the complete solution of which abilities are necessary which, without taking shame to myself as I should, I openly confess that I do not possess, indeed not in that degree which I should now have wished, in order, according to my only and most earnest desire to promote the true interests of the Company and the greatest service of our dear Fatherland: now, however, seeing that the duty has been imposed on me without my request and beyond expectation to state sincerely my views regarding the double proposition put forward by His Excellency the Governor, and such as I may consider best according to my conscience, before God and my Lords and Masters, to crown our efforts to force the King of Kandia to conclude a peace both profitable and honourable for the Company: I am of opinion that a larger European force is not necessary than what we have at present, which the Lords Directors in the Netherlands as well as the Supreme Indian Government have so deliberately supplied us with, and by which we have been placed in such a formidable position in this Island as no Company in the East ever was; and having accompanied the recent expedition, I have noticed that the European military are not so well able to bear fatigue as the Indian, and that among the latter the Sepoys from the Coromandel coast and Malabar are the most useful. For this reason, and because they have lesser equipment and thereby hamper the train less and are also more easy to obtain than Eastern troops and do not yield to the latter in courage and willingness, I would therefore include among the necessary measures the recruiting of a few more Companies of those soliders, for which Their Supreme Excellencies have already given their sanction by their highly respected secret letter of the 6th August 1762. I am all the more confirmed in my opinion as thereby the European troops would largely be spared in a country where they are so much in demand, so hard to get, and so difficult to maintain.

57 I am also of opinion that the forthcoming expedition should not be begun from so many directions, as experience has taught us that it would be very difficult to bring and continue to keep the various detachments in motion at the right time, indeed almost impossible for all of them to operate with the same vigour. Also there is the wellknown proverb "Vis unita Fortior" (force that is united is more effective), a saying which is as true as it is old.

The lack of (suitable) coolies is a difficulty which here in this Island alone cannot be overcome; however, if we could persuade a few hundred coolies from the nation of the Chalias, or cinnamon peelers, who, in the recent expedition and particularly during the retreat, allowed themselves to be employed with great willingness for the transport of various baggage, and having come here, at the first request of their Chief, the Hon. Jan vander Wert, with great readiness again proceeded to the Army of the Hon: Major and faithfully performed their duties there. If they would allow themselves to be employed in the approaching expedition for transporting the ordinary baggage, very much would be gained in this respect, as not one of that people had attempted to desert, but all have remained faithful to us although one of their comrades who was serving with His Excellency the Governor's palanquin was shot through the arm.

58 The present Captain of the Mahabadde, van der Wert afore-said, who is so respected and loved by that nation that he could obtain from them anything he desired, could, before his departure, exhort them accordingly; and I have no doubt that they would willingly comply with his request.

For the rest, the baggage should be reduced as much as possible, and the Supreme Indian Government requested to send as many Eastern slaves as could be obtained, and if means could be devised by these or any other measures for the transport of the baggage, I have no doubt whatever but that we, with the blessing of Heaven without which all human efforts are useless and impotent, could easily force the Court of Kandia in the forthcoming expedition to enter into an honourable and advantageous treaty according to the intentions of our highly respected superiors. However, in case the lack of coolies could by no manner of means be remedied, and we should thereby be prevented from resuming the expedition against Kandia, I would then declare in favour of the plan indicated by Major Bisschoff in his statement of advice, which certainly in the end would not fail to lead us to the appointed goal; nevertheless, as the same is such a slow operation that several years would be necessary to produce its full results, and the Company during that interval would not only be deprived of the enjoyment of the products of the Island but, in addition, would also have to continue to bear the

59 burdens of the war, I am therefore humbly of opinion that we should first adopt it when all hope had been given up of attaining our object by a shorter method, viz: a valiant resumption of the expedition against Kandia, that had this time failed owing to the extraordinary circumstances, in order to make a much quicker, and, in all respects, a more desired end to the war and its accompanying terrible burdens.

It was my intention to confine myself to my humble sentiments expressed above; but after reading the written advice of the Honourable Chief Administrator de Ly; and finding that he had considered His Excellency the Governor's proposition in an entirely different light, and substituted in its place another proposal of the utmost gravity and significance, which I could not have thought of in my views expressed above, viz: to suspend the operations against the Court of Kandia and to conclude a peace on terms altogether different to those prescribed by the express wishes of the Supreme Indian Government and in conflict with the expectations and the favourable recommendation of the Lords Directors, so have I felt it to be my duty, in view of the great importance of the matter in question, which concerns the welfare of the Company in this Island and the possession of this so precious conquest, to take into closer consideration that unexpected proposition, and in all sincerity to add thereto to my modest sentiments regarding it. The principal and at the same time only basis of that proposition consists in the hypothesis advanced by the Hon: de Ly, that as the prestige of the Company has greatly declined by wars and various misfortunes, it would be difficult, indeed almost impossible, to force the King of Kandia to conclude such an advantageous and honourable peace as what Their Supreme Excellencies have required of us, and that should the Company employ its utmost efforts and power to that end, it would very probably ruin itself as the Portuguese before.

60 That the prestige of the Company may have greatly declined, a fact that is claimed by the Lords Directors as well as Their First Minister in India, according to the important papers which have as their subject the state of the Company and its general retrieval, can be doubted by no one: however, by reading those complaints, I always imagined and still think that they arose from a comparison of its present with its former more flourishing condition, but not by a comparison made of its power against the might of one or another Indian power; and that thereby our respected Superiors chiefly intended to inform their Ministers in India of the great necessity of cutting down all avoidable expenses, and particularly the sparing as much as possible of the terrible costs of a war, if indeed

that was possible without prejudice to its important interests; but by no means that the redoubtable Company of the East would have it known or acknowledged that it found itself impotent to war against a King like that of Kandia.

I base this on the knowledge that I myself have formed of its formidable resources and the inferiority of those of the King of Kandia, and, in addition, particularly on the extraordinary efforts which the Company has made in these days, far exceeding any instance of former times, by the sending of such a considerable reinforcement of military, so many officers and war equipment, which indicates that, if necessary, the war should be prosecuted with vigour.

For we should grievously misjudge our Lords Directors should we imagine that they would have decided on such expensive preparations and encouraged us to a vigorous and prudent use of the military placed at our disposal if they themselves were too weak to accomplish their designs.

I also find the adduced argument, that the Company would ruin itself as the Portuguese before, not only devoid in the very least of any demonstration of plausibility, but also so depressing that I find myself at a loss to refer to it with my accustomed frankness. I shall however say so much as I trust that they who know and have read the history of the military exploits of the Portuguese in this Island will acknowledge these three things:—

1. That they were not half so powerful in this Island as we are;
2. That they, through their own guilt in the betrayal of trust and assurance, and by the perpetration of various acts of lawlessness and cruelty, not only against the vanquished but also their Kandyan allies (at the time), brought down on their heads, besides the general hatred of the people, God's wrath and punishment; and,
3. That they nevertheless would never have been defeated by Kandyans without our help.

Although the foundation on which the entire proposition rests, viz: to suspend our military activities and to make, or seek to make, the aforementioned peace owing to the assumed inability of our Company to coerce the King of Kandia, and the probability that it would ruin itself as the Portuguese before, is completely disproved, there remains however the incontrovertible fact that if without further fighting we could arrive at an honourable and advantageous peace with the Court of Kandia, that would in

every way be preferable to most glorious victories, and should there be a means for such a peace, I would certainly declare outright in favour of the same in preference to any further fighting, for I am as absolutely convinced as anyone else that the heavy war expenses are exceedingly inconvenient to the Company and must accordingly be avoided as soon as that could be done without exposing it to greater disasters, which in this case, I say without any hesitation, would expose it to total ruin in this Island.

63 I do not also agree with the general description (in the document referred to) of an honourable and advantageous peace for so far as it includes these two conditions, viz: that it would assure us as much as possible against the intrusion of our rivals and place us in a position of enjoying the products of the country in security and sufficient quantity.

For I would readily confess that I can see no trace whatever of the special conditions or articles in that description, but, in fact, the contrary. I would say that the special conditions proposed by the Honourable de Ly in the sequel to his document for a peace treaty in no way assures us against the intrusion of foreigners and also do not place us in the position of enjoying the products of the country in security and sufficient quantity, but just the manifest opposite of both; for as soon as we should have restored to the King of Kandia our own conquered territories, particularly Puttalam, Chilaw and Trincomalee, which would appear to be the first article of the aforesaid treaty, the Court will indeed have a free hand for trafficking with all foreigners according to its own will and pleasure, and at the same time for placing in the hands of our rivals the products of the country.

64 It is true that an expedient appears to have been found in order to provide against this in the latter conditions added thereby, viz: that the Kandyans, for their part, should acknowledge us as lawful sovereigns of our own territories and of the sea and the coasts round the whole Island, provided that we allowed them the use thereof as before and they did not dispute the free passage along the same for the transport of elephants, as otherwise.

However, besides that, I have, or can form, no idea of a sovereignty of the coasts round the Island without the same being immediately in our possession or at least given us on hire; and, on the contrary, which I note as an irreconcilable contradiction, if we have to stipulate by a treaty with one and the same party for the sovereignty of a land and at the same time for permission to be allowed to travel, drag or carry anything over it, the arrogant Kandyans will by no means be induced to agree to these condi-

tions unless they were compelled thereto by force of arms. Any one who doubts this may read the letter from their Ministry to the Supreme Indian Government of the 23rd September 1688, and he will find there the boasts of the Kandyan Ambassadors that it was never heard that the Kings of Ceylon had ever sold or pledged any territory, as well as the ola from the Dissava of Three and Four Korales received on the 12th of January this year and written at a time when the Kandyans had less cause for assurance than at present.

The giving of still more presents, according to my opinion regarding the disposition of the Kandyans, which I have formed not only by actual experience but by reading the old and more recent papers, would far rather have the effect of making the 65 Court more arrogant and intractable, but by no means attach it to thereby, not to mention that by choosing this course we by our pusillanimity would greatly encourage foreign nations and the Court freely to conclude treaties for the downfall or prejudice of the Company and its prerogatives and possessions in this Island.

The condition regarding the free collection of cinnamon where the most and best are found is an essential and important article, which I believe the Court will most readily concede, but standing as we now are on such an insecure footing, and should we at the same time make peace with the arrogant Court at the cost of the Company's entire reputation, may we believe that the Court would observe greater rectitude and good faith in fulfilling this or that article, especially after we had restored or abandoned the territories acquired by us? And having dealt with this important point, I leave it to the judgment of everyone who having read the papers of earlier years will know very well what obstacles the Court has continually scattered in our way regarding this matter. The objection raised that the King will not sign such a Treaty is of little importance, essentially of little importance I may say according to all probability, as, by what is stipulated thereby, nothing in the world would have been gained by the Company even if it was signed by him, and also because the King had already declared that he was not disposed to sign a new treaty. I would accordingly have ignored 66 this point had it not been that the suggested expedient to meet this difficulty, viz: that in such case the signature of the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales might be accepted, would give rise to much speculation, if, for the time being, opportunity might be found for the conclusion of an honourable and advantageous treaty, when I should be of the opinion that the signature of the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales, without suitable credentials and authority, and also without the further ratification by the King, would be of no value whatever, although we might be satisfied that the signature of that Minister would



not be repudiated by him, for I opine that we should have a treaty which we could produce in order to convince others of our rights in this Island, not only as opposed to the court of Kandia, but also against any foreign nation which would dispute those rights and assuredly deride a treaty which was not finally signed and ratified by the principals. The further doubt as to whether the Court would agree to the abovementioned articles and continue to observe them merely to have a peace as before, would without any doubt be changed into a certainty as soon as it was noised about in Kandia that we considered ourselves unable to enforce more reasonable conditions.

