

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 JOURNAL

The history of Ceylon is studied now not only in schools and colleges, but in adult classes and societies, and the desire for more knowledge is fast increasing. Each community is eager to know the truth about itself and its historical relations to other communities; and then to insist upon that truth being made widely known.

The newspapers and periodical magazines of our day are keen on publishing articles of antiquarian interest. Lectures on such subjects find interested audiences and are often broadcasted. Old books and pamphlets and pictures are dragged out of lumber-rooms and sold at fancy prices.

The so-called "practical" man laughs at all this, and rather prides himself on his escape from these obsessions. What he wants is a sensational novel, or a newspaper article which will summarize and level things down to his understanding and in tablet which he can easily "digest". There is nothing to be done if he will not be convinced, but to leave him to his own fancy. But ignorance and indifference cannot check the flood which is now swelling, a national awakening to literature expressing national ideals, hopes and feelings for the past. In that past the Dutch, and the Dutch Burgher, has played a notable part, but strangely today, they themselves are to a great extent painfully ignorant of it.

It is re-assuring to know that a good deal—though not half enough, has been done by our Community to add to the volume of information which is daily being collected. This *Journal*, the staid, dry, uninteresting *Journal*, has in almost every number maintained its intended character as a medium and exponent of research in matters primarily affecting the Community, and coming generations will be grateful for the standard it has set and the facts it has brought to light, for the coming generations will be compelled by the stress of circumstances to take an interest in matters about which many of the present generation are cynically callous.

To illustrate this point one cannot do better than remind the reader of the demand there is for complete sets, and back copies of the *Journal*. Students and collectors have paid as much as Rs. 1250/- for unbound sets of the fifty six volumes issued since the earliest number appeared in 1908. What is even more, this *Journal* is now sought by readers who are not counted among the members of the Union. The members themselves seem least uninterested in it. A crying need for the present therefore is a "complete history" of the Dutch in Ceylon and the Dutch Burghers — both subjects are becoming more and more difficult to deal with as the years go by.

Such a book can only be written by a truth-seeker who is absorbed in his subject and has saturated himself with the facts hidden in the Archives. Information from that source is both difficult to search and requires a knowledge of the language — an archaic Dutch, interspersed with words using local colloquialisms. It is not to the credit of the Union that this task has so long been neglected.

The Union has however afforded the historian and the student much information on the Dutch period in the volumes of the journal. They are replete with facts and material from which complete histories are made. One might even say, that with but very little further search all the information needed for a history of the Dutch period is already available in English in the past numbers of the Journal.

The one disadvantage to the research student hitherto, was the absence of a complete index to what there is in the Journal. This omission has been set right with the issue of the current number. At the end of the volume, will be found an index to the contents of the Journal since its inception sixty years ago.

This repertory of valuable information to members of the community, the wider circle of readers, and the hitherto patient researcher who had to turn over many pages to discover a fact, has been compiled by an esteemed elder member of the Union: Mr. G. Vernon Grenier.

His sustained interest in the Journal is testified to by his having laboured as Editor from 1913 to 1916, and by the numerous contributions to its pages on various topics, among which the abridgement of Peter Brohier's translation of Baldeus, published recently as supplements to Volumes XLVII to XLIX, merits special mention.

However, there is little doubt that he will be ever gratefully remembered by the key he has now supplied to open a great store-house of history and literature which none but the patient searcher had access to in the past. A glance at the pages of the Index will show the labour involved in its preparation. We venture to hope that the effort and toil of the compiler to lay bare the authentic record of the life of the Union and the Community, will be rewarded by stimulating Union and Community to realise that the Journal is their very own, and is something which should not be allowed to die out.

Note:—

Members of the Union and readers among the public are advised that all complete sets of the back-copies of the Journal have been disposed of. There are a few sets yet left with odd copies missing.

Past single issues of the Journal, of which there are more than six copies left are available for disposal. The reader interested in any particular subject indexed, who would like to possess the back-copy in which it appears, should make application for it to the Union Office.

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

1762 — 1766

Translated from the records by the late Mr. E. Reimers who was Govt. Archivist, and summarised by Mr. S. A. W. Mottau, Retired Assistant Archivist

(Continued from p. 32 of Volume LVII)

91 10th May 1764

Reports are received of hostile movements by the Kandyans and revolts against the Company from Trincomalee and Batticaloa and the neighbouring provinces.

- 93 It is accordingly decided to withdraw the garrison from Vendeloos Bay and destroy the works etc. there, and to send it, with the ammunition and stores, to Batticaloa, which is of much greater importance. Orders are issued accordingly to Mr. Pfeiffer of
- 95 Vendeloos Bay.

After a further lengthy discussion regarding the withdrawal of the garrison at Vendeloos Bay, especially in view of secret information received by the Mudaliyar of the Morrua Korale, Mannamperie, through a high priest residing in the Kandyan territory that the Kandyans were attempting to obtain help from one or another nation, and that Vendeloos Bay was the most suitable place which could be approached by sloops by an outside nation, it is unanimously resolved not to abandon the place, and to order reinforcements to be sent there from Trincomalee under Lieut. Rousseau, and to authorise the Batticaloa officers to employ the necessary assistants, and to send them a sloop to be stationed there as a watch-ship, with provisions etc.,

- 101 Discussed certain reports of disloyalty and treacherous conduct by Sanderesegere, Vanniyar of Kattoekoele Pattu, and "whereas there was considerable speculation as to whether that vassal might not have been unjustly accused through the animosity of his opponents to be thereby disgraced and to cause his fall, which appeared to be more plausible, as His Excellency the Governor informed the members that he had heard on good authority and had also clearly perceived that the Mudaliyar of the Chief Officer, who was one of the accusers, was a professed enemy of this vassal; accordingly, in conformity with the proposal of His Excellency the Governor, it was resolved to direct the Chief Officer at Trinco (Mr. Rein) to conduct a further impartial enquiry regarding the nature of these accusations, and also to bear in mind that such a vassal, seeing that he was suspected without reason, could easily recede

103 from discouragement to resentment and from resentment to vacillation in his loyalty; and whereas the said Vanniyar had informed the Chief Officer in one of his letters that it was his desire to come here, it was accordingly resolved to order the said Chief Officer not to oppose his doing so".

104 30th May 1764

"The Captain Commandant of Hangwelle Jakob Carel van Espendonk having reported by a letter received yesterday and dated the 29th instant that on the previous evening the Mudaliyar Johan Da Fonseka and the Mohandiram Interpreter de Zilwa had brought in to an audience with him a Kangany, a resident of Avissawella, who, in conversation with the Korala and Mohandiram of the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales had understood him to say that should the Commandant send someone in person or even a letter to his master, that would be very acceptable to him, as he had always been a friend of the Company and would be very glad to see that the Honourable Company was reconciled with Kandia, and that no harm would befall the messenger, as well as that the Commandant could address him if he was in need of anything; further, that if the Commandant did not dare to do anything on his own responsibility, he could write to His Excellency the Governor or to the Dissava, and should the least news of any importance be received from His Excellency or the Dissava, he would then go in person to the King and speak with His Majesty, as he would gladly see that the Honourable Company made peace with the King; that he would willingly have written to the Commandant but had not done so through fear, as he was the only one of the King's Ministers who considered the King's interests and as all the other Ministers were disposed to seeing the war carried on. Accordingly, information of the same was given by His Excellency the Governor to the members, and at the same time it was remarked that the said Minister had without any doubt no other object in view than cunningly to involve us in the correspondence that had been broken off and to induce us to take the first steps from our side, but that would result in nothing more than in making the haughty Court still more arrogant and swollen with pride without the least expectation of arriving at any equitable or acceptable proposals for peace. It was accordingly resolved in order to frustrate that stratagem, that the Captain named at the beginning should reply verbally in the same way and by the same persons that he had conveyed the message by letter to the Dissava of Colombo, but that he, the Dissava, did not dare to represent the matter on such vague terms to His Excellency the Governor: that the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales indeed knew the Honourable Company for many years and was convinced in his own heart that we did not seek war but were forced to have recourse to it by the treatment of the Court, and that it was therefore incumbent on the Court to enter into a new treaty of peace and friendship with the Honourable Company, which by the might of its arms had freed the

108 land from the bondage of the Portuguese, and ever since that time had conducted itself as a faithful ally of the Court, and that if the Court was agreeable to do so, the said Dissava of the Three and Four Korales could easily write an ola to him as was always the custom; with further recommendation to the said van Espendonk not to allow himself to be persuaded to give any other reply, still less to write to him, but meanwhile to redouble the vigilance and caution in order not to be rocked to sleep by such honeyed messages, but to mark as a general rule that however so affable the Kandyans might outwardly be, the more they were to be distrusted."

109 The Governor, in consultation with the Mudaliyars of Chilaw and Madampe, decides to transfer the Sepoys now at Matara and Polwatte to Madampe in order to protect the cinnamon peelers there and in the newly occupied Pitigal Korale.

110 Owing to the continued illness of Captain Heinecke of Matara, he is replaced by Captain Bilefeld.

112 27th June 1764

Discussed the proposals of His Excellency the Governor for punishing the rebellious inhabitants of the Hapitagam Korale and the Udugha and Meda pattus of the Siyane Korale according to their deserts and as an example to others. After due consideration of the fact that some of the innocent may have to suffer with the guilty ("which is one of the unavoidable fatalities of war, which is not without example between civilized Christian peoples and must be regarded as an unavoidable and necessary evil"), it is resolved to confirm the Governor's proposals for rigorous punishment by invading these districts, sending three detachments under the commands of Ensigns Leonard and Haes and Lieutenant Maurer "to burn down and destroy all houses and gardens and all fruit-bearing trees and to cut down all those that opposed them, but to send here in safety all prisoners as well as women and children.....the cattle and other booty being relinquished to the detachments."