- 67 It would be unnecessary to state here my further views as to whether the acceptance of peace on the same conditions as before would be better than the resumption of war, accompanied as it was by the risk of losing everything, was it not that what follows in the document with reference to the supposed danger demands it, not taking into account the probability that a certain powerful nation would take a hand in the matter, and of the pernicious consequences that this intervention would produce. For I am able to present more vividly this danger and its farreaching and extremely harmful consequences for our Company because I have been in close touch with the plans and intentions of a certain powerful nation against the Company, and its boldness in carrying them out is one of my most urgent arguments for warning myself not to hand my seal to a peace treaty arrived at on the proposed conditions, or any peace in general whereby our rights over the coast round the whole island are not yielded to us in such a manner that we could dare to show it to our rivals and thereby be able to convince them that we actually possess such rights, as the
- 68 English Ministry of Madras by their reply of the 7th August 1762 required of us to produce in order to prevent them from carrying on further negotiations with the court of Kandia; and I am well assured that the present prolongation of hostilities between the Court and ourselves is the only reason that prevented that nation from entering into further negotiations, because, as long as there was a state of war between Kandia and ourselves and peace between England and our State, that would have been a flagrant breach of peace.

I am assured, and I base my assurance on my personal experiences in my dealings with many of them during my stay in Bengal, that the fortunate successes of our army in the past year considerably extinguished their hopes of such negotiations, and I also know for certain that as soon as they should have had no information of a peace restored on such conditions, they would consider themselves justified in resuming their negotiations and not rest before they had obtained a footing in this Island, and should that happen, which God Forbid !, I am of the same

- opinion as that of the Honourable Chief Administrator that Ceylon would no longer be of any use to us. It is therefore not alone for reason of the express orders of the Supreme Indian Government which, among other things, require that the acquired territories should remain in our possession, that I am unable to agree to such a scandalous and prejudicial peace; and not only because those orders are considered so binding that I for no reason to the contrary would consider myself justified in departing from them or rather in helping and advising to carry out the opposite, but also for such weighty reasons as the true and sole interests of the Company demand, I must persist in my advice for the resumption of the expedition with vigour and courage as soon as the rainy season shall be over, for I find, praise God, no reason either in the power and courage of the Kandyans or in the pusillanimity or impotence of our side to imagine that all expeditions, the higher they advanced, the more disastrous would be the consequences; for the courageous resistance which is attributed to the Kandyans is a predicament which is negated by experience, at least there is no instance of it in this war; and that the expeditions, the higher they advanced, the more disastrous would be the consequences is directly refuted by the expedition this spring from the direction of Matara, when our troops far less than a thousand strong chased the Adigar and his whole force from one mountain range to another, from province to province, without meeting with any such attempts at that courageous resistance and without being hindered by felled trees or entrenchments or other perils (which in addition to their not being foreign to warfare in general, could not be considered to be extraordinary reasons for giving rise to apprehensions) for suspending or hindering this praiseworthy expedition.

- Before the expedition can be resumed, if the majority vote in its favour, we shall have to receive Their Supreme Excellencies' approval in this important matter, and it is clear that it must be left to Their Supreme Excellencies to pronounce their decision thereover: however, we must in the meantime lose not a moment in making the necessary preparations, so that we, in anticipation of Their Excellencies' approval, must be in a position immediately to begin operations as soon as the season of the year may be favourable. It is only the interests I have for the Company in this Island that could have prompted me to state my reasons at such length and so candidly, and, needless to say, I am prepared immediately to renounce them if I can be convinced that the true interests of the Company are involved in the opposite".

Advice given by His Excellency the Governor as follows:—

"When I, at our meeting on the 5th of this month, proposed to the members who were present at the time that they should only help me to consider what measures should be taken in the future, now that the expedition against Kandia had this



time to be abandoned owing to the flight of the coolies and the unseasonable rain, to compel the King of Kandia to conclude a favourable and honourable peace, I little thought that anyone of you, instead of thereupon advising me, would have advanced a proposition for suspending the war and endeavouring to make such a peace as that which I have since discovered by reading the advice of the Honourable Chief Administrator de Ly.

71 But as I have no other object in view than the honour and prosperity of my Fatherland and the service and the true interests of the Company, I accordingly have anxiously considered that strange proposition and shall state in writing my sentiments, which I had intended to mention only verbally, regarding that proposition and the other statements now before us.

I long as much as anyone else to see the restoration of peace and quiet in this Island. This alone had induced me to accept the Ceylon Government at a time that I had intended to return to my Fatherland and my family. This alone can prevail upon me to remain here longer and to deprive myself of the contentment of a peaceful life in the land of my birth. However, as I desire nothing more than an honourable peace, whereby the Company might obtain adequate security for its possessions and its exclusive trade here, also, if possible, the occupation of the coasts, or, at least (a satisfactory assurance) of that which is of the greatest importance, the ability to exclude our rivals from the Island in times of peace by bringing to their notice our vested rights, whereby all foreign nations were debarred from all negotiations with the Kandyans, which (as Your Honours know) were denied by them in a most insidious manner, as appears by the reply of His Excellency the Governor and Council of the English Company at Madras dated the 7th August 1762, in reply to our protest of the 22nd June of the same year.

72 But in order to attain that desired peace, I honestly confess that I know of no other means which could be employed with the least hope of success than by force of arms, viz: either by resuming the general expedition against Kandia as soon as the rainy season is over, or by resorting to the blockade proposed by His Honour Major Bisschoff, for I find the measures for peace proposed by the Honourable de Ly, besides my inability to see how we could now arrive at them, so much in conflict with the reputation of the Company and so harmful and dangerous to its important interests here, that although they were given effect to by the Court to their fullest degree, they would be of no benefit to us whatever, and I am therefore unable to give my vote for them, as I am convinced that thereby the foundation would be laid for the total ruin of the Company in this Island, which possibly would shortly follow such a scandalous peace. One had only to consider the consequences which would follow the restitution of Puttalam, Chilaw, etc, and would not thereby

the door be left open for all the underhand dealings between the Court and our formidable rivals, which it is one of our foremost objects to prevent in the future? And, would not the English, who not only maintain by their reply, which has been referred to, but also by a later communication of the 28th of December of the same year, that the King of Kandia, as an independent sovereign, himself had the right to conclude treaties with all others, and at the same time denied our exclusive right, at the first news of such a scandalous peace, lose not a moment to resume their negotiations which had broken off owing to the war between us and the Court? I would point out that if we had stipulated for the sovereignty of the coasts in the manner proposed by the Hon. de Ly, what effect would that have if the Company did not possess these coasts, indeed if the possessors could not lay down the law regarding their use or misuse? And how would our rivals ridicule a pretended sovereignty of a land which we at the same time relinquished to the other side! Besides the fact that without recourse to force, the Court could not be brought to anything that would resemble any surrender in our favour, but, on the contrary, encouraged perhaps by our pusillanimity play a louder tune than before and assert their arrogant demands of former times!

74 The most favourable terms that we might expect would be that, without the least change for the better, we should have to revert to our former condition in this Island, the defects of which are known to all of you and which the Hon. de Ly prefers to the resumption of hostilities; but it would be a dangerous delusion if we imagined that that condition would at least be as tolerable and not more perilous or ineffective than it was before the war: not so tolerable because the Kandyans seeing our readiness to conclude such a scandalous peace would without doubt attribute it to our admission of our helplessness and pusillanimity or of their own bravery and superiority in war, and would not fail to treat us more arrogantly and from time to time more and more disturb and curtail our liberties and prerogatives: and more perilous and ineffective because our own subjects, who through fear of the Company's arms have so far hardly been kept under restraint, perceiving that pusillanimity would immediately cast off their fear and with disdain rise up against us, at any rate as soon as we should be involved in fresh disorders with the Kandyans, which, I say, is unavoidable before long, should we through their unabated annoyances be forced to have recourse to arms without being in such a formidable position as that in which, praise God, we now are. I must add here that the whole of India has its eyes on our military achievements, and that the Company by such a scandalous peace would entirely lose its prestige and reputation; also that these dangerous rivals at the same time would be in readiness to bring ourselves still more into contempt by the native powers in whose territories we have established ourselves for trade.

75 And how could we by the acceptance of such a peace regard otherwise than as totally lost our equipage and war expenses which, according to Inspector Raket, have amounted F 1,288,988-3-8 ?

It is my heartfelt wish that there were means to avoid these expenses instead of subjecting the Company to worse calamities, but I must now confess that the proposed peace should and also cannot be that means, because the Company thereby would first lose its reputation and thereafter all that it still possesses. Nothing else is therefore left to us but war itself, which must be the means whereby we might promptly put an end to the heavy expenses and at the same time obtain compensation for the same, although that compensation consisted only in the sovereignty of our possessions and adequate security against the intrusion of our rivals on the one hand, and, on the other, the securing of all the cinnamon: two most necessary objects which we never could obtain unless by force of arms. But will the Company be able to furnish those expenses any longer ? From the advice of the Hon. de Ly, the direct conclusion is in the negative; but without advancing further proof to the contrary, one has only got to consider the rich cinnamon yield of the last two years, which, in 1762 consisted of 2373 bales, and in 1763 of 7116 bales, without taking into account that from Puttalam and some old bales, of which, in the former year 2682, and this time 6000 bales were sent to Holland, and which, after deducting the abovementioned war expenses, would still leave a respectable balance as clear profit. And who will deny that the latter rich harvest was chiefly due to the respect paid to our arms owing to our successes from the direction of Matara and the occupation of Puttalam and Chilaw ? All this confirms me in my opinion that the honour of our nation and the true interests of the Company both equally require of us again to begin as soon as possible our campaign against the King of Kandia, as Their Honours the Lords Directors also have been pleased to recommend by their despatch of the 25th October 1763 the making of peace with sword in hand,

Regarding the way and manner in which this must be done, I declare that the plan submitted by the Hon. Major Bisschoff with such thought and foresight cannot but produce in the end a good and complete success; but as it would take many years, during which time we would not only have to bear the heavy expenses but also be able to obtain only a little cinnamon, as the King without any doubt, as a reprisal, would forbid the collection of cinnamon in his territory, not to speak of the loss of arecanuts, elephants and other articles, and as everything, on the other hand, could be dispatched and brought to a desired conclusion by an expedition if the same is successful, I am convinced that plans should be resorted to only as a last resource, and that, as

77 soon as the monsoon shall permit, we should first endeavour to resume with all vigour the unsuccessful expedition against the enemy. And although this means which was undertaken this year had not the desired result, we should all the less shrink from it, because what followed must not be attributed to the prowess and superior forces of the enemy but entirely to unforeseen obstacles, viz: the lack of coolies and the heavy rain. As regards the former, we must devise the necessary ways and means, and the latter was wholly an extraordinary circumstance altogether contrary to the season of the year, and accordingly of no consequence whatever, besides the fact that it was not the rain alone that had prevented the expedition from advancing, but the former inconvenience added to the latter both rendered impossible the transport of the baggage, and with the approaching rainy season in view, made imperative our retreat.

I am also of opinion that instead of attacking the enemy from various directions according to our plan this year, it would be better if, after manning our outposts, we acted in one body with all our remaining forces, because it is difficult for us to bring into action with the same vigour all the scattered detachments, as our experience this time has shown us.

78 We have at hand for this purpose a considerable force, and, in addition, have also received sanction from the Supreme Indian Government to recruit still more Sepoys on the Coast; and it is accordingly my intention immediately to requisition from Negapatnam and Cochin another battalion of Sepoys. This would place us in a better position to act with vigour, and we could thereby dispense with our Europeans, as the English too have realised. And as there are found in the territory of the Tondeman a kind of warriors who take part in wars and are always similarly employed on the Coast as the Hussars in Europe, and according to my ideas, now that I have seen at close quarters the Sinhalese manner of fighting and the condition of the terrain in the Interior, would be of great service: I therefore feel that we should do very well indeed to have a force recruited of a corps of a 1000 to 1500, for which there would be a good chance of success, as, at my departure from the Coast to this place, two of their chieftains had offered on their own initiative to go over with me, being paid similarly as the sepoy and retaining whatever they might obtain as booty; and as this nation is divided into various castes, the lack of coolies could substantially be remedied by obtaining as coolies a third of that number from the low caste. In order to make good any further deficiency we must apply to Batavia for 500 poor Chinese, or, otherwise, the same number of Eastern slaves, and also endeavour to obtain as many coolies as possible from the chalias, as from as many of those whom I had with me not one kept away or showed any unwillingness.

79 More special measures for improving the discipline of the military could more fittingly, I believe, be regulated by the Hon. the Major in particular, but should anything arise regarding which a further decision of the Council may be necessary, I shall inform Your Honours in time of the same. In the meantime I must press upon you the consideration of what has been stated above, all the more as circumstances at the time appear to warn us that we must take all speed to give ourselves a better assurance of our possessions and rights in this Island than what we hitherto have had, while the English are still engaged in Bengal and before they have subjected the State of Madura, which is now their object, and while their attention might be diverted from us by the news of the arrival of a considerable number of French Ships in the Indies; for no one can be so neglectful I think as to ignore the possibility that the British, if we are not in the position of producing beforehand a conclusive treaty with the King of Kandia designed to frustrate their designs upon this precious Island, will not rest before they have obtained a lodgment here, and I leave it to the judgment and speculation of each one of you to realise how harmful the results would be for the Company".

The Collective members persist by their statements of advice; but the Hon. de Ly says that the measures suggested by Major Bisschoff would be the best if those proposed by him did not succeed.

81 In view of the opinion of the majority, including His Excellency the Governor, it is resolved to resume the expedition against the King of Kandy and to postpone no longer the preparations for it. It is resolved to recruit two battalions of Sepoys (one in Coromandel and the other in Malabar), and 100 Kaleros from  
83 Negapatnam to be employed as coolies, and if the latter did  
84 not succeed, to request Batavia to send 500 poor Chinese or 500 slaves for the purpose, to be assisted by 200 or 300 Chalias if necessary. The operations are to be undertaken through the Seven Korales and only from that direction.

85 The abovementioned personnel are to remain at the places where they are recruited pending further definite orders from Batavia.

87 28th April 1764.

It is decided to requisition from Batavia further supplies of coin, camping tents, holster caps, cartridge paper, hatchets, choppers and cook's cauldrons in order to make adequate provision for the extra Sepoys and Kaleros that will be participating in the expedition against Kandy.

## GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY LUDOVICI

(This genealogy traces the descent of the family from the year 1610 and corrects several errors in the genealogy published in the Journal of the Dutch Burghier Union of Ceylon — Volume III, 1910).

BY

EDWIN LUDOVICI

### I

**JOHANNES LUDOVICI (LUDOVICUS, LUDWIG)** b. 1610 in Schloben (Thuringia) d. 8 September 1683 in Mantel (Oberpfalz Bavaria). Ordained priest 6 February 1643 in Kulmbach. From March 1642, deacon in Selbitz (Oberfranken). From August 1646, priest in Dohlau (Oberfranken). From 1649, priest in Kaltenbrunn (Oberfranken) and Mantel (Oberpfalz). From 1682 till death, priest in Mantel. m. first at Leipzig before 1642, Maria Eva Arthner of Leipzig/Sachsen b. 1612 at Leipzig d. 13 April 1677 in Kaltenbrunn. m. again on 10 January 1678 in Kaltenbrunn, Anna Catharina Frischholz (daughter of Jacob Frischholz, citizen of Kaltenbrunn): she died near Kaltenbrunn on Maundy Thursday 1691, buried 14 April 1691 in Kaltenbrunn aged 76 years 3 months. (See Note (i) below). By the first marriage were born :—

1. **HELENA MARGARETHA** Bap. at Selbitz 13 March 1642.
2. A son born dead. Buried in Selbitz on 18 December 1643.
3. **WOLF CHRISTOPH** b. in Selbitz 26 May 1645. Bap. 27 May 1645 d. and buried in Selbitz 3 Sept. 1645 aged 14 weeks less one day.
4. **GEORG WOLFGANG** who follows under II. b. 16 May 1660 at Kaltenbrunn d. 13 December 1699 at Markt Erlbach (Oberpfalz). m. in Weisendorf which is in a parish near Nurnberg on 26 Oct. 1692, Barbara Fuchsbauer, daughter of the deceased Jakob Fuchsbauer of Munchaurach. She was born about April 1668 and died on 30 Oct. 1729 at Markt Erlbach. (see Note (ii) below).

By the second marriage were born :—

1. **JUSTINA MARGARETHA** b. 22 November 1678 at Kaltenbrunn, Bap. 23 November 1678.
2. **JOHANN CHRISTOPH** b. 25 December 1679 at Kaltenbrunn Bap. on the same day.

## II

**GEORG WOLFGANG LUDOVICI** and his wife Barbara Fuchsbauer had three children, namely :—

1. **ANNA BARBARA** b. 20 Sept. 1694 at Birkenfeld in Hunsrach, Germany: bap. 22 Sept. 1694 in the Monastery Church at Birkenfeld in the Diocese of Schauerheim (Mittelfranken).
2. **JOHANN** who follows under III. b. 4 March 1696 at Markt Erlbach d. at Markt Erlbach on 13 Dec. 1771. (see Note (iii) below).
3. **GEORG WOLFGANG** b. (circa) 1696 - 1700 at Markt Erlbach: m. 1 September 1722 at Markt Erlbach Anna Magdalena (Surname illegible). (see Note (iv) below).

## III

**JOHANN LUDOVICI** First married Margaretha Werner and had five children, namely :—

1. **BARBARA** b. 19 July 1722.
2. **MARIA CATHARINA** b. 11 February 1726.
3. **SIXT LAURENTIUS** who follows under IV. b. 10 August 1728 at Markt Erlbach d. in Amsterdam (see Note (v) below).
4. **ANNA CATHARINA** b. 24 November 1731.
5. **JOHANN (JAN) MICHAEL** b. (circa) 1743 d. 6 Nov. 1792 in Amsterdam m. 7 May 1769 in Amsterdam Anna Adelheid Westerhof a daughter of Franz Hendrik Westerhof of Furstenau, Westphalia (see Note (vi) below).

## IV

**SIXT LAURENTIUS LUDOVICI** and his wife Johanna Margreta Elsebeen Westerhof had four children, namely :—

1. **ANNA MARGARETHA** bap. at Amsterdam 16 April 1758.
2. **ALIDA** bap. at Amsterdam I November 1759.
3. **JAN HENDRIK** who follows under V. b. 19 May 1760 at Amsterdam d. 15 March 1804 at Matara, Ceylon. (see Note (vii) below).
4. **JOHANN MICHAEL** bap. at Amsterdam 1 October 1769 (see Note (viii) below).

## V

**JAN HENDRIK LUDOVICI** b. Amsterdam 19 May 1760 d. Matara 15 March 1804 m. Galle 17 June 1789 Gertruida Rudolphina Hoffman (See Note (ix) below). They had issue namely :—

1. **LAURENS WILLEM** b. at Galle 19 March 1790 d. 26 May 1797.
2. **PETRUS JACOBUS HENDRIK** who follows under VI. b. at Galle 3 Feb. 1791 bap. 29 July 1791 d. (circa) July 1875.
3. **JOHANNA MARGARETA** bap. at Galle 10 Feb. 1793 m. (i) 24 Jan. 1814 Johan Lodewyk Quyn of Matara and (ii) 4 November 1820 Johannes Andreas de Vos.
4. **JUSTINA SUSANNA** b. at Galle 25 February 1793 m. September 1813 Willem Hendrik Aldons, b. Colombo 1 Jan. 1792 d. 8 Feb. 1822, son of Robert Aldons and Maria Catherina Lindeman. They had a daughter Catherina Robertina Dorothea Petronella Aldons b. 25 July 1814 d. 11 March 1868 who married Charles Perkins and their son George Henry Perkins m. Amelia Louise Anthonisz daughter of Gerradus Henricus Anthonisz and Susanna Magdalena Ludovici who was a daughter of Petrus Jacobus Hendrik Ludovici by his first marriage. (See VI - 5 below). They had several children one of whom is Samuel Anthonisz Ludovici Perkins. Gerradus Henricus Anthonisz and Susanna Magdalena Ludovici also had three sons Doctor Samuel Ludovici Anthonisz, William Anthonisz, and Vincent Anthonisz. The son of Vincent is Doctor Vincent Henry Ludovici Anthonisz residing at Kandy.
5. **DOROTHEA RUDOLPHINA** b. Galle 12 August 1794 m. 16 September 1815 Bernard Johan Hendrik van Bergheim. The van Bergheim family is now extinct.
6. **WILHELMINA ELISABETH** b. Galle 31 December 1796 m. 12 April 1820 Henry Pieter van Ingen bap. at Galle 29 December 1793. The van Ingen family is now extinct.
7. **HENRIETTA FLORENTINA** b. 23 May 1798 m. 31 May 1819 Willem Brechman son of Johannes Hendrik Brechman (Sitting Magistrate of Gangeboda and Talpe Pattu) and Maria Buultjens (Vide article on Sitting Magistrates by J. R. Toussaint in the D.B.U. Journal). One of the grand daughters of Johannes Hendrik Brechman married Doctor William Harry Meier (a well known medical man in his day and the Superintendent of the Leper Asylum at Hendela, Ceylon) whose nephews were Aelian Clinton Meier of Brooke Bond (Ceylon) Ltd., and Ivo Eric Meier of the Ceylon Medical Department.