119 The three Companies of Sepoys at Jaffna having requested their discharge from service, it is decided to order their immediate discharge, but to form a new Company taking back any of them who were willing to enlist individually on a new agreement on their former standing and wages and on the express condition that they must serve as long as the war lasted wherever it is considered necessary to employ them.

121 21st July 1764

The Governor tables a report of a special mission consisting of the Muhandiram of the Lascarins Simon Perera and the Kuruwerale of the Elephant Hunt Don Hendrik de Zilwa, whom he had sent for a secret discussion with the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales at the latter's special request at Sitawaka on the 14th of July.

- 124 The Dissava of the Three & Four Korales invited the envoys to his bed-chamber and said: "there is now no time to write, but as the Honourable Dissava of Colombo has been pleased to send you two in answer to my message, you may tell his Honour, conveying at the same time my friendly greetings in return, that there is nothing that I have so much at heart than devising the means whereby the differences and disputes that have arisen may be cleared away
- 125 and composed for the good of both nations, for King Ragia Singa more than a hundred years ago chose the gentleman Hollanders from all other nations to come to this Island, and they by many faithful services from time to time have lived in close friendship with us, but now, for some time past, either through the changeableness of the planets or some other cause, they have got into serious disagreement, and that the gentleman Hollanders, on their side, by the despatch of certain letters have sought to adjust matters, and similarly the King too shortly afterwards had done the same by the sending of Ambassadors, whereby both great and small on both sides must undergo up to the present expenses, trouble and sorrow, as well as great loss not only in respect of trade but also as regards cultivation; and whereas my youngest brother has been appointed as First Adigar of State, I will gladly, with the help of other Ministers, by putting an end to all the aforesaid evils and many others also in my power, work for the desired peace, if only the Honourable Lord Dissava of Colombo, after previous consultation with the other members and having arrived at a decision of the Political Council, would, with that end in view, send a courteous letter by two eminent Appuhamies as early as possible addressed
- 126 either to the Chief Ministers or to myself". The Council considered that "this change of front on the part of the Kandyans had nothing other in view than to involve us in fresh negotiations regarding peace and to make us take the initiative, as the haughty Court, although according to all appearances perplexed at the turn of events, longed in secret for an honourable end to the war, nevertheless wished to preserve its dignity and even give freer rein to it, and we could none the less be certain that if we followed the proposed course and in answer to the verbal message replied in writing,
- 127 the Court would not only construe it as evidence of our embarrassment and accordingly be more arrogant than before, as well as that, so long as matters rested on the present footing, no other peace could be hoped to be baragained for from it than to bring and allow everything to remain on that standing." It was accordingly decided not to reply in writing but to order the Dissava Bauert to send the envoys again to the State Minister with the following
- 128 verbal message: "That he had given him clear and categorical information regarding the peace and the terms on which we would conclude it with the Court by his letter to the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales of the 11th December 1763, but that the Court had failed to give a satisfactory reply, and that, as we persisted by the contents of that letter, further writing on our side could be of no use whatever, but that the Lord Dissava

- of the Three & Four Korales, as he indeed wished so much for peace, would do well if he persuaded the Court to give a positive reply from point to point to that letter, for that was the
- 129 correct means whereby peace could be attained. In addition, in order not to break off negotiations with this Court Minister, who was the most reasonable of all, but to draw out the Court further, also, if he might make any reasonable declaration regarding the said claim, to be able to prolong negotiations till we heard the decision of the Supreme Indian Government regarding our differing opinions concerning the conditions for peace and were fortified by their orders in this matter: it was unanimously resolved that the said Dissava Bauert should suggest to the said envoys, as on his own responsibility and without the knowledge of this Council, that should the Court Ministers express their opinion regarding the claims of the Company against them, as may easily be supposed on such an occasion, and complain regarding their exorbitance, they on their own initiative and without being instructed to do so should answer that, to the best of their knowledge the Court up to now had not come forward with any offer, and that should the Court make a reasonable offer, the Company for
- 130 its part might possibly make some concession, although they did not know that for certain but only presumed it, with recommendation to the said envoys to pay very close attention to the Dissava's words and to submit a circumstantial and accurate report of their interview."
- Information is received from Dissava de Ly of Matara that he suspects certain eminent Chiefs of the Girreways and other Company's territories of a secret understanding with the Kandyans, and has placed under confinement Kahandawe and certain others,
- 131 and "only as a precaution ordered the Mudaliyars Tinnekoon and Ilangakoon, as they were greatly respected and very influential, although they had hitherto given no reason for suspicion, to go to Galle on the pretext that they had been summoned by His Excellency the Governor, of which the Commandeur of that town had already been acquainted by letter, with the request that those eminent natives should be entertained there for one or two months on the plea that no further order had been received regarding them."
- 132 The Council approves of this and the Dissava is ordered "to try to secure the brother of the said Kanandawe and to send both of them to Galle under an adequate European escort which could be detached from the garrison at Polwatte, however to allow them to retain their full quality and display and to pretend that the escort was intended for their safety, with order to the Sergeant in charge to act accordingly during the journey but to take all precautions against their escape."
- 133 **4th August 1764**
The Trincomalee Officer reports the landing of eight of the English from the ship 'York' at the river Kannetjekenie (between Trincomalee and Batticaloa) who had set out overland for Kandy.

- 135 He reports in detail the measures taken to intercept and capture them.
- 137 This report is confirmed by information received from other sources mentioned.
- 141 After careful consideration of these reports, it is resolved to approve the action taken to arrest these strangers and to encourage the officers there to redouble their vigilance against the entrances of any strangers, and report after further enquiries in the matter by sending spies etc.; also to report more clearly the exact location of the places mentioned in the reports received (viz: Pannetjeenie, Kalladitorre and Kaddrewile), which could not be traced either in the existing maps or even in the journal of Governor Rykloff van Goens the Younger, which contains details of the rivers and places in that district which he had visited; also to offer a reward
- 145 of 200 pagodas and other inducements to any natives who delivered such unauthorised strangers or gave information leading to their capture and arrest, and to take other measures for keeping a vigilant
- 146 watch over similar intrusions by strangers.
- 147 It is also decided to strengthen for this purpose the garrison at Vendeloos Bay and occupy the mouths of the rivers at Aroekgamme and Jaliput (as other likely landing places for small vessels) by reinforcements to be released from the Matara district, and to place Captain van Imhoff in charge there as Commandant.
- 150 The garrisons at Galle and Matara are also to be strengthened by
- 151 supplies from the neighbouring stations and from Colombo. Orders are also issued to the officers commanding these garrisons and stations for dealing tactfully but firmly with any similar intrusions by strangers (European or native).
- 153 Report of the second meeting of Dissava Bauert's envoys with the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales at Sitavaka at midnight on the 27th July.
- 154 They informed the Dissava according to the instructions given to
- 155 them and received answers as follows:— "That many letters of the same kind from both sides, in the present circumstances, had remained unanswered, but if it was for the last letter for which such an answer was desired, he enquired why the Company after despatching that letter had *de novo* sent commandos into the the King's territory without waiting with a little patience for a reply to the said letter, and whether His Majesty had not sent Ambassadors on two occasions provided with documents, and with permission to collect cinnamon, as before this, freely and openly in the Kings territory and to carry on business on both sides as is the custom; *item*, whether the King, in addition, had not also sent back prisoners both of note and ordinary station and deserters and slaves, and whether the King had not manifested a favourable

disposition towards peace, or whether the Honourable Company had sent an Ambassador, and, lastly, how the Honourable Company, matters now being as they were, could desire so exact an answer to the aforesaid letter".

"Thereupon, on the informants replying that they knew for certain that the Honourable the Dissava of Colombo and two other gentlemen had been mentioned as Ambassadors, indeed that the day for their departure had been fixed but that this could not come about because no reply had been received to the letter which had been despatched to Kandia in that connection, the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales replied that if the Honourable Company had made that request as it should have been done, it was very possible that His Honour would have received a favourable reply."

The Dissava of the Three & Four Korales also said that "having lived in perfect friendship for more than a 100 years, the Honourable Company as well as the King had enjoyed many advantages, but that this appeared to have been entirely forgotten, and now, only remembering the wrongs suffered during the last 4 or 5 years, matters were in suspense to the prejudice of both parties; also that the King and the Honourable Company, considering one thing and another, must arrive at a settlement, while, in the meantime, no other nation could intervene to give good advice," and that thereafter he addressed this parable to them: "To a very benevolent person any good done would be as if it were engraved on stone: to a less benevolent one, any good done would be as if it were written on sand; and to an evilly disposed man, any good done could be compared to nothing else than if it were written on water; but any evil done would have just the contrary effect, for evil done to a very benevolent person would be as if it were written on water, to a less benevolent person as if it were written on sand, and to an evilly disposed man, as if it were engraved on stone. A good man would forget a hundred past evils for one good deed, but a bad man would forget 700 good deeds for one single bad one."