8. **MARIA ELIZABETH** b. 3 August 1801 m. Galle 1832 Johan Michael Ernst son of George Nicolaas Ernst of Neustadt on the Aisch (Franconia) and Gertruida Podree. (Helena Catharina Ernst the daughter of George Nicolaas Ernst and Gertruida Podree m. Johan Gabriel Smit whose daughter Anna Petronella Smit was the third wife of Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Lorenz) (See Notes (x) and (xii) below).
9. **JOHAN HENDRIK** b. 25 November 1802 d. Matara 27 November 1861 m. 7 June 1832 Sophia Wilhelmina Veenekam b. 24 May 1814 d. 28 April 1877 daughter of Lieut. Carl Lodewyk Veenekam of Mecklenburg and Maria Elizabeth Weerman. They had issue namely :—
  - (a) **Leopold** b. 11 April 1833 m. at Matara 7 November 1859 Henrietta Ernst daughter of Johan Michael Ernst and Maria Elizabeth Ludovici (8 above) — (see Note (x) below).
  - (b) **Charles Helvetius** b. 23 July 1834 died young.
  - (c) **Louisa Adelaide** b. 5 March 1837 died young.
  - (d) **James Rudolph** b. 23 Dec. 1839 d. (circa) 1925 m. July 1870 Emma Ebert and had by her :—
    - (i) Lorenza van Alken b. July 1871 d. 24 December 1905 m. June 1890 E. J. Buultjens of Matara. They had issue.
    - (ii) Lilian b. Nov. 1872 d. June 1893 m. 1892 M. Auwardt. They had no issue.
    - (iii) Ethel.
    - (iv) Mabel b. November 1875.)
    - (v) Rhoda.
    - (vi) Henrietta b. June 1878.
    - (vii) Florence b. November 1879.
    - (viii) Emma b. September 1880 died young.

The daughters numbered (iii) (iv) (v) (vi) (vii) and (viii) all died unmarried.

#### V1

**PETRUS JACOBUS HENDRIK LUDOVICI** (See Note (xi) below) b. at Galle 3 February 1791 bap. at Galle 29 July 1791 d. July 1875 m. first Henrietta Josephina Smit bap. at Galle October 1802 daughter of Joseph Smit of Dusseldorf and Petronella Henrietta Vollenhoven and secondly at Matara 24 November 1834 Johanna Wilhelmina Justina Lorenz (See Note (xii) below). By the first marriage were born :—

1. **CHARLES DANIEL** b. 4 July 1817 m. first 25 October. 1841 Clara Maria Matilda van der Straaten daughter of Philipus Josephus van der Straaten and Wilhelmina Johanna Gertruida Andree and had by here a daughter Harriet Matilda Ludovici b. 31 August 1842 d. unmarried. He married a second time 21 December 1846 Catherina Wilhelmina Zybrandsz. They had no issue.

2. **STEPHEN HENRY** b. 28 June 1819 d. 26 April 1840 unmarried.
3. **WILLEM HENDRIK** b. 21 November 1820 d. 11 July 1847 m. at Calcutta Carolina Bond. They had no issue. Willem Hendrik Ludovici was one of the five medical students sent to Calcutta at Government expense to prosecute their studies at the Bengal Medical College and they embarked at Colombo in the brig "Bengal" on 6 March 1839. The others were Pieter Daniel Anthonisz (who afterwards became Assistant to the Principal Civil Medical Officer in Ceylon and received the honour of C.M.G.), Henry George Dickman, (whose correct Christian names were Henricus Gerardus) Pieter Henry Toussaint, and Charles Arnold Kriekenbeek. Willem Hendrik Ludovici obtained his degree and returned to Ceylon but died shortly afterwards. Pieter Henry Toussaint is probably the person referred to by F. H. de Vos in his genealogy of the Toussaint family, as Henry Toussaint who was chirurgijn (surgion) b. at Jaffna in 1811 m. there 2 October 1843 Harriet Anderson a daughter of Captain Thomas James Anderson and Adriana Gertruida Toussaint Charles Arnold Kriekenbeek b. 30 November 1827 d. 20 March 1878 m. (i) at Colombo 25 September 1845 Anna Ursula van der Straaten and (ii) 18 August 1856 Emelia Lucretia van der Straaten was a nephew of Willem Abraham Kriekenbeek whose daughter by his wife Francoise Ursula Frederica Even du Hil was Wilhelmina Frederica Kriekenbeek the mother of Maria Eveline Toussaint (see Note (xiv) under the last named). The genealogy of the Kriekenbeek family was published in the Journal of The Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon in Vol. V. Part IV of 1912. Henry George Dickman gave his name to Dickman's Road, Havelock Town, Colombo. He had a son also named Henry George Dickman who was also a doctor and was in the Medical Department of Ceylon for many years but married and settled in England.
4. **HARRIET CAROLINA** b. 11 June 1825 m. first 31 July 1843 Nathaniel Austin Son of Nathaniel Austin Deputy Assistant Commissary General, Galle, and his wife Sophia Frederica Calesky, and secondly on 4 February 1858 James Swan Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary (See Note (xiii) below).
5. **SUSANNA MAGDALENA** b. 10 July 1827 m. 10 July 1857 Gerrardus Henricus Anthonisz b. 30 September 1806 son of Abraham Concilianus Anthonisz and Elizabeth Frede.
6. **PIETER FREDERICK** b. 20 September 1829 d. 17 March 1831.
7. **JOHN WILLIAM** Proctor Supreme Court Ceylon, b. 23 Nov. 1830 m. 14 May 1855 Georgiana Wilhelmina de Vos daughter of Pieter Willem de Vos and Charlotta Eliza van Hagt. They had no issue.

8. **CECILLA MAGDALENA** b. 4 August 1832 d. unmarried.

By the second marriage were born :—

- (a) **Anna Wilhelmina Henrietta Emelia** b. 4 January 1836 m. 26 January 1860 Henry Martin Anthonisz, Secretary Galle Municipality, b. 28 September 1827 son of Leonardus Henricus Anthonisz and Susanna Dorathea Deutrom. They had no issue.
- (b) **Edwin Andrew Lorenz** who follows under VII.
- (c) **Maria Henrietta** b. 28 May 1839 d. 29 August 1841.
- (d) **Frederick George** b. 2 September 1840 d. 10 August 1847.
- (e) **Caroline Harriet** b. 26 September 1842 d. November 1865 unmarried.
- (f) **Eliza Sophia** b. 14 March 1844 d. 1882 unmarried.
- (g) **Julia Maria** b. 16 May 1848 d. (circa) 1920 unmarried.

## VII

**EDWIN ANDREW LORENZ LUDOVICI**, Secretary Colombo Municipality, b. at Colombo 19 June 1837 d. at Galle 30 July 1910 m. at Colombo 8 April 1861 Maria Eveline Toussaint, daughter of Frederick Toussaint and Wilhelmina Frederica Kriekenbeek, who was a daughter of Willem Abraham Kriekenbeek and of Françoise Ursula Frederica

Even du Hil; she was a daughter of Captain Jean Francois Even du Hil and Ester Dulcina Brochet de la Touperse. (See Note (xiv) below) By the marriage were born:—

- 1. **MARIANNE EVELINE** b. at Colombo 1 October 1863 d. at Kandy May 1944 (aged 100 years 7 1/2 months) unmarried.
- 2. **EDWIN** who follows under VIII.
- 3. **FREDERICK TOUSSAINT** District Engineer, Public Works Department Ceylon, b. at Colombo 29 June 1866 d. at Galle 15 April 1904 m. at Colombo 26 March 1894 Grace Mabel Grenier daughter of Gerrit Francis Grenier, Registrar Supreme Court Ceylon b. 1 November 1844 d. 10 February 1917 and his wife Annie Elizabeth Ebell (sometimes referred to as Anna Eliza Ebell) and had issue :—
  - (a) **Frederick** a Bombardier in the Royal Garrison Artillery, b. at Colombo 19 March 1895 killed in Flanders in 1915 during the First World War.
  - (b) **Edwin Francis** b. 25 May 1897 d. 7 January 1898.
  - (c) **Herbert** an Engineer in the Royal Candian Navy and later in the Canadian Merchant Fleet. b. at Colombo 19 July 1900 m. in Canada a Canadian lady Anne.....and resides at Montreal in Quebec.

- (d) **Annie Mabel** b. at Galle 4 June 1903.

- 4. **AMY** b. at Colombo 14 December 1867 d. at Colombo 22 March 1937 unmarried.
- 5. **LUCILLA JULIA** b. at Colombo 25 March 1869 d. at Kandy in 1948 unmarried.
- 6. **FRANCES HARRIET** (The Sister Francesca of All Saints, Mazagon, Bombay) b. at Colombo 24 November 1870 d. at Kandy in 1947.
- 7. **HENRY LAWRENCE** Surgeon, b. at Colombo 22 May 1874 d. at Kandy 13 August 1963 m. first at Galle 26 December 1900 Ethel Lydia de Vos d. in England in 1929 (See Note (xv) below) and secondly at Colombo in 1933 Mabel Leembruggen (Maiden name van Zyl) widow of Robert Henry Leembruggen of Jaffna. There was no issue by either marriage.
- 8. **WILLIAM AMBROSE** Deputy Inspector General of Police, Ceylon, in the Criminal Investigation Department, b. at Colombo 10 February 1876 d. at Colombo in 1939 m. at Galle 26 September 1906 Theresa Eleanor de Vos d. at Colombo March 1965 (See Note (xv) below) and had issue :—
  - (a) **Willem de Vos** b. at Colombo 19 October 1907 d. at Colombo in 1954.
  - (b) **Henry de Vos** b. (circa) 1909.
  - (c) **Theresa Evelyn** b. 13 December (circa) 1911.
  - (d) **Esther** b. (circa) 1912 m. Mervyn Brohier and resides in Adelaide, South Australia.
- 9. **PIETER JAMES OWEN** Superintendent of Police, Colombo, Ceylon, b. at Colombo 10 September 1877 d. at Colombo in 1953 m. at Colombo 27 September 1909 Zoe de Hoedt d. (circa) 1927 (daughter of Frederic James de Hoedt d. 26 September 1890 and his wife Alice Lucretia van der Straaten who was b. 26 November 1852. a daughter of Pieter Englebert van der Straaten and Caroline Elizabeth Pompeus) and had by her :—
 

**Lorenz James Vernon** b. at Colombo 19 September 1910 m. in England Maria.....of Alsace (circa) 1934. They had no issue

## VIII

**EDWIN LUDOVICI**, Colonial Surgeon, b. at Colombo 28 June 1865 d. at Colombo 22 February 1942 first m. at Colombo on 30 May 1892 Katherine Charlotte Selina Hole b. at Colombo 20 July 1866 d. at Galle

7 January 1904 (See Note (xvi) below) and secondly at Galle on 15 Nov. 1907 Edith de Vos (see Note (xv) below). By the first marriage were born :—