Having said so, he continued his discourse and said that "he had heard that the gentleman Hollanders having discussed certain matters of importance, had by a majority of votes arrived at a decision and that it would be carried through in accordance with the resolution, but as no effective measures had yet been taken for a peace, he, the Dissava, expected for certain that by the evil counsels of some deserted villains on both sides, matters could not be settled." The envoys then, as coming only from themselves in confidence, informed the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales as they were instructed, and departed.

157 "As regards this ingenious conversation, it was first noted that from the whole context of the same it was clearly perceived that the secret desire of the Court was to see the differences settled, but, at the same time, that all its arguments were designed to show how

difficult it would be to make a positive statement or reply to the letter referred to thereby of the 11th December 1763, and that it was unnecessary and even useless; and that it could easily be concluded that their innermost desires were for peace coupled with the intention to attain it, if possible, without any new treaty and only subject to a reciprocal amnesty for all that had passed; that the Court Ministers, in order to prevail upon us in an indirect manner, appeared to threaten us with intervention by foreign nations and even showed that they were aware of our different sentiments regarding the ending of the disorders and the making of peace, and particularly, as regards the beginning of negotiations for the latter, appeared to desire nothing so much as first to have a letter from us in order always to be able to pretend that the request from us first began from our side: however, although from all the above considerations it could be surmised as more than probable that if we were willing to agree to the Court's desire, to authorise our Dissava to make a promise in writing, and the Court, should it reply to our claims made in the said letter and make an offer, and His Honour would also try to see that the Company also made some concession, it would nevertheless make no acceptable proposal so long as it was not compelled to do so by force of arms: however as nothing should be left unattended on our side which could tend in any way to negotiate with the Court, and following that, arrive at a cordial agreement: it was accordingly decided and resolved that the Honourable Dissava should make the promise in writing", but that "the letter from our Dissava whereby the promise was made should be worded in such a manner that the Court could never make a show of it that by it we were the first to make an offer for peace, and that the same should clearly show that the request for the promise came from their side, as it could definitely be presumed that the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales took no step in this matter without the foreknowledge and consent of the Court and for no other reason than to create the impression that all his actions originated from his own initiative, in order that the Court could always pretend ignorance of the same or that they were done contrary to its wishes and could protest that he was not authorised to do so for so far as we might wish to derive any advantage therefrom. Accordingly, in conformity with the further proposal of His Excellency the Governor, it was unanimously decided that the Dissava Bauert should make that promise by a private ola, and that he should give a short account, as if to refresh his memory, of all that had recently taken place between him and the messengers, and thereafter to promise on his own account as follows, viz: that he would do his best, should the Court reply to the often-referred-to letter of the 11th December 1763, and thereby make a reasonable offer in respect of the Company's claims, to induce the Company to yield somewhat on their side and to make some concession from their claims; also that that ola should be bare of all native ornament with which all public correspondence must be adorned, and be delivered as a private letter".

164 **11th August 1764**

Read true copies of secret letters from Batavia, to be discussed later. Read a report from Johannes Josephus Tournaye, Captain Commandant of Puttalam, of the desertion of six Eastern (Malay) soldiers, the reason for which is attributed to money-lending and extortions by their officers.

166 It is accordingly decided that no more than half a rupee without interest shall be lent to Malay soldiers under severe penalties, and that payment of these troops should in future be entrusted to the Captain of the Company in the presence of the Commandant, and to forbid gambling and dice-playing among the troops, which was the chief cause of their falling into debt.

169 **23rd August 1764**

On orders received from Batavia, and on other good grounds, the Chief Administrator A. J. de Ly is excused from attendance at the meetings of the Secret Committee.

170 Secret letters from Batavia dated 30th April and 12th June are read, to be discussed later.

172 **4th September 1764**

The Governor's proposal to enlist the services of the Free French Company of Monsieur Hugel at present at Tranquebar is approved, and it is resolved to send captain Dulfo there to obtain the necessary recruits for raising a second free Company on the same conditions as his own Company but only for a term of one year.

175 **11th September 1764**

In view of the difficulties experienced at Aroekgamme and Jaliput owing to the heavy rains there, it is decided to revoke the decision for occupation by land and only to cruise at the mouths of the rivers at certain times, and to have Major Medeler with 60 European soldiers brought to Colombo from Matara, and to recall Captains Freitag and van Imhoff and Ensign Robbertson with 60 Europeans from Trincomalee to help in the expeditions from Colombo.

180 **19th September 1764**

A further letter from Dumbera Ralehamy, Dissava of the Three & Four Korales, dated 18th September 1764, supports the suspicions entertained previously in regard to his attempts to bring about a peace.

183 A letter from Batavia dated 12th June disposes of all the reluctance and uneasiness of the Council as to the acceptance of their resolutions regarding the policy to be followed; and after the Governor's comments on the deceitful nature of the Kandyans, it is resolved that "seeing that the Kandyans had so far deigned, as on their own initiative, to open the door for public correspondence, no

186 further reason remained to decline their request to resume negotiations in writing although in the end it might be in vain, and although they might wholly be without result we might thereby discover with certainty what we now deem only probable, viz: what they were aiming at and on what conditions they desired peace, besides that this would at the same time serve as a new proof that we had not wantonly decided on war but only owing to the impossibility of arriving at a peace by friendly means"; and it is accordingly decided to reply to the ola received from Dumbera Ralehamy.

187 In regard to the terms of the reply the Governor states that "while the flattering language, which had formerly been used in letters to the Court according to the system of appeasement and toleration which was preferred at the time and had to be made use of by us contrary to our wishes, was misinterpreted by the Court and raised its unbearable arrogance towards the Company to a still higher pitch which first produced disparagement and thereafter all those abuses and outrages which finally had forced us to have recourse to arms, His Excellency already from the beginning of his Government had considered it necessary to alter the tone of the letters to the Court, which particularly took place in the often referred to letter of the 11th December of the past year; that although the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales confessed that he dared not convey the contents of that ola to the other Ministers, in order thereby emphatically to express their displeasure at our outspoken demands, none the less the present manner of writing absolutely demanded that the King should in all sincerity be made to face the facts, and by a public letter written with courtesy and refinement and in conformity with all public letters, but in undisguised language, which, should there be any other suitable means besides a decision by force of arms to help us to conclude a peace, appeared to be the best means for that purpose, especially as it was supported by the military forces now at hand and those which were daily increasing; besides that the highly necessary change in the style of writing could not more suitably be begun than at this time, in order thereby to prepare the Court to expect less flattery and more plain-speaking in our letters; that we should accordingly by our reply to the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales inform him in unmistakeable terms that we were well aware that all olas which he received from this place were forwarded unopened to the Court, but in view of his acknowledged reluctance which did not permit him to inform the Court of the Company's claims, that we wished to accommodate it, and with that object in view recapitulate everything which we considered necessary to be brought to the attention of the King and his Ministers; that, coming to the matter in question, we should bring to the notice of the Court the services which the Company had rendered on its behalf, the importance which the Court and the whole country should place on the Company's friendship, the frequent wrongs and excessive losses which have

191 been inflicted upon us instead of thanks, and our right to having those wrongs and losses made good and our security established for the future: that we should make this remonstrance in plain language as to our principal claims, demanding at the same time whether His Majesty and his Ministers were still disposed to treat us in a friendly manner regarding them and to conclude a new treaty of peace and friendship, and adding that the Company had resolved in the event of their refusal to employ all its resources to that end and to attain it by force of arms; also that His Majesty and his Ministers, if they only wished to give heed to the extensive preparations which had already been made and which would still be made, they could easily see that we were in deadly earnest, and that the Company, which had the sea open to it and could therefore not be in want of anything, was not only powerful enough thereby to satisfy its just claims but even to go still further if the former friendship was not restored by an honourable peace and thereby the calamity which hung over their heads was not prevented in time".

The Secretary is entrusted with the work of drafting the letter accordingly, and to have it translated into Sinhalese by the Predikant Phillips, in order to prevent any errors which could easily be committed by the unlettered native interpreters.

194 24th Spetember 1764

The Council approves the Governor's draft of a secret letter to Batavia regarding the present state of affairs.

198 29th September 1764

to The draft of a lengthy letter addressed to the Dissava of the Three & Four as decided at the meeting held on 19th September is read and approved.

208 6th October 1764

Read a secret letter from Batavia dated 31st July, to be discussed later. Colonel Feber is given a seat in the Council.

210 20th October 1764

211 Discussed the secret letters recently received from Batavia. Explanation of the circumstances connected with the loss of two slengs with native troops on board off the coast of Trincomalee.

212 Instructions are sent to the officers at Galle and Trincomalee regarding the courtesies to be observed in connection with the entrance of foreign ships into the Dutch bays. Explanation by Captain Rein, Commanding Officer of Trincomalee, of the charges of discourtesy lodged by Admiral Cornish, who later, on the contrary, praises Mr. Rein for the good treatment he had received from him, "which is clear proof that there is no better remedy against the brusque behaviour of the British sea-officers than to yield in nothing that bears any likeness to unreasonableness, but to oppose

- 215 with spirit their unreasonable liberties and effrontery, as most of their insults appear to be due to the supposition that the good Hollanders will tolerate anything." It is decided to thank the Batavian Government for the reinforcements sent, and to inform them of the results of the collection of cinnamon in the King's territory.
- 216 The planting of cinnamon will be pursued and greater attention will be paid to that work after the present disorders were ended.
- 217 Report of the results of the remission of 5 years' dues, and how the natives could best be governed (i.e. not by benefits and favours but by severe and drastic punishment),
- 219 Recommendations regarding the policy in respect of the Island of
- 220 Pambe and the affairs on the Indian coast. Regarding delays by members of the Council in giving their advice, the Governor says that no one was guilty of this except the Chief Administrator Mr. de Ly, and he condemns his recent behaviour and conduct in this connection.
- 225 The Governor confesses that he had made exhaustive enquiries through spies etc. regarding the nature of the various routes to Kandy, by which means he was able to prepare the following itinerary from Wisenawe to Kandy:—
- 228 "Itinerary from Wisenawe as far as Kandia:—
- to From Wisenawe to Galkadoula it is a half-hour's march. The
- 232 way up to that place is good and passes through paddy-fields. Just before Galkadoula there runs a stream. Galkadoula is a fairly high mountain. The way over it is almost entirely obstructed by roots of trees, crags, stones and clefts but can be made practicable. An hour is necessary to pass it by. At three places there are flat sotnes placed upon each other as steps for climbing and descending owing to the steep places. From the other side of the mountain as far as Oehoemi (a rest house for travellers) the distance is 3/4 of a mile or one and a half hours' march. The way through an open field is excellent.

From Oehoemi to Magoeroeoja, or Wandoeroeoja, it is a half a mile or a bare hour's march. The way runs by turn through low jungle and paddyfields. Wandoeroeoja is a river or stream. On the other side of the stream of Wandoeroeoja are two hills and between them an extensive paddy field which is surrounded on all sides by gardens and thick jungle (it was here that Tournay was attacked on the 26th February). From Wandoeroeoja to Wandoeroegale it is a half-an-hour's march or 1/4 mile. Here there are formidable mountains through which there is a narrow passage. The mountains are covered with thick jungle. From Wandoeroegale to the King's highway the way is better and passes through low jungle, and following that to Kornagalle, a distance of 1/4 mile,

- 230 Tilliagonne is situated a 1/4 mile from Koernagelle, and next to this place is a river with a dam which 4 or 5 men could pass abreast, but this could very well be avoided by choosing the right bank of the river and presently arriving at a place called Naroepe on the other side. A 1/4 of a mile from this place there is a mountain of no special account named Periekondemalle, and after climbing it and marching for 1/2 a mile through low jungle and flat terrain, Periewille is first reached. Half a mile from this place there is a river called Kootikapaale over which there is a bridge. There is also there a mandoe which serves as a resthouse for travellers, and as the bridge is provided with a high flight of steps, cattle cannot pass easily over it, but in the dry season the river could be crossed on foot. Half of the way to this place is level, but the other half as far as the river is winding and hilly.
- Paragahadinnie is situated a 1/4 of a mile from the said river Kootikapalle. The way to this place is flat.
- Waagede, or Wawede, is situated half a mile from Parawadaany. The way from this place is level, but on either side there are great mountains.
- 231 Tiekær, or Diekoje, is a river situated a 1/4 of a mile from Waagede. On the entire way after passing this river there are small water-logged places. Bullock carts can come all the way from Puttalam to the last named river.
- Gallegiddere: this place is included under Tumpanahoi and is situated a quarter of a mile from the said river Tiekær. Here there is a King's watch-post; and having crossed great mountains along the whole way and marched an eighth mile between high mountains, a river is reached which could be crossed on foot. Here, according to a report by Captain-Lieutenant Bodenschatz by letter of the 26th October, there is a large and formidable battery commanded by the Korala of Anewaeloendaanpattoe, which added that it was built of stone, but that it could be avoided and indeed entered from the rear by a by-path which passes to the right of the said Parawaadanie through the forest.
- 232 Kierigamme: this place is situated a mile-and-a-half from the said river on a great mountain: here there is a King's watch-post, also along the entire way to this place there are great mountains, and in their middle a narrow passage has been made through which (only) two men could go abreast. Here again there is a formidable battery. Descending the said mountain or place called Kierigamme after a quarter mile's march a river is reached called Soerie-kombrepaalane over which there is a bridge, but one need not ascend the latter as the river could be crossed on foot. Mandewielle-daane is a resthouse situated half a mile from the said river. The entire way to this place passes over hills which must be climbed and descended. Hoenamboeær or Hoenangoje is a river situated half a mile from Mandewielle-daane. Here too the entire way is through hilly country,

Kattoegastotte or Kinge is also a river situated one mile from the above mentioned river. After crossing this river one comes into Kandia, where the King's Palace is only half a mile from the further bank of this river, and between it and the river nothing but houses, gardens and fields of the inhabitants."

233 The Governor "having received further information regarding the old King's Palace at Kornagale which was situated on a hill, at the southernmost foot of which the road from Wisenawe passes, viz: that that post, which was not only very favourably situated by nature to obstruct and prevent the advance, as it lay in front of the aforesaid pass, had also been fortified by the Sinhalese with that purpose with two batteries constructed of stones and mortar, and also, according to the abovementioned reports of spies and statements of various natives, that a so-called King's highway or thoroughfare ran from Puttalam to Kandia, which passing to the north of Kornagale joined the firstnamed road just above that mountain fortification at a place called Naroepe, he had had an itinerary drawn up of that road up to that place as follows, as described by two inhabitants of Puttalam named Mamoene Lebbe and Moddely:—

234 From Puttalam the way leads to Periepalliewasel, a distance of 2 Sinhalese miles. Between these two places there is a river named Pittiaer beginning 1 1/2 miles from Puttalam and following as far as Kandia. The way to this place is level, but on both sides there are thick forests. From there Sienittiekandemadam is half a mile distant. Here the abovementioned river must be crossed. It is shallow enough to be crossed on foot. In other respects the way is smooth, but on both sides there are thick forests. Wananpotaane is situated a 1/4 mile from Sienittiekandemadam. The way to this place in dry weather is firm but at other times muddy, and along it there are many marmels, or slime-apple trees.

235 Periekolam is a mile distant from Wananpotaane. The way to this place is sandy and on both sides there are thick forests; also between these two places, on the left, a mountain of low elevation, and some rice, coconuts and other trifles could conveniently be obtained here.

Tammoenaawe is a 1/4 of a mile from Periekolam. A river runs beside this place. The way is level, and on both sides there are thick forests. In former times some people had lived thereabouts, but now the place is deserted.

Mitteewe is situated a mile from Tammoenaawe. On the road to this place there is a field near which some people live, and on both sides there are thick forests.

Oenaale is situated a 1/4 of a mile from Mitteewe. On the way there is an extensive plain which has been converted into fields, and on both sides there are thick forests.

Kirindekaddewatte is situated 1/2 a mile from Oenaale. The King's people now have a watch-post here, and therefore no one may pass it. The way to this place is open, but on both sides there are thick forests. Here, and at all the places after this, all manner of provisions could be obtained.

236 Maawattegamme is situated a mile from Kirindekaddewatte. The way to this place is open but on both sides there are small thickets.

Maayewenaer is a river at a distance of a mile from Mawettegamme. It can be crossed on foot, but on both sides there are thick forests.

Mangelegamme is situated at a distance of 1/2 a mile from the said river. The way is open, but on both sides there are thick forests.

Moeangelwariepolle is situated 1/4 of a mile from Mangelegamme. Alongside this way there is a level plain, but here and there small thickets.

Gallepittigalle is situated 1/2 a mile from Moeangelwariepolle. The way is open, but on both sides there are small thickets.

Goonewee is a river a 1/4 of a mile distant from Gallepittigalle. It can be crossed on foot, and on some parts of the way there are small thickets and on other level stretches.

Baddalwatte is inhabited by potters. To the right of this place there are small thickets and to the left some houses of those people but far from each other. The way is open.

Miriampitty is situated 1/2 a mile from Baddalwatte. The way is open, but on both sides there are small thickets.

237 Hjenawatte is a 1/4 a of a mile from Miriampitty. The way to this place is level.

Mangoeroewa is a river at a distance of a mile from Hjenawatte. On both sides of this river, which can be crossed on foot, there are some coconut and arecanut trees, also houses of the people who live there.

Padderessaawe is situated 1/2 a mile from the said river. On both sides of this place there are small thickets, but here and there flat ground.

Koernagalle is situated 1/2 a mile from Padderessaawe. The way to this place is rocky and uneven.

Tilliagonne is situated a 1/4 of a mile from Koernagalle. Next to this place there is a river with a dam along which 4 or 5 men can go abreast, but this could very well be avoided by choosing the right bank and crossing presently at a place called Naroepe on the opposite bank. A 1/4 of a mile from this place there is a mountain of no special importance named Periekondemalle, climbing which and marching a 1/4 of a mile through small thickets and flat terrain Periewille is first reached. A 1/4 of a mile from this place there is a river named Kootikapaale, with a dam and a shed by way of a resthouse for travellers, and as the said dam is provided with a wooden flight of steps, cattle cannot easily pass over it, but in dry weather the river could be crossed on foot. Half of the way to this place is level, but the other half as far as the river winding and uneven.

238

Parawadaanie is situated a 1/4 of a mile from the said river Kootikapaale. The way to this place is flat.

Waargede is situated 1/2 a mile from Parawadaanie. The way to this place is even, but on both sides there are great mountains.

Tiekaer is a river a 1/4 of a mile from Waargede. Along the entire way to this river there are small water-logged places. From Puttalam as far as the last-named river it is possible to go by bullock carts.