1. **EVELINE MARIANNE** b. at Colombo 11 April 1894 d. at Mazagon, Bombay, 10 August 1925 m. at Galle in 1920 Reverend George Arthur Grenier Priest in Holy Orders b. 6 August 1888 son of Joseph Richard Grenier, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Ceylon, and his wife Lydia Driberg.
2. **WILLIAM HENRY EDWIN** Proctor Supreme Court and Notary Public Ceylon and Solicitor of the Supreme Court of England, b. at Galle 23 February 1896 m. at Galle 6 October 1923 Alicia Muriel Arndt b. 22 August 1894 daughter of Arthur Robert Theodore Arndt and Alicia Mabel Felsing and had issue :—
  - (a) **Theodora Katherine Alicia** b. at Colombo 1 January 1925.
  - (b) **Eveline May** b. at Colombo 5 May 1926 m. at Colombo (circa) 1944 Harold van Rooyen son of Frederick van Rooyen, Proctor, Matale, Ceylon, and his wife.....Pompeus.
  - (c) **Jeanne Anne** b. at Colombo 10 Sept. 1929 m. in England (circa) 1952 William Whitelaw of Glasgow, Scotland.
3. **JAMES LORENZ** b. at Galle 10 October 1897 d. at Galle 28 September 1913 while a student unmarried.
4. **GEORGE HENRY** Surveyor, b. at Galle 1 March 1899 d. at Colombo 26 January 1946 unmarried.
5. **KATHERINE EDITH** b. at Galle 27 Dec. 1900 d. in England (circa) 1956 m. at Galle (circa) 1921 Edgar Launcelot Ephraums son of Albert Richard Ephraums and his wife Laura Emmeline Anthonisz.

By the second marriage were born:—

1. **ARABELLA ELIZABETH** b. at Galle 28 September 1908.
2. **LOURENS VICTOR** b. at Galle 13 December 1909 m. at Colombo (circa) 1933 Marjorie Whatmore daughter of Alfred Whatmore and of Elsie Gertruida Wendt b. 9 December 1884 m. 4 April 1910 who was a daughter of Daniel Augustus Wendt and Agenes Eleanor Driberg, and had by her a son Lawrence Ludovici and a daughter Amy Ludovici m. Otto Pelezar.
3. **AMELIA MARGARITA** b. at Galle 29 November 1910.
4. **EDWARD AMBROSE** b. at Galle 5 May 1912 m. at Colombo (circa) 1938 Ruth Piachaud daughter of Gustaaf Edmund Piachaud b. 22 August 1869 and his wife Katherine Ruth Grenier and had by her a son Anthony Ludovici and a daughter Kathryn Ludovici.

## NOTES

- (i) Information obtained from Church records at Selbitz, Dohlau and Kaltenbrunn by Landeskirchliches Archiv, Nurnberg.
- (ii) Georg Wolfgang Ludovici was director of a brewery and the following information has been traced concerning him :—
 

1694 — Director of the ducal Brandenburgs Brewery in the Cloister of Birkenfeld near Neustadt Aisch (Mittelfranken).

1696-1699 — Cup bearer in Markt Erlbach (Page 156 Nr. 32 of the Church books at Neustadt Aisch).
- (iii) Johann Ludovici the elder son of Georg Wolfgang Ludovici (Senior) first married on 10 June 1721 at Markt Erlbach, Margaretha Werner a Viennese lady of Laubendorf near Millstatt in the province of Carinthia (Karnten) in Austria: she was born (circa) November 1697 d. 29 June 1740. He was Major (that is Burgomaster) of Markt Erlbach 1728-1758. Tax Receiver for the country of Markt Erlbach 1740-1741. His baptism is recorded in the Bap. Book at Markt Erlbach page 100 Reverse. He died on 13 December 1771 at Markt Erlbach aged 75 years 8 months and 27 days and was buried on 15 Dec. 1771. (Burial Book at Markt Erlbach page 35 Reverse side Nr. 78). His notice of marriage was given on 25 May, 2 June and 8 June 1721 at Markt Erlbach (Entry Nr. 13). Margaretha Werner was a daughter of Johann Werner of Laubendorf. She died of a miscarriage of twins and was buried at Markt Erlbach aged 42 years 7 months 25 days 6 hours. Johann Ludovici also married a second time on 11 July 1741 at Markt Erlbach (Page 391 Reverse side Nr. 12) Anna Elisabetha Hirschtel (born January 1706 died 17 May 1758 at Markt Erlbach). She was a daughter of Stephan Hirschtel who was sculptor under Count Hehenlobe —Wilmsdorf.
- (iv) Georg Wolfgang Ludovici (Junior) the second son of Georg Wolfgang Ludovici (Senior) had five children by his marriage all of whom were born at Markt Erlbach, namely :—
  - (a) Leonhard b. (circa) 1723
  - (b) Andreas b. 25 March 1726
  - (c) Georg Michael b. 8 June 1728
  - (d) Elisabetha Barbara b. 24 November 1730
  - (e) Anna Margaretha b. 11 August 1733
- (v) Sixt Laurentius Ludovici was a German, not born in the Netherlands. The date of his entry into the Netherlands from Markt Erlbach cannot be traced, but it is clear he migrated at some time prior to 1757. He was married at Amsterdam on the 8th



May 1757 (not 22nd April 1757, as reported by F. H. de Vos) before "schepenen" (aldermen) to Johanna Margreta Elsebeen Westenhoff. Her father was stated in the certificate of intended marriage to live at Furstenuw in Westphalia and was Franz Hendrik Westenhoff. (The second Christian name of the wife is wrongly spelt by F. H. de Vos). Usually, the surname of the wife occurs as WESTERHOF; that is how the surname is given in the baptismal certificates of her four children and in her certificate of death. The entry of her death is as follows:—

Johanna Margaretha Westerhof housewife to Laurens Ludovici was buried in Amsterdam at the Sint Anthoni Church-yard August 5th 1779: she lived in the Warmoesstraat opposite "de Niezel" and left three children.

The reference in the death certificate to three children is because one had predeceased her. According to the entry that has been traced at Amsterdam, Laurens Ludovici from Markt Erlbach became a "poorter" of Amsterdam June 2nd 1757. The word 'poorter' means a citizen. This proves that he became a citizen of the Netherlands soon after his marriage. Unfortunately, the entry of the death of Laurens has not been traced.

The following is a translation of the entry in the church register at Markt Erlbach of the baptism of Laurens Ludovici:—

Safety films of the church books. Film 196/5. Markt Erlbach: Christenings, Marriages, Deaths, 1696-1737.

Christening Markt Erlbach anno 1728, Nr. 41. Tuesday, 10th August 1728, on the day of Laurentii.

(41) **Sixtus Laurentius.** To Meister Johann Ludovici, Burgo-meister and his wife Margaretha, a born Viennese from Laubendorf — born between 2 and 3 a.m. a son, and baptised on the same day and promised (i.e. sponsored) by Meister Sixt, citizen and tailor in this same town, thereupon he was named Sixt and after the day of Laurentii, Laurentius.

According to the Calendar of the Catholic Church, among the martyrs in the age of the persecutions of the early Christians who are commemorated as Saints, we find the name of St. Laurence (in Latin-Laurentius). He was a Deacon and Martyr; he died as a martyr in the year A.D.258. The tenth of August in every year is the Feast of St. Laurence, or Laurentius as he is called in the Latin Language.

This evidence proves that Laurens Ludovici was baptised in his home town of Markt Erlbach in the Oberpfalz of Bavaria where he was born, and given the name of Sixt after his god-father, and the name of Laurentius after the Saint on the day of whose Feast he was baptised. It seems that he was called "Laurens" for convenience, as a short form of Laurentius or he may have adopted the short name when he migrated to the Netherlands as that was the name given in his certificate of marriage at Amsterdam on 8th May 1757. F.H. de Vos gives the year of birth of Laurens Ludovici as 1729, which is clearly wrong.

- (vi) Johann (Jan) Michael Ludovici married a sister of the wife of Sixt Laurentius and had children by her. Their son Jan Willem b. (circa) 1775 living at Haarlemmerdijk in the Netherlands m. 30 October 1808 Mijna van Vastenouw from Rotterdam, daughter of Wouter van Vastenouw in the Schipperstraat (The Netherlands).
- (vii) Johan or Jan (John) Hendrick or Hendrik (Henry) Ludovici was a naval surgeon (Chirurgijn) who came to Ceylon in or about 1789 in the service of the Dutch Government and agreed to serve the British Government as a surgeon. F. H. de Vos in the Journal of the Dutch Burger Union of Ceylon Vol. 1 No. 2 published 30th June 1908 at page 87 says that Dr. J. H. Ludovici was "living in Ceylon 1789-1804". Ceylon was ceded to Britain at the Treaty of Amiens signed on 15 March 1802. He died on 15th March 1804 and was buried in the Dutch Presbyterian Church at Matara. A memorial tablet was placed over his grave in the vestry of the church (see "Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon" by J. Penry Lewis, page 208, and page 75 of "Lapidarium Zeylanicum" by Leopold Ludovici). There is a mystery about the date of birth on which Lewis comments. Lewis gives the year as 1765 but it actually appears as 1768 on the memorial tablet which would make the doctor twelve years old when he obtained his diploma as a surgeon in 1780. We do know however, because it has been traced from records at Amsterdam, that he was baptised there on 10th May 1765, as an Evangelic Lutheran. The following were the terms of his diploma as translated by the late R. G. Anthonisz:— We, the undersigned Doctors of Medicine and Surgeons in Ordinary to the Honourable the Commissioners of the Board of Admiralty of this place, authorised by Their Honours aforesaid, to examine all sea-faring surgeons who present their services to the aforesaid Honourable College as first, second, or third Surgeons certify by these presents that Jan Hendrick Ludovisic of Amsterdam, having appeared before us, has in such a manner satisfied us in respect of his Medical and Surgical qualifications, that we deem him fit to serve the State as third Surgeon in the Naval Service of the Country; which we attest and confirm by our signatures hereunder.

Given at Amsterdam on the 17th February in the year 1780

(Signed) HERM. GER. OSTERDYK.  
BS. HUSSEM.  
D. LAM.

The Centraal Bureau Voor Genealogie at The Hague, which traced the year of baptism of Dr. J. H. Ludovici at Amsterdam on being asked for assistance, wrote as follows:—

"We beg to inform you that the actual year of birth of Jan Hendrik Ludovici is 1765 and not earlier.

As in those days there was no registration of births, we have to gather nowadays the data from the baptismal books.

These gave us the actual record of Jan Hendrik Ludovici's Evangelic Lutheran baptism to have taken place May 10th 1765.

As was most usual in The Netherlands the baptisms always took place some days after the births, so that as a matter of fact the date of birth of Jan Hendrik certainly lies close to his date of baptism.

We learnt from his diploma, that he appeared to be a qualified "Derde Chirurgijn" (may be compared with an apprentice "Chirurgijn") and we can state that it was probable in those days to obtain this kind of diploma at this early age."