Gallegiddere is situated a 1/4 of a mile from the said river Tiekaer. Here there is a King's watch-post, and along the whole way great mountains, after passing which and marching an eight mile between great mountains a river is reached which is passable on foot.

239

Kieriegamme is situated 1 1/2 miles from the said river on a great mountain where there is a King's watch-post. Also along the entire way through formidable mountains to this place, a narrow passage had been made through which two men could pass abreast. Leaving the said mountain, or the place called Kieriegamme, a river is reached after a 1/4 mile's march called Soerieombrepalane, which is provided with a dam which there is no need to ascend as the river could be crossed on foot. Mandewilledaane is a rest house a half-hour's march from the said river. Along the entire way to this place there are mountains of low elevation which must be climbed up and down.

Choenamboear is a river distant 1/2 a mile from Maandewilledaane. Here too along the entire way there are low mountains.

Katogastorre, or Kinge, is also a river distant a mile from the further bank of the river. By crossing this river, Kandia is reached, the King's Palace being only half a mile from the further bank of the river. Between the said Palace and the river there is nothing else but houses and fields of the inhabitants of that place".

240 It is decided that "the Army should advance in two columns according to the itineraries and that from Wisenawe and that from Puttalam shall take their stand to the South and North of Kornagel, respectively. A full and detailed list is given of the forces that could be brought into the field for the expedition against Kandy, and further details of the plan of the expedition. Thereafter, detailed lists of the various Commanding Officers, Captains, Ensigns etc, 241 appointed for the expedition, and the distribution of the troops 244 to guns and ammunition etc, at the various stations, etc. 253

254 The Governor communicates to the meeting the offer of the First Mudaliyar and Interpreter of Galle, Don Juan Illangakoon, to raise a Corps of 1000 lascarins from Galle and Matara, with their own weapons and coolies, for whose trustworthiness he would vouch. After discussion of this offer and consideration that "although the force stated above was thought sufficiently strong to prosecute the war with vigour and to bring it to a desired success, and as it was likely that our forces would further be strengthened by the Sepoys who were expected from Malabar, and that we could therefore dispense with these lascarins; and as it was also questionable as to whether the said lascarins possessed the necessary courage and loyalty in order for us to be able to rely on them: however, 255 as regards the former, as we could not have too many men to prosecute this great work with vigour, that these lascarins who would be paid no more than an ordinary cooly and not only would look after their own transport and thereby not hamper the train, but also, if necessary, that a number of their coolies could be used with much advantage for the service of the army, also that they could be employed in scouring the forests and climbing the mountains where the enemy might lie concealed, to which they are accustomed just as well as the Kandyans themselves, and, in addition, without fathoming the human heart, judging by Illangakoon's conduct 256 we might fully rely on his integrity and loyalty, all the more, as he, as well as his father-in-law Tinnekoon, is a man in very easy circumstances who not only possesses much immovable property in the Company's jurisdiction but also has his mother, wife and children at Matara who could be held as hostages for his good behaviour, and besides, as the said Tinnekoon was very embittered against the Adigar of State because the latter, during the invasion of the Matara Dissavany in the year 1761, had carried away a young girl, a blood-relation of theirs, and made her his concubine, which was considered by them, who belonged to the most-noble-of-all families and even allied to the old Royal line, as an unforgiveable insult, also, at all events, by accepting half of the aforesaid number much service could be obtained if they discharged their duties efficiently, and there was nothing much to fear if they veered round: it was accordingly approved and agreed to authorise the said Illangakoon to raise a corps of 500 lascarins in the said Commandement with the necessary officers who were to be selected by him; also to communicate the necessary information to the Commandeur (at Gale), Samlant".

257 Gonawille is chosen as a general depot for the main force of the expedition, and the Dissava Bauert is charged to bring everything
258 into readiness there.

259 Discussed also whether a way should be forced as far as Kandy or a post established elsewhere as close to Kandy as possible in preparation for the final attack on Kandy at the first favourable
260 opportunity. It was resolved to leave this matter for the Governor's decision at the right time.

Mr. van Angelbeek is to accompany the Governor on the expedition as Field Secretary and for other general assistance, and Adriaan Moens is appointed to act as Secretary of the Secret Committee during his absence, and Mr. Johannes de Vos as Secretary of the Political Council.

262 30th October 1764

Owing to reported insubordination of the Sepoys from Coromandel stationed at Calpetty, it is decided to have them brought over to Colombo to be disciplined, and to send there the battalion of Captain Thoss.

263 Lieut. Colonel Feber is to go to Goenawille to give the necessary orders etc.

264 Captain Tournaye of Puttalam reports the desertion of 25 Eastern troops of the Company of Kroes Abdul Rachman.

265 On their arrest by Captain Lieut. Bodenshatsz of Chilaw, this is found to be due to the continued rapacious money-lending by Captain Kroes Abdul Rachman. It is therefore resolved to bring him under arrest to Colombo, and to order the Malays who were arrested to be sent back to their Company at Puttalam.

266 In order to ensure the supply of the necessary coolies for the expedition, it is decided to take over 200 Chalias of the Mahabadde, allowing them 2 rix-dollars and 1 parra of rice each per month.

269 8th November 1764

271 The Governor draws attention to the lack of ships and the importance of cruising before Aroekgamme and Jaliput. It is accordingly resolved to requisition three cruiser-patjallangs from Mannar. Measures are also taken to collect and transport the necessary
272 supplies of rice and other provisions from Negombo and draught-oxen from Mannar and Matara to Goenawille for the use of the expeditionary force assembled there.

274 13th November 1764

Read the reply received from the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales dated 11th November 1764, in which he says :—

"To refer time and again to what has passed is not good to bring to an end the disorders and to make peace: therefore at this juncture a verbal conference is necessary for arriving at such a peace, by which the Great Court and the Company could live without any differences and in friendship, and as we trust that His Excellency the present Governor, like the favourite His Excellency Governor
276 Lourens Pyl, will seek to restore the former friendship between the Great Court and the Company and to enjoy many presents and favours from the Great Court, we shall be very happy, and therefore certain Ministers who are necessary for the purpose are about to leave this, and it would be very good if a reply is received to this as soon as possible.

277 This offer to send Ambassadors to conclude peace by a written treaty was studied carefully, and in the light of the experience of the past 100 years' dealings with the crafty and deceitful Kandyan Court (instances of which are quoted in detail), and for many other reasons stated, it is finally decided "to admit the said Embassy on condition that it was empowered by an authoritative document
288 signed by His Royal Highness delegating authority to it to acknowledge the State of the Company as the sole and independent overlords of the forts and territories which we now possess, and, accordingly, to treat with us regarding the other claims of the Company."

The Governor communicates the reports which he has received of attempts made by relatives and envoys of the Kandyan King to enlist support on the Indian coast from Tammoderam Pulle and others. This matter is discussed in great detail, and as it is likely that any assistance that might be sent from there would most probably have to embark from the Bay of Tondy or the neighbouring
292 ports, it is decided to order the Chief Officer of Mannar (Schorer) and the First Resident at Kilkare (Keuneman) to have this bay reconnoitred by patjallangs; and Governor van Teylingen of
293 Coromandel is requested to protest against the rumoured engagement of the French Free Company now tarrying at Tranquebar, and to abandon, for this purpose, the carrying out of the previous
294 resolution to send three patjallangs for cruising before Aroekgamme and Jaliput.

296 19th November 1764

The draft of the reply addressed to the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales is read and approved; and it is discreetly decided to refrain from mentioning in this letter the release of the Dutch prisoners for the reasons stated.

299 26th November 1764

The Governor discloses to the meeting, on strict oath of secrecy, a secret project on which he had been working alone, to send Willem van Damast Limberger as a Commissioner to Mergui, along with a Roman Catholic priest (Father Manuel de St. Joachim) from Cochín, to invite the wellknown Siamese Prince to come over to Ceylon, with a view to placing him on the throne at Kandy, "whereby we should be freed from the pernicious Malabar following and could conclude with the new king an advantageous and honourable treaty for the Company."

He states that previous attempts to do so from Batavia had failed, but the Roman Catholic priest, who had fled from Siam and was fully acquainted with the Court of Siam and the circumstances concerning the Prince, had explained why their efforts had failed (his statement is incorporated in the minutes), and that he had agreed to help in the project, and that his plan had been approved by the Batavian authorities.

305 In view of the fact that the Prince was now apparently about to arrive, and the Kandyan Court now offered to send Ambassadors to conclude peace, he questioned what action should be taken in the critical circumstances if the Ambassadors were received and peace concluded with Kandy and the Prince too was here.

307 At the request of the members it is decided to postpone deliberations for the day after tomorrow, in order to give them time to consider it more carefully.

309 28th November 1764

The opinions of the following members on the important subject mentioned at the previous meeting are recorded. The members, Feber, Burnat and van Angelbeek stated their advice verbally as follows:—

"That as we had hopes of the success of this important Commission to establish the Company's interests in this Island on a much more solid foundation than by a peace with the Malabar monarch who is now on the throne of Kandia, and the Supreme Indian Government had been pleased to declare itself unequivocally in favour of that project, and the time for the return of the aforesaid van Damast had not yet elapsed, this project above all others should not be lost sight of; but we should have our hands free to avail ourselves of it should it succeed; and as the outcome of the Commission was still uncertain, peace negotiations with the Court should not be broken off but continued and prolonged till such time as we could see how the said Commission would result".

310 The Honourable Mr. Moens gave his advice in writing as follows:—Owing to the shortness of the time before us, I am now advising in this outspoken but at the same time respectful and well intentioned manner. Our chief object should not be lost sight of,

viz: to conclude with the Kandyan Court an honourable and advantageous peace, by which the Company could rest assured of its prerogatives in this Island against all others from outside and the native Government from within, under which prerogatives I also include the products.

For attaining this object, Their Supreme Excellencies have authorised us to give preference to the use of arms instead of the old tune of appeasement.

The impossibility of attaining that object has not yet appeared to me, and should not that happen quickly, the necessary maintenance of Ceylon would cost us dearly.

And no one will deny that it would be more convenient for the Company to attain that object, if possible, by political means. In that connection we might consider the causing of dissension at the Court either to bring about the fall of the Malabar or Nayar Government, which is very unacceptable to the Kandyans, or to create more than one King from the native Sinhalese nation, or to place on the throne someone from outside who would be acceptable to the Kandyans and in agreement with our interests. The latter appears to Their Supreme Excellencies to be the most preferable of all these possibilities, but we should remember what Their Supreme Excellencies have successively written and given us to understand. Then it is clear that nothing is desired so much as peace and that, too, a speedy and advantageous peace as that mentioned above, with indeed authorisation not to make our conditions too stringent or to drain the last drop out of the tankard.

312 We here are merely the executors of orders, but Their Supreme Excellencies are at the same time so moderate and well-disposed towards us that they have fully accorded and entrusted to us the measures according to intervening circumstances, as we are here, and particularly to our Governor who is so greatly disposed and resolved to further the interests of the Company.

It now appears that His Excellency has been able to discover the Siamese Prince, and that Their Supreme Excellencies have favoured the project with their special approval and full authority.

I have also considered as to whether the Prince could all of a sudden succeed, with the followers of the Malabar faction, as few or as many as there may be in such an extensive country either in the neighbourhood of Trincomalee, Batticaloa or Jaffnapatnam, where the inhabitants are mostly Malabars, setting up a sort of following, and the Company should thereby be forced to assist the said Prince for the first year or two or three.

It then again crossed my mind, should everything go well and be brought to a finish in the desired time, whether later on (should the monarch be displeased with the Company for some reason or other and complain about us to his brother who would have much interest in his continuation here) this might again occasion other trouble for the Company with the Siamese Court.

- 313 But these considerations have had no further weight with me both because I have not the necessary knowledge of the Siamese Court, which Their Supreme Excellencies know intimately, and as His Excellency the Governor appears to understand in an extraordinary degree the disposition of native potentates.

I have no objection therefore to it, but hold in high esteem the expedient of the Siamese Prince.

Accordingly, we should now think at the same time of the expedition, the Embassy and the Siamese Prince.

And in this connection I am of opinion that we should devote our attention equally in everything, so that through varying circumstances our chief object might not be lost sight of, nor that we should allow the Kandyan to rock us to sleep with their embassy, namely, that we should not allow the good monsoon to pass away unobserved by us, but that the proposed Embassy should, however, not be denied by us, and that, in the meantime, the Siamese Prince should be held in reserve by us as the time for his arrival has not yet passed.

Therefore we should, as the builders of the Second Temple, continue to work for the attainment of our chief object, I mean the peace, holding the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other.

- 314 Hereby, I wish it to be understood, the progress of the necessary preparations for the forthcoming expedition without postponement or delay, as though we, now that we have drawn the sword out of its scabbard, would rather fight than trouble ourselves any longer. However, we should let the Court know in time in a measured and calm manner, that the Court knew sufficiently well what the Company's desires were, and that we had too much experience of the Court not to know that Embassies only wasted time and could seldom attain their object; that we therefore intended to proceed with our preparations which we were now and would later be in a better position to do, but that if the Court was in real earnest, we, because of our ancient friendship, would very much rather first hear the Ambassadors, provided that they, for some reason or other professed by us or indeed without giving any reasons at all, came no further than our frontier, or, in other words, Sitavaka, where delegates from our Council would come to confer with them: whereby some more time would be gained and we could

at the same time discover how the Court was disposed. Accordingly, we hold the expedition, the Embassy and the mission in respect of the Siamese Prince in reserve till the right time should come, when, whether the Prince came or not, we must decide further what we have to bargain for either with the Siamese Prince or the Kandyan monarch, provided that everything in the meantime remained a profound secret and we looked forward to God's blessings on our undertakings."

The Governor gives his advice in writing as follows:—

"Should the Prince accept our invitation, we, by his elevation to the Throne, would be in a much more advantageous position than we ever could attain by a treaty with the present Court even if it accorded most of our claims.

- 315 For the Court would be forced to conclude a peace treaty from necessity and against its will, and would always try on an opportunity arising to violate it.

The monarch would be encouraged to do so by his avaricious relations and his other Malabar courtiers who are so greedy for the profits of the trade here, that although at first they might be prevented by the treaty, they would never renounce their desire of sharing in them and would accordingly continually incite the King against the Company, so that the Company by strong forces and good forts at the most accessible places on our frontiers must restrain the King and compel him to observe the agreements, which would not be necessary should the Prince be raised to the Throne, as His Highness, however so favourable our condition here might be, would always have to thank the Company for such a great change for the better in his. The Court would be freed from the greedy Malabars, and the Sinhalese, who take little to business, would be well-contented should they be ruled with justice.

- 316 And, besides that, for our greater security as well as thereby to have opportunity to provide at the beginning against any undertakings by the new King, to erect a fort in Kandia itself and to place there two battalions to garrison it, and to make this one of the conditions of the treaty; as thereby we could hold the entire country in subjection without it being necessary (according to the opinion of His Excellency van Reede of lamented memory) to have posts on all frontiers of the hill country from the Seven Korales to the Walawe; and, if need be, we could effect by building a small fort in the pass of Balane, which leads into the Seven Korales, at a place which is most suitable to command the narrow passage and keep it open, so that if we succeeded in our project with the Prince, we could work on the most solid foundations for a most successful crowning of our efforts.

But should the Prince not come, we should do our best to conclude a treaty in so far as it was in the true interests of the Company not merely for the present but also for the future, without, if possible, having recourse to arms.

But what the true interests of the Company are, and what conditions should be stipulated for to ensure those interests remains in such an event the cardinal question.

- 317 I divide the same under two essential heads, viz: a secure and durable establishment in this Island without competitors, and the exclusive enjoyment of its products in an ample quantity. In times of war, as little here as elsewhere, we could assure ourselves of a secure establishment by no other means than by might and violence, but in times of peace what we require for that purpose is good and explicit right to prevent all strangers, neutrals or allies from entering and establishing themselves in this Island; but according to my ideas (which, however, are subject to wiser judgement) we have not such clear proofs of that right which could convince our rivals, although what was said by Their Supreme Excellencies and Their Excellencies Simons, van Imhoff and Schreuder deserves all praise; for according to my opinion it is necessary that we should be acknowledged as the true sovereigns of the places which we now possess.

- 318 That there are ceded to us in full sovereignty the territories on the sea-coast which hitherto we have not possessed, so that there is not a foot of land on the coast which belongs to the King or to any others besides our Company. So long as we do not have that right, our rivals, judging by denunciatory remarks regarding our possession by the rights of the Portuguese, the fortune of war, or our exclusive treaties with the Kandyan King, will by no means be prevented from entering into treaties with the Court and establishing themselves at one place or another in the King's territory.

Under the second head, that the King of Kandia and ourselves in this Island should be placed in such a way that he would not so easily prevent us from enjoying the products, and that we could immediately bring him to reason should he be minded to hinder and prevent us from doing so. Therefore, the more of the low-country we deprive him of and bring under subjection to the Company, the better it would be for us, for one thing, because he would be rendered weak thereby and we would be so much nearer at hand immediately to be able to restrain him should he wish to violate the treaty: and, for the other, because by possessing territories for so far as they produce cinnamon and other products, the collection of the same could take place with greater security and convenience if those lands belonged to us than if the King was lord over them.

- 319 For although the Company is more concerned regarding the products than the land itself, and it might be imagined that by bargaining once and for all for the collection of cinnamon in the King's territory and all other commercial products, we could obtain here what we desired rather than by the cession of many inland provinces, one would immediately be convinced of the great difference between the two conditions if it was noted that it was for the King alone to allow us to enjoy the privileges which had been bargained for or to place various obstacles in our way, which we must suffer or avenge ourselves with our arms. Who would doubt this must contradict the numerous traverses noted in the Ceylon papers in respect of the collection of cinnamon for over a hundred years.

For these simple reasons; I am of opinion that as the Prince could very well be here in the coming month, we should not abandon our project of placing him upon the Throne.

That, on the contrary, as we are uncertain as to whether His Highness could or would come here, we should also not abandon the opportunity of concluding peace with the Court by a favourable treaty.

That we must try to continue the negotiations which have been begun, but in a dexterous and well-regulated manner, in order to prolong them till the usual time in which the Prince could conveniently come here, without hastily concluding a treaty, and to direct matters in such a way that should the Prince come, the negotiations could be broken off, and should His Highness delay longer, that we should immediately proceed to conclude the treaty provided that the King and his Ministers were in real earnest to do so, by a new treaty in writing on conditions which were favourable to the Company. Under which conditions, I (according to my poor judgement) include.

As being very necessary:

- 320 That the King of Kandia declares and acknowledges the Company as the paramount sovereign of all the territories, cities and places which we have possessed before the beginning of this war, and, to that end, renounces all the rights and claims which His Majesty had ever had before that or pretended to have.