The diploma gives his name as Jan Hendrick Ludovisie; the spelling of the Surname is unimportant; in the German "Deutsches Geslechterbuch" it is spelt as Ludowici.

Leopold Ludovici in his monumental work "Lapidarium Zeylanicum" on page 75 gives the date of birth as May 19, 1768, which is the date on the memorial tablet. It seems clear that Leopold Ludovici, who was a grandson of Doctor Ludovici, merely took the date on the memorial tablet, without verification. But it is curious that Landeskirchliches Archiv at Nürnberg in Germany have discovered a record at Markt Erlbach in the Oberpfalz which is the Upper Palatinate of North Bavaria from whence his father emigrated to the Netherlands, that Jan Hendrik Ludovici was born at Amsterdam on 19 May 1760. His baptism therefore may have been five years later.

(viii) Johann Michael Ludovici who was a brother of Jan Hendrik Ludovici was Second Surgeon of the Hospital at Batavia in Java. m. 17 December 1799 at Batavia Alida Janetta Wonneman of Amsterdam.

(ix) Gertruida Rudolphina Hoffman was b. at Galle 22 November 1772, daughter of Christoffel Willem Hoffman of Berlin b. 11 October 1747, and Johanna Margarita Muurling of Galle who was daughter of Johannes Muurling of Westerwick (Sweden)

and Cassandra Pietersz. Christoffel Willem Hoffman and Johanna Margarita Muurling were the parents also of Elisabeth Petronella Hoffman, b. at Galle 17 March 1774 married there 9 Sept. 1787 Gerrit van Alken of Amsterdam, garrison-surgeon. Their children were:—

(a) Johanna Maria van Alken, b. at Galle 19 November 1788, m. Johannes Jacobus Helvetius van Riemsdyk, b. at Batavia 1781 d. there 9 March 1854, son of Willem Vincent Helvetius van Riemsdyk and Catharine Johanna Margarita Craan, daughter of the road-extraordinair Jacobus Johannes Craan and grandson of the Governor-General Jeremias van Riemsdyk by his fourth wife Adriana Louisa Helvetius.

(b) Regnier van Alken, b. 31 May 1790, d. 5 August 1826, m. 23 September 1819 Susanna Johanna Henrietta de Vos, daughter of Johannes Andreas de Vos and Johanna Gerardina Kryaer.

(x) Leopold Ludovici began his career as a Government Surveyor in the Ceylon Survey Department which gave him wide experience of the country. Later he joined the staff of the newspaper called the Ceylon Examiner and afterwards became its editor and finally its proprietor. James Reginald Toussaint has written certain memoirs about Leopold Ludovici published in his brochure titled "My Literary Indiscretions". Leopold Ludovici is the author of his great work "Lapidarium Zeylanicum", as well as a booklet called "Rice Cultivation in Ceylon", and certain other books including a magazine "Puck" of which no copy is now extant. He also contributed to the Quarterly Magazine and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. His articles were always considered fine pieces of literature on subjects about which he was well informed. In his heyday, Charles Ambrose Lorenz and he were leading citizens of Ceylon. The former had tongue and voice; the latter wielded the pen. There is a memorial tablet in the vestry of the Presbyterian Church at Matara, which is placed next to the memorial tablet for Doctor Jan Hendrik Ludovici, commemorating the parents of Leopold Ludovici.

(xi) Petrus Jacobus Hendrik Ludovici was a prominent citizen of Galle, the capital town of Ceylon till the middle of the nineteenth century. He was the second signatory to an address, dated 17 Sept. 1817 presented as a farewell to Sir Alexander Johnston on his retirement as Chief Justice of Ceylon. Among several signatories there were also Johannes Hendrik Brechman, Willem Brechman, and Abraham Concilianus Anthonisz — all connections of the Ludovici family.

(xii) Johanna Wilhelmina Justina Lorenz was a daughter of Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Lorenz of Tempelburg in Prussian Pomerania, Sitting Magistrate, Matara, and his wife Maria Elizabeth Andrae who was b. at Cochin 10 January 1788, d. at Galle 22 April 1809,

a daughter of Johann Friedrich Andrae of Golding, Sweden, Capt.—Lieut. of Cochin, and Josina Magdalena van Haren of Cochin who was a daughter of Reynier van Haren of Campen, opperkoopman and hoofd administrateur of Cochin b. at Campen 12 December 1734, d. at Cochin 16 March 1789. For a full account of J. F. W. Lorenz see "Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon" by J. Penry Lewis.

- (xiii) James Swan was a son of Joseph Swan and Louisa Anna Gouilliard, b. 1793, daughter of Noel August Gouilliard of St. Pol, Artois, Pays de Calais, Surgeon, Luxemburg Regiment, and Anna Burnat of Matara. One of their descendants was St. Clair Swan, a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Ceylon, who married Evelyn Hole a daughter of Doctor George Hole and Florence Wright.
- (xiv) An uncle of Maria Eveline Toussaint whose mother's sister, Elizabeth Louisa Magdalena Susanna (or Justina) Kriekenbeek was the mother-in-law of Doctor Charles Arnold Kriekenbeek M. D. who lived and practised in the area known as Colpetty in Colombo gave his name to what is still called Arnold Place. The stone slab bearing this name is yet on a wall on the land side of Galle Road near the turn to what is now Simon Hewavitarne Road. He was also a Grand Master in Freemasonry. Maria Eveline Toussaint's mother, Wilhelmina Frederica Kriekenbeek, was a descendant of Rutgerus van Kriekenbeek who came to Ceylon from Holland in 1659 as Boekhouder and whose daughter, Henrietta, married at Galle on 7 August 1661, Thomas van Rhee who became Governor of Ceylon in 1692. (See the article by James Reginald Toussaint on "Dutch ladies who lived in Ceylon" in his book titled "My Literary Indiscretions" in which he refers to a Silver Medal struck on the occasion of the twenty fifth anniversary of the marriage of Thomas van Rhee, and Henrietta van Kriekenbeek which, he records, is in the possession of a descendant of the Kriekenbeek family.
- (xv) Ethel Lydia de Vos and Theresa Eleanor de Vos, and also Edith de Vos who was the second wife of Edwin Ludovici (See VIII) were daughters of William Edward de Vos, Crown Proctor of Galle, and Sophia Emelia Speldewinde.
- (xvi) Katherine Charlotte Selina Hole was a daughter of George Adolphus Hole and his wife Katherine Jane Wallbeoff, who was a daughter of John Edmund Wallbeoff, Wrangler of Cambridge and Charlotte Elizabeth Wilhelmina Roosmale-Cocq. George Adolphus Hold was a son of Rev. George Algernon Hole, Wesleyan Minister, who came to Ceylon from Devon, England. He died at Paumben S. India. He married Selina Tranchell born 26 February 1817 (Bap. St. Peter's Church Colombo on 19 May 1817) a daughter of Gustavus Adolphus Tranchell, Colonel of the Malay Regiment in Ceylon and his wife Elizabeth (or Eliza) Selway of England.

## BURGER UNEMPLOYMENT IN EARLY BRITISH TIMES

BY

G. V. GRENIER

A report drawn up by the Ceylon Government in 1800 for the consideration of the Secretary of State and published by the late Rev: S. G. Perera, S. G. as "The Douglas Papers" contains, *inter alia* general items of information as to the employments open to our ancestors during the earlier years of the British Regime. Such were not many, for the view of the Government then was that "the Dutch inhabitants are inimical, being almost to a man ruined by our occupation of Ceylon" and that "their personal as well as the national connection between them and the mother country and the remaining Dutch settlements.....require their exclusion from Government employments" so as "to render us independent of the Dutch and to destroy their influence in the country" (pp 16, 40 and 137).

It had been found, however, that in certain cases it was impossible to do without Dutch help and consequently an exception was made in favour of the Burghers who it was considered "would give an easy supply to all places of an inferior nature" (p 50). Accordingly it was reported "In the Police and any inferior departments Dutchmen whose local knowledge and acquaintance with the language have rendered them necessary, had been employed, it being also stated that "if not thus provided for Government could not have refused them subsistence."

This human aspect of the problem was also stressed by the Secretary of State whose "observation" (no. 41 at p. 138) was to the effect that "the circumstances of the Dutch and other inhabitants considered as Europeans.....make it requisite to act in a manner consistent with both the principles of justice and humanity and with those of sound policy and of security to our dominions in the Island". In consequence of this attitude of the Secretary of State the range of persons to be granted subsistence allowances was apparently widened and those who could not be employed "suitably to their rank in life without dishonour or inconvenience" and had heretofore been considered only as "proper objects of public charity" were also granted allowances. By the year 1806, however this practice, it was declared in a Government Notification dated October the 22nd, was to terminate with the departure of the next cartelship with such "servants of the Dutch East India Co., whether Civil or Military" as wished to take this opportunity of making their home in Batavia. It was further declared that no more such cartelships would be permitted to enter in future any ports of the Island and that such persons as could not "from motives of personal convenience" depart by the next ship which was "daily expected" would be permitted to remain in the Island, but would not be entitled to be paid any allowances.

Many of those who remained did so apparently because they could not sell their landed property for suitable prices, the range of possible buyers being limited owing to "His Majesty's command prohibiting the purchase of houses and tenements by Europeans without the four gravets of Colombo", such prohibition having been found "very prejudicial to the servants of the late Dutch Government who have houses at Jafnapatam, Trincomalee and Galle which cannot be sold to natives without great loss.....many families are compelled to remain in Ceylon for the fear of losing a considerable part of their property by removal" (Governor North's dispatch of 9-5-1803 to the Secretary of State). Such families therefore after 1806 had to depend mainly on such organisations as dealt with the relief of the poor, which the Report states was "well conducted by associations of responsible persons called Deaconries. The Deacons of Colombo receive the alms collected in the Churches and the fines to which the Fiscal and the Governor condemn individuals for any misconduct.....Besides regular monthly charities and casual donations this Deaconry (i.e. of Colombo presumably) maintains an Orphan House, where are brought up at present 15 boys and 22 girls" (Douglas Papers p. 153). The picture presented by the facts stated above is, in so far as the economic condition of our ancestors is concerned a sad one and it is not to be wondered at that several of them had to take to minor trades and avocations to supplement their income. In spite however of the lowering of their scale of living which the deprivation of allowances must have caused it is notable that in 1807 the Rev. James Cordiner, Garrison Chaplain, was able to say of them that they were "always decent and respectable."

## —LEST WE FORGET—

Douglas St. Clive Budd Jansze.

The death of Douglas St. Clive Budd Jansze in his 58th year, only a few months after his retirement from the Public Service, removed from the midst of us one who had been a member of the Union for 30 years.