That there are ceded to the Company, with full sovereignty thereover, all the other territories bordering the sea which we have taken in this war, and not only those but also those which the King still possesses.

That permission should be granted to the Company, once and for all, to collect cinnamon everywhere in the King's territory, and that the other conditions relating to trade which are included in the old treaty should also be recognised.

As very beneficial:

The cession of the other inland territory which we abandoned in the year 1687, and the Seven Korales which we had never possessed, and the use of the Ponnegees Road.

All these and the other conditions concerning the currency, payment for products, exclusive trade, reciprocal assistance in case of war, reciprocal extradition of our respective subjects, etc.

321 Their Supreme Excellencies by various letters appear to be of the opinion that we should not continue to insist too strongly on our point regarding the inland province of Puttalam next to the coast etc.; but it must be observed in that connection that they were ignorant at the time regarding what I had undertaken respecting the Prince and which, by their last letter of the 25th July, was so highly praised by them as thereby promising such a good result for the Company's true interests, in which a favourable outcome would for ever be defeated by the immediate reception of the Ambassadors and the hasty conclusion of peace.

Delay, therefore, and the prolongation of negotiations would be the best means; and we should reply to the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales that they, for their part, and we, for ours, should send two delegates each to Sitavaka to discuss the preliminary articles, whereby we could easily prolong matters till we could be certain that the project of the Siamese Prince had not succeeded, or, should the Prince arrive in the meantime, could derive information from them according to which we could regulate our attitude towards him".

324 The unanimous sense of the meeting is in favour of the Prince of Siam, and it is decided to prolong the matter till the end of December, and in the meantime to continue negotiations, and the Dissava Bauert and the Secretary van Angelbeek are nominated to go as Ambassadors to Sitavaka to discuss the preliminaries of the peace treaty with the Royal Ambassadors.

326 **16th December 1764**

327 The Governor informs the members of a letter received from Mr. Keuneman, Resident at Kilkare, which, among other things, stated that, "there was now in the army of the Nawab Mahmet Dillychan a certain Moor Sinhalese inhabitant (who must be an inhabitant of the King's territory) by name Oemoer Gatta Markair, who, after the failure of the expedition in 1764, had been sent there by the King of Kandia and would already have been at Madras, also that he had been invested with the authority of Ambassador on behalf of the King to the said Nawab to solicit assistance and support against the Honourable Company, and, at various times, had also conferred

with the Commandant of the English army Major Campbell", and that there were Kandyan Ambassadors there who had entered into an agreement for support for their Master against the Company.

329 It is therefore decided to write to the Commander of the English army at Madura (Major Campbell) that "in case he should prefer to give a favourable hearing to the request of the Kandyan King and directly, or indirectly in the name of Mahmet Dillychan, go to his assistance with troops, ammunition or any other aid, we should regard this as an infringement of our good friendship and treat all foreign troops who might venture to enter this Island not otherwise than as professed enemies, and place all further consequences therefrom to his account and responsibility.

331 Owing to the slowness of the Kandyan Ambassadors in coming, the Governor proposes that the Dissava Bauert should be summoned back from Sitavaka.

334 **20th December 1764**

The Dissava Bauert announces the receipt of a message from Dumbere Ralehamy asking that his departure for Goenawille be postponed, as the Court were deliberating the peace proposals and were awaiting a lucky hour to reply; and after deliberation it is decided to postpone the departure of Mr. Bauert till the 26th December, and to inform the Dissava of the Three & Four Korales that "that was done out of consideration for himself and that should no Ambassadors be sent within that time to Sitavaka, he would wait for not one hour longer."

337 The letter to be sent to the English Commander (Major Campbell) and other letters are read and approved.

338 The Governor produces a request from the Roman Catholic priests offering men from their community in gratitude for the sympathetic tolerance and just Government of the Company. They add: "We priests will precede the others and help to carry the baggage and thereby encourage them by our example. We shall in addition give Your Excellency faithful accounts of the intentions of the enemy and of what further concerns them, as we know the language of the country and are better able to do so as we have our followers everywhere; and we at the same time offer ourselves as sureties for the loyalty of our co-religionists, although we trust that Your Excellency will be in no manner of doubt regarding them after having already received so many proofs during these disorders."

341 It is accordingly decided to accept 1000 men of that faith for the expedition. The Sepoys and Kanneetjes are placed under the free Merchant La Beaume receiving 30 rix-dollars a month.

—To be continued—

LINKING THE PAST

BY

R. L. BROHMER D. LITT

Colonial Dutch Furniture.

(Continued from page 53, Vol. LVII, Nos. 1 to 4)

—Illustrations by courtesy: Times of Ceylon Ltd.—

We left off on the observation that the history of furniture bears a strong affinity to the story of architecture. There is no better example of how the prevalent norms of a contemporary age were used in designing furniture than in the Colonial-Dutch chest illustrated as Fig. 1.

This piece of furniture — similar models of which are to be found to this day in Holland and used to store bread and milk, is in the Steuart Collection. The wood is dark with age — being almost black, presenting a lovely tone. The workmanship has stood up perfectly, but for the loss of a strip of the moulding on one of the upper panels. One of the stretchers connected to the cabriole legs is also missing. The very striking pediment or head-piece has been borrowed from architectural technique.

Another piece in the Steuart Collection which covers the architectural moulding and cabriole leg period is the display cabinet very like the model illustrated as Fig. 2. Although rare and ornate, the pieces of furniture already referred to would be overwhelming in flats or houses of modern proportion and design.

The glazed cabinet, in some form or other, even if less ornate was a *sine qua non* in the halls of small dwellings as well, and was generally used — as the illustration shows, to display the beautiful blue china with which the officials were liberally supplied by the Dutch East India Company.

It was the fashion for the proud possessor to have his initials, or his family coat-of-arms, show in flat profile, or bas-relief, on plates, mugs and *keespois* or vases. The coat-of-arms were sometimes reproduced in colour. Nearly every one of them had the characteristic badge of the United East India Company, blazed on the reverse or the back of the article.

Chairs in Colonial Dutch styles, with cane seats, decorative backs, and legs came to be a feature in homes about 1680. In the beginning the backs were high and the decorative carvings very elaborate. Carvings and decorative motif on the crown of the chair dominated. Early in the eighteenth century new influences began to creep in. There was a departure from the straight leg to the "cabriole". The chair-back underwent equally much change.

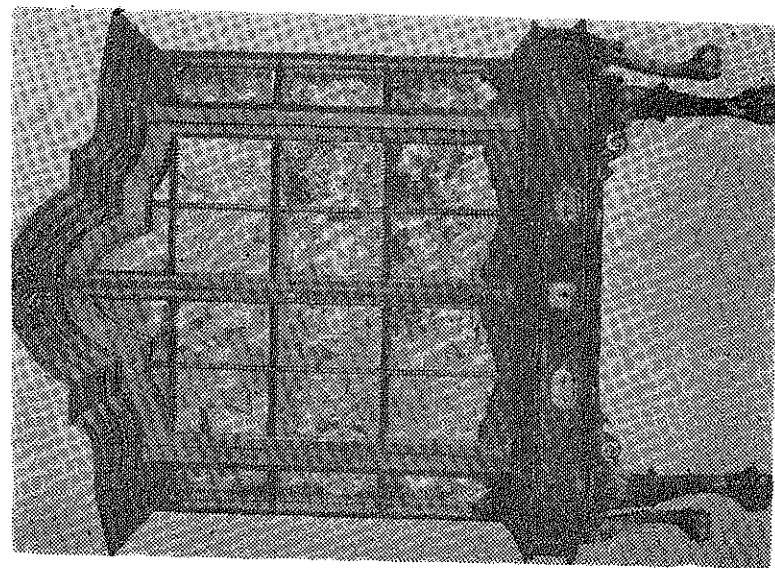


Fig. 2. 17th Century Dutch Display Cabinet.

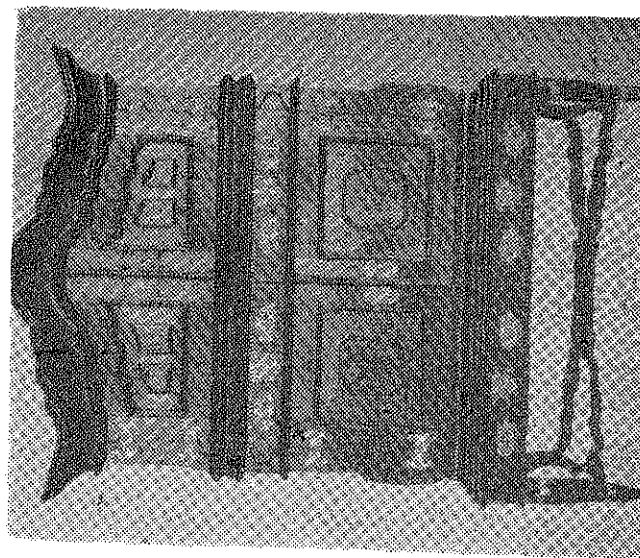


Fig. 1. Colonial - Dutch Provision - Chest.