He was born in 1906 at Kandy where his parents had been long resident. His education was at Trinity College where he distinguished himself by winning many prizes. On the results of the honours and distinctions he obtained at the Cambridge Senior Examination he was awarded a scholarship at the University College, where he obtained an Honours Degree in Classics. He thereafter entered the Law College and was admitted an Advocate in 1934. After a few years of private practice he held acting appointments from time to time in the Attorney General's Department, in which he was confirmed as a Crown Counsel in 1946. In 1956 he rose to be Solicitor General and in due course won the status of a Queen's Counsel. On the retirement of Mr. Noel Gratiaen he was appointed to act as Attorney General, being confirmed in that high office in 1957. Mr. Jansze did not confine himself to purely routine duties but in spite of poor health led the prosecution in several important cases, for, as was stressed at a sitting of the Full Bench when the Attorney General made most appreciative references to his life and work, he always persisted in giving of his best to the service of the Department and of the country. The Hon. Mr. Justice H. N. G. Fernando in particular referred to his conduct of the prosecution of the Coup Case "Ceylon's longest trial, a task as unpleasant and delicate as was performed by any of his distinguished predecessors but which he discharged with his customary fairness, firmness and dignity and in a manner worthy of his high office".

As a member of the Union Mr. Jansze with his kindly countenance and self-effacing manner, was always sure of a welcome but owing to official burdens and poor health was unable to do much more than help at meetings of the Social Service and S. Nikolaas Home Standing Committees.

Mr. Jansze was also a loyal Churchman, having been of the greatest assistance both in parochial and in Diocesan affairs.

His opportunities for the recreation which his health sorely needed were but few and it was in the intimacies of home life that he found much solace and refreshment. The sympathies of us all will go out in full measure to Mrs. Jansze and their family in the loss of one who — to quote the words of the Hon. Mr. Justice Fernando — "in official and personal life adhered to the spiritual and moral precepts of his religion and was a good and faithful servant of God and Man".

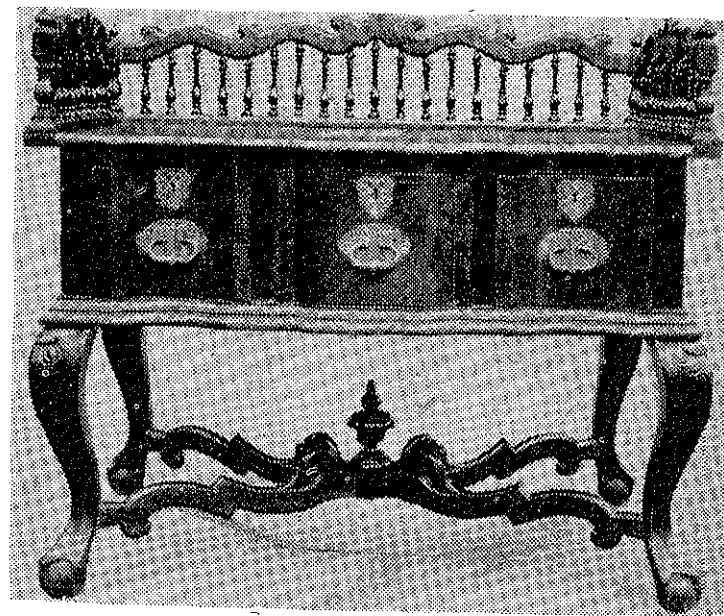
## DURAND ALTENDORFF

On the 15th of November last there passed away in his 94th year Durand Victor Altendorff who for loyalty and selfless service to the Union had created a memorable record.

He was born on October 19th 1873 to Mr. and Mrs. C. H. B. Altendorff of Matara. The founder of the family in Ceylon, Marten Lodewyk Altendorff had arrived in Ceylon from Germany, on the ship "Hogers-wilde" in 1730.

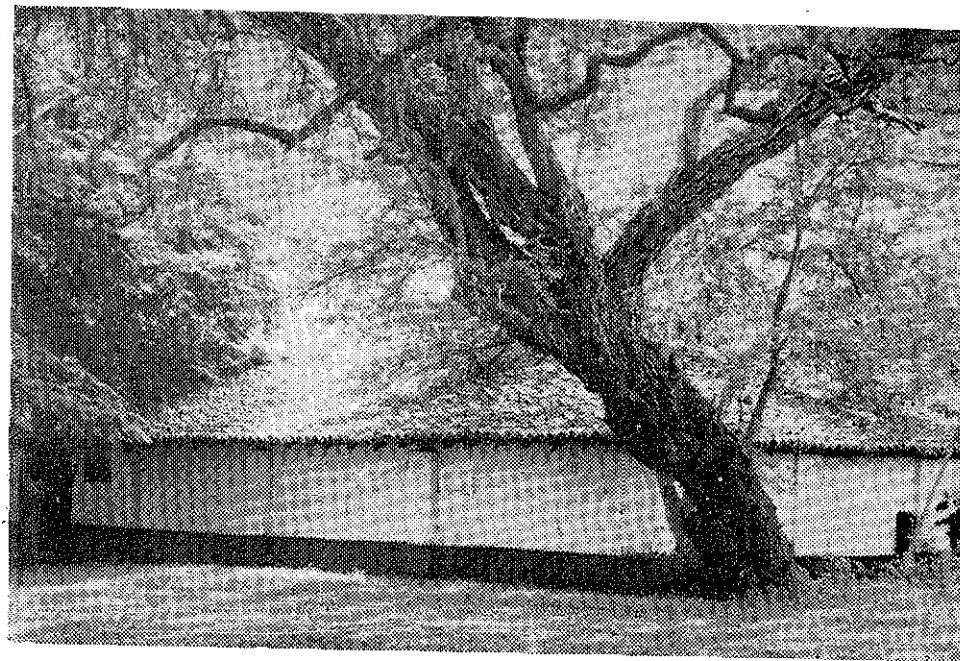
Durand's early schooling was in his home-town, but later he entered St. Thomas' College, Mutwal, in the days of Warden Miller. On completing his education he joined in 1894 the Ceylon Police Force, in which Department he served (except for short-periods at Kalutara) mainly in Colombo, setting a consistent example of unswerving devotion to duty and of strict integrity, also making for himself quite a name as a disciplinarian. Promotion to higher office came but slowly in those days and in 1905 he was only a Station House Officer on a salary of Rs. 80/- per mensem. His own promotion and that of several brother-officers to higher office was due (he would relate with pardonable pride) to his own fearlessness and forthrightness, for it was on the occasion of an inspection of the Force by Governor Sir Henry Blake that he took the opportunity of informing him that the Inspectorate had been unjustly overlooked in the matter of promotion to "commissioned rank". The result was that he was soon appointed an A. S. P. and the practice of recognising merit began to be adopted in the Department. His abilities thereafter had fuller scope for their exercise and he used to be selected to organise any new sub-departments that became necessary, such as the Finger Print Bureau and the Police Training School. He soon made himself indispensable at Headquarters, Sir Herbert Dowbiggin, the Inspector General, once remarking of him "If not for you, Altendorff, I would be sitting on a volcano". He finally rose to be Deputy Inspector General and on retirement in 1931 was awarded the Imperial Service Order.

As a member of the Union Mr. Altendorff's interest in it was deep and consistent. He regularly attended all Committee meetings and he could always be counted on to make valuable and constructive contributions to the discussions, while of his work as Honorary Secretary which post he once held we cannot speak too highly. At general meetings he was always to be reckoned with, for he was accustomed to study with thoroughness all matters on the Agenda and not to mince his words when dealing with any particular item. Even in his later years we were privileged to benefit by his labours in the matter of genealogies, both for purposes of record and also in connection with emigration to Australia. Well nigh 200 of such genealogies were compiled by him, all Church records and other material being painstakingly studied by him for the purpose, so much so that the Australian Government accepted without hesitation any certificate granted by him. No charges were made by him for such work, but he always required applicants to make instead a suitable contribution towards Union funds. It remains to conclude this appreciation by some reference to his domestic life. He married on December the 28th 1905, at the Wolvendaal Church, Gertrude Christoffels (the daughter of William Sperling Christoffels) who survives him. Two children were born to them — a boy in 1907 and a girl in 1914. Fate however intervened later and their parents were bereaved of them in 1951 and 1952, respectively, but the complete and steadfast faith of Durand and Gertrude in the Will of the Almighty enabled them to bear these blows with due resignation and courage.



Dresser or side-board of 18th century period

*By courtesy; Times of Ceylon Ltd.*



The barn which the first Stuart erected for baling cinnamon—in the spacious garden behind Stuart House

*By courtesy; Times of Ceylon Ltd.*

## LINKING THE PAST

By R. L. Brohier, D. Litt

AN OLD-WORLD HOME AND ITS  
ANTIQUES

*While other countries are dedicating themselves to conserving their old buildings and preserving exhibits which are cornerstones of history, it seems a great pity we in Ceylon think of antiquity—if we do at all—only in terms of thousand's of years. This is the story of a case in point.*

In the early days of the British occupation before our greater Colombo of the present day found its place in the marshes and quagmires which lay around the ramparted fort and the extra mural area which we call the Pettah, British merchants built themselves godowns off the shores of the Beira Lake. Into these godowns first came the bales of cinnamon, and the spices of Ceylon which commanded good prices abroad. These commodities were the forerunners of coffee, and much later, tea which was to fill Ceylon's coffers and make her famous the world over,

Among other enterprising settlers who bought land at Darley Road, Vauxhall Street, Kew Gardens and Wekanda and built bungalows and godowns, was a pioneer merchant named James Steuart. He was a Ships' Captain and Master Mariner, but on arrival in Ceylon in the year 1818, set himself up as merchant and banker.

Steuart purchased an extensive tract of land on the shores of the Beira Lake off Wekanda, and on the further shore off Polwatte extending to the sea off Galle Face. Here he established his business, and lent his name later to "Steuart Place", by which we call that section of the Galle Road which runs through his property.

In this perfect setting James Steuart erected the bungalows which have long been a feature of Steuart Place. Their lowslung, slanting roofs and pillared verandahs, have weathered the monsoon storms for over a century and a half. To this day one may see in the garden behind these houses and off the shores of the Lake the barn which the first Steuart erected for baling cinnamon and the early bungalow which he is said to have first occupied.

## COMPANY'S ORIGINS

The Steuart story does not however stop at this. A few years later, James Steuart, through political patronage — which was not out of reckoning even in those days, was appointed "Master Attendant of the Roads of Colombo". He was permitted the privilege of retaining his private interests. As Master Attendant, shipping came entirely within his purview. The advantage which accrued to him as a private merchant



to hold command over the disposal of cargo awaiting shipping, and to make the allocation of the boats which plied from shore to ship, was apparently resented by the other merchant-shippers who competed with him in business. The Government of that day in the circumstances found itself "press-ganged" to take some action. This resulted in James Steuart being asked to choose whether he would elect to be Merchant-Banker, or Master Attendant.

James Steuart planked for the office of Master Attendant, but wrote immediately to his brother George to come out to Ceylon and take over the Merchant-Banker business. So began the well-established business house, which came to be called George Steuart and Company—raised on the foundation laid by James Steuart twenty five years earlier.

James Steuart by his last will drawn up in 1863, left all those lands and houses on both sides of "the High Road leading from Colombo to Point de Galle"—subject to certain life interests, to the then Lord Bishop of Colombo and his successors in office. The net rents and profits were to be applied for the propagation of the Gospel in Ceylon according to the formalities and doctrines of the Church of England. The life interests, which in the main concerned two old ladies — his widowed and spinster sisters, and two nieces—came to an end many years ago.

### PERIOD FURNITURE

Howbeit, the firm of George Steuart has been the tenant of one of the bungalows ever since the conveyance of the property was effected in 1870. Naturally there came to be collected in these bungalows over the many years, quite a variety of period furniture. We owe it to a senior partner—Thomas Villiers, who was later knighted — that in his time there came to be collected in Steuart House a magnificent assortment of heavy articles of 17th and 18th century furniture, including many specimens of genuine colonial-Dutch antiques. For purpose of identification they will hereafter be referred to as the "Steuart Collection".

The most cogent reason for the rarity of genuine Dutch period furniture is the fact that they were usually massive, literally immovable and took up a great deal of space which the average modern house or flat is not built to offer. Thus many a specimen, such as the ebony four-poster bed with tent frame to take its dimity hangings—known as the *kooi* the *knapstock* or hat-rack, the *rust-bank* or sofas used as "day beds" the massive *comptoirs* or cabinets for books china linen and clothes and many other bits too numerous to mention which were built more with a view to strength than luxury, found their way into junk-shops to make room for modern streamlined elegance which was less austere and more comfortable.

### THE COLLECTION

Very fortunately the "Steuart Collection" had found in this early British bungalow planned on colonial-Dutch lines with large rooms and open verandahs, a perfect setting.

Nevertheless, the sands of time are running out for this building with its century and a half, and even more, of history. Utilitarianism, which so unfortunately with us in Ceylon never leaves a chance for sentiment, has selected Steuart House and its spacious lawns and garden for the erection of a modern hotel. In weeks from the time in which I write, the old building will keep its place no longer.

And ..... "What ?" I enquired of the present occupier, "is to happen to the Steuart Collection of antiques ?"

"I shall wrap them in sackcloth and store them away in a godown for the present" he replied.

Very truly might one add to this dialogue the word ICHABOD — "their glory is departed". Has it not been proved that one must be kind to old furniture, inasmuch as one should be to old people !

Suppose, then, we take a look round at the most striking antique in the "Steuart Collection" before they find oblivion. The most singular piece in the collection is the heavy side-board of the 18th century period which is illustrated. The spindles used as baluster ornament to support the "strap-work" pediment on three sides, and the ornamental stretches to the legs with the urn-shaped vase as finial, bespeak even to the uninitiated, what the world has lost since machines took over the work done by the hands of the patient craftsman. The escutcheons, or keyhole plates of brass and the drop-handles on the three fitted drawers are components in a modest scheme of decoration—rather different to the "brazen" adornment on modern fakes passed off as Dutch antiques today.

The wood used for this unique piece of furniture is Nadun. It is beautifully grained, chocolate-brown in colour, and has acquired an exquisite natural lustre from years of polishing.

The legs of the sideboard illustrated are of the cabriole type: that is to say, a curved leg depicting a knee with a convex bend, and an ankle with a concave sweep. It is claimed to be an eastern inspiration, probably Chinese, and to have reached Europe principally through the Netherlands, when the Dutch East India Company were doing the bulk of the carrying from China to the West.

This inspiration was much in vogue in the 18th century. The principal characteristic of the "cabriole leg" was a claw and ball terminal—interpreted to represent the "Chinese dragon's claw grasping the Buddhistic pearl-jewel". There came to be many innovations in this terminal such as the lion's foot, eagles' claws and talons rams' hoof, of or more simply, a club foot.

The device in this instance carved on the knee of the cabriole legs is a favourite ornament used by the Dutch craftsman. It is called: "scallop-shell". This was frequently used architecturally as well—and may be seen to this day niched between the pediments of the gables in the Wolvendaal Church.

(To be continued)



## NEWS AND NOTES

## JACOB BURNAND:

In an article, entitled "New Light on Cleghorn's Minute on Justice and Revenue", that appears at pages 1 to 28 of volume of the "Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" (1966), Professor T. Nadaraja shows that the well-known "Minute dated 1st June 1799 on the Administration of Justice and of the Revenues under the Dutch Government" by Hugh Cleghorn (1751 - 1836), one of the earliest British civil servants, was not an original composition by Cleghorn but that it was based on a memoir in French, dated 12th May 1798, written by Jacob Burnand (1752 - 1816), a senior civil servant of the Dutch East India Company who served the British after 1795.

The article also gives details of several "Papers", submitted by Burnand, which the Professor found in the Public Record Office in London. He gives very full references to the authorities: there are 125 notes for the ten pages of text of the article. The article concludes with the words: "In conclusion the present writer would like to state that he would be amply compensated for the labour involved in the preparation of this article if it serves not merely to throw "New Light on Cleghorn's Minute" and on its author but also to call attention to the career and some of the "papers" of Jacob Burnand, one of the ablest servants of the Dutch East India Company. The importance of his services, first to his Dutch employers and later in the smooth transition from the Dutch to the British regime, has not so far received the recognition that they deserve".

Readers of the "Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon" will find in the article referred to (at pages 6 to 10 and notes 59 to 125) full details relating to the life and work of a senior civil servant of the Dutch East India Company and tributes to the services he rendered.

## DUTCH CEMETERY AT GALLE:

It was recently reported in the local papers that the Galle Municipal Council had decided to acquire the old Dutch Cemetery for the purpose of erecting a central market for the town. The following letter signed by Dr. R. L. Brohier, Dr. R. L. Spittel, Messrs: V. Jonklaas, S. K. Kadirgamar, H. A. S. Hulugalle, R. S. V. Poulier and (Mrs.) Christine Wilson was addressed to the Hon: The Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs:

"It has been reported in a local paper that the Galle Municipal Council at a recent meeting, decided to acquire the old Dutch Cemetery at Galle for the purpose of erecting a central market for the town.

Galle with its picturesque coral stone ramparts, and all it offers of the collective memory of the Dutch period of occupation of maritime Ceylon, bears a peculiar character, which the fret and wear of 170 years have barely touched, and the good sense of the people has so far let alone.

From time to time, there have been conflicting ideas of the utility of these monuments, and although demolitions have been several times discussed, they have happily stood, and remain an open corridor into the life and thoughts of the past. The assessments of the value of its wealth of historical and antiquarian interests, found expression recently when the Ramparts of Galle became a Governmental concern, and the old Fort was proclaimed an Archaeological Reserve.

The Dutch **Kerkhof** which it is proposed to demolish, is outside the Fort. Although it bears the comparatively recent date 1786 on its quaint lychgate, it is crowded with vaults and tombs of Dutch motif and has many epitaphs which are a very definite link with Dutch history.

A circumstance which more especially commends the preservation of the Dutch Kerkhof at Galle is that with the commercialisation of the old Dutch Cemetery in the Pettah of Colombo, it is the sole surviving monument of this nature in the island, contiguous to an old Dutch Church. Hence, it is the only memorial left, of its type which connotes a cycle of social history of that period, to the historian or antiquary.

In view of the important part monuments, relics and antiques play in the cultural life of a nation, they should be rightfully placed along side of, and in collaboration with our Universities and Institutions of higher education.

We the undersigned have every reason to believe that the inspiration from various cultural origins will continue to sustain the people of Ceylon in efforts to build a united nation, and we feel that you too, Sir, in this spirit, will consider the implications of the contemplated demolition or removal of the link with the historic past at Galle, which we in this instance particularly refer to."

The Archaeological Commissioner replied in this connection:—

"The Hon'ble Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs has referred to me your communication dated 6.4.66. regarding the alleged proposal to demolish the Dutch **Kerkhof** at Galle. I appreciate the stand taken by you in the matter, but would wish to point out the practical difficulties involved.

This department has had certain Dutch and Portuguese remains situated in or near modern townships under its protection, but was compelled with much reluctance to give them up in order to meet the pressing needs of expanding population.

I would therefore suggest that you form an Association to work for the preservation of this monument. For my part I shall give any possible assistance to you."

**BURGHER TEACHERS:**

Elsie K. Cook writing on "Ceylon its Geography, its Resources and its People" (1951) says, "In supplying so many good teachers for the Girls' Schools the Burgher Women have performed a most useful function which ought to be recognised with gratitude by the whole of the inhabitants of Ceylon."

**BELING—A CORRESPONDENT WRITES:**

"Rummaging news-paper cuttings of a decade gone, I came upon the following notice which will no doubt interest your readers. There have been BELINGS, in the Colombo Customs, serving in the almost identical positions over a continuous period of almost 75 years. There have been actually only two of them, a father and son.

W. W. BELING the son, bearded, genial and easily the most popular officer in the Appraisers' Branch retired from the post of Assistant Collector, after having served the Department for 33 years.

He was first appointed to the Customs service in 1925 as an Assistant Appraiser, and 30 years, later, rose to the post of acting Chief Appraiser.

W. W. Beling, the father — a well known amateur artist in his day was in the Customs for 40 years. He was Chief Appraiser when he retired.

**FOUNDER'S DAY:**

Addressing the members and friends who gathered in the Union Hall on the 20th October to commemorate the leadership and foresight of Mr. R. G. Anthonisz — The Founder of the Union, the new President, Mr. Brian Jonklaas said:—

Leaving the past aside, let us take stock of the present. Are we satisfied, as a community, with existing conditions? Obviously not, else why should so many of us be migrating to a harder life elsewhere? The reason for this is all too obvious, and you will agree with me if I say it is entirely due to two factors — the unfair closing of the English medium in Schools and the unsettled political conditions in this country.

We can, I feel counteract the former by representing with vigour our point of view, and in this I appeal to my predecessor in office to do all he can to further our cause. If the worst comes to the worst, we must even conduct classes in English for the younger generation in the Union Hall by those competent to do so. We must concern ourselves with those who, despite odds, prefer to remain in Ceylon. We must not allow them and their children to suffer in the years to come due to a neglect of our duty. Let us also bear in mind the problems of our poorer brethren — they of necessity will otherwise be engulfed in the stream of

integration as it is often called. Let us explore how we can help them. We are all aware of the excellent work our Social Service Committee is doing, but this is of necessity limited. Let us therefore examine the question of education on a broader basis and give help where hitherto our rules etc. have precluded us from doing so. Unless we can do something in this matter without delay, I am afraid immigration will be accelerated.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we can, by taking every step possible to increase our membership, go from strength to strength and face the future with confidence. Here I would like to quote from an article which my wife chanced on when in America, and I commend its contents to one and all of you:—

"Are you an active member,  
The kind that would be missed  
Or are you just contented  
That your name is on the list?  
Do you attend the meetings  
And mingle with the flock  
Or do you stay at home  
And criticise and knock?  
Do you take an active part  
To help the work along  
Or are you satisfied to be  
The kind that "just belong"?  
Do you ever go to visit  
A member who is sick  
Or leave the work to just a few  
And talk about "the clique"?  
There's quite a programme scheduled  
That I'm sure you've heard about  
And we'll appreciate if you  
Will come and help us out.  
So come to meetings often  
And help with hand and heart;  
Don't be "just a member",  
But take an active part.  
Think this over, member —  
You know right from wrong;  
Are you an active member  
Or do you "just belong"?