Fig: 3

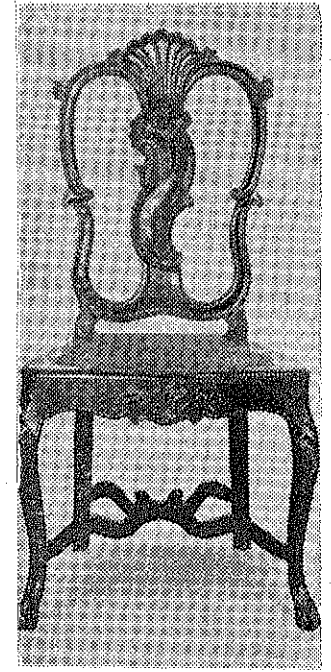
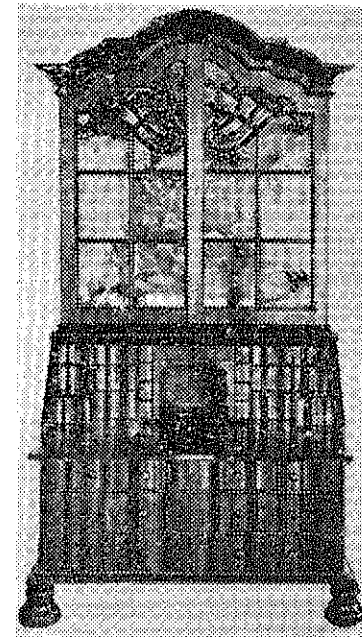


Fig: 4

Fig: 8



A combination of
escritoire, book case
and bureau called a
"lessanaar."

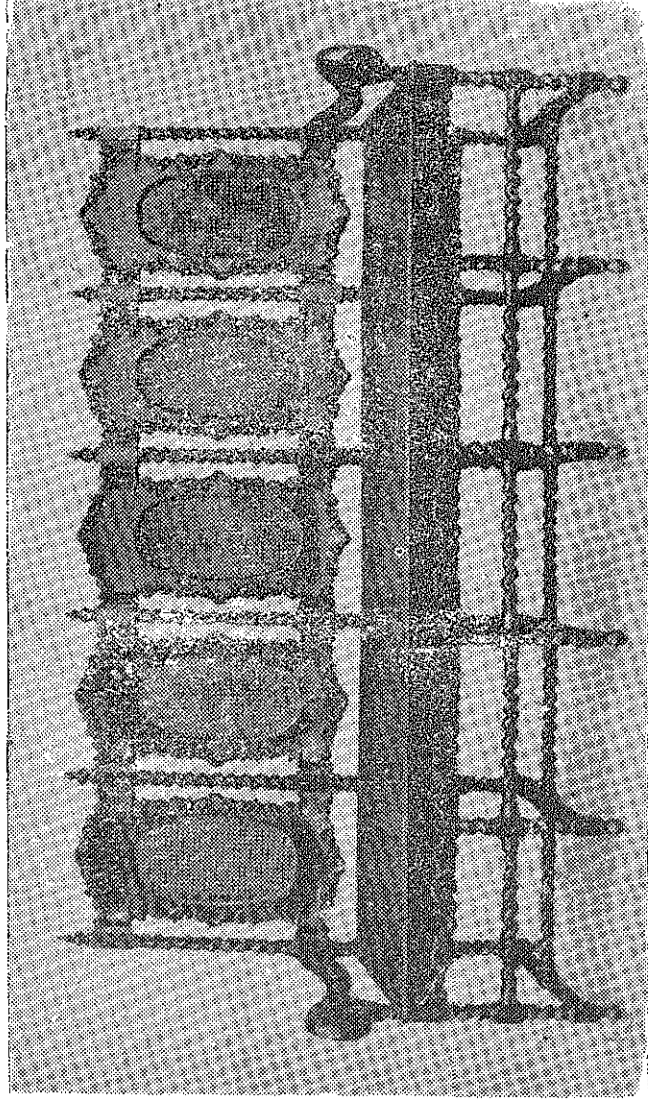


Fig: 5, A pattern in Colonial - Dutch Settee
Circa 1870

In the illustration 3, we have what came to be called the "fiddle-back" pattern. It will be noticed that the splat reaches the seat rail and is joined to it by a "shoe". There are many examples of the type in the old Dutch Church at Wolvendhal.

The model illustrated at 4 affords an early idea of a pattern which came to be called the "rococo influence". This was improved on, and attained much prominence as a means of decoration, by the middle of the eighteenth century. The inspiration behind this motif was Eastern and probably reached the Netherlands from China. In the main it was a fanciful arrangement of scroll and shell-work in which agapanthus sprays were often introduced.

Towards the end of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century chairs were in suites, with a settee or *rustbank* as it was then called to match. Complete suites of old Colonial-Dutch furniture are a rarity in Ceylon. A "two-seater" settee of the rare type of spirally turned furniture shown as illustration 5, is one of two other settees in the Steuart Collection. It is of a pattern which goes back to 1670. The cane-backs in scalloped oval frames set off by two heavily carved and decorative horizontal back rails, and a drop-rail of similar pattern in front of the seat, are significant features of this unique pattern contributed at the period.

The practice of filling chair backs and seats with strands of cane, or rattan, is said to have originated in Java and Ceylon in the latter half of the seventeenth century. It has kept its hold on Eastern countries for the obvious reason that it affords a cool set. Although introduced to Europe by the Dutch it soon made way for warm and cosy upholstery. It is a feature without which colonial-Dutch furniture is completely out of setting — meaning that upholstery disfigures the artistry which the article was meant to convey.

There are several other antiques in the Steuart Collection which for good reasons cannot be described here. They represent just a fragmental part of the preponderance of colonial-Dutch furniture which the Island became heir to during the century and a half when the Dutch had connection with coastal Ceylon.

In the Ceylon Archives there are records which point to there having been a regular Artizan Service, which the Dutch called: *ambachtaslieden* or handicraftsmen. They represented most of the industrial trades, and included carpentry. Each trade had an European master or superintendent (*Baas*) with skilled European foreman trained in Europe who were called *meesterknechten*. So much importance was attached to the functions of these craftsmen that the masters or superintendents of some branches of the profession were placed on high relative rank and salary in the service. Large numbers of Porto-Sinhalese, and others from the

Sinhala community whose ancient trade was carpentering, found employment in the Dutch *winkels* or workshops. It was from the Dutch that the "Moratuwa Carpenter" and the Low-country Sinhalese generally learnt the art of furniture-making, and even up to the British period of occupation of Ceylon, duplicated the genuine Dutch models and preserved many of the Dutch patterns.

ODDS AND ENDS

The descendants of the Dutch themselves seem to have lost most of their heritage probably due to their impecuniosity in the early decades of the British era. There must still be a good deal of odds and ends in the houses of later generations of the old upper class low-country Sinhala families, whose forebears — taking to the novelties introduced by the Dutch, filled their "Walauwas" with Colonial-Dutch furniture. These private collections are necessarily rather scattered and difficult to locate.

There is in Colombo a fairly large collection of Colonial-Dutch furniture of a miscellaneous variety which may be seen in the National Museum. The Governor General's residence in Colombo — called "Queen's House", is known to have possessed many exquisite models but has today merely a few less characteristic pieces, mostly chairs and settees.

In the matter of old furniture in the stately building inside the old fortress walls of Jaffna which once served as the residence of the Dutch Commandeur — now known as King's House, the only antiques the writer found on a recent visit were a few *rustbanks* or sofas. The finest specimens of antique carved furniture, in ebony and calamander — cabinets, ponderous beds and sofas, which once furnished the spacious reception and bed-rooms, are no longer there. Even in the other towns which can claim to be memorials of the Dutch — Galle, Kalutara, Negombo and Kalpitiya, which no doubt were rich repositories of seventeenth and eighteenth century furniture, one may not find any specimens today.

One can do no more than speculate on the disappearance of the large accumulations of colonial-Dutch furniture, which, as we saw from the earlier articles in this series, Ceylon was heir to. This could not have been solely caused by general usage, or by trading in at junk-shops to make way for the more popular elegant modern furniture. None can gainsay that much of the most exquisite and rare models of antiquarian interest have been smuggled over to other lands, yet, few people stop to realise that Ceylon's loss has been great gain to collectors and museums abroad.

The Antiquities Ordinance prescribes an "antiquity" as an object which can reasonably be believed to date from a period prior to the 2nd day of March 1815. This interpretation is in itself antiquated and should

be immediately revised to provide a marginal date of 150 years from current times. However, that alone would be of little avail without provision for more effective supervision. Officers of the Customs Department should be educated as to the importance of maintaining a watch on the export of antiquities without a licence. Many a piece of Colonial-Dutch furniture taken out through the Customs is as valuable as the gems and gold often seized.

TAKEN TO BRITAIN

Undoubtedly a great deal of choice bits of Colonial-Dutch furniture have been taken away from Ceylon by British civil servants, planters and merchants to give their homes in retirement that colonial atmosphere they had lived and moved in during their years of service in Ceylon. Against many of them we can hold no grudge, for the majority were collectors with a great reverence for the past and through whose influence and efforts many a relic which still exists in Ceylon is in the state of preservation we find them.

Howbeit, one cannot overemphasise that as much, or even more, Dutch period furniture has been removed since "Appointed Day" under the Ceylon Independence Act by sojourners from many countries the world over who were entitled to diplomatic privileges.

It seems therefore clear that to the zeal of foreign collectors and the very ineffective supervision of dealers in antiquities, we owe the removal of many art treasures which should be in Ceylon. A revision of existing legislation regarding monuments and antiquities is seemingly long overdue — after all, much of what is here disclosed, and much more, was brought to the notice of the Government eight years ago in the Report of a Special Committee on Antiquities. This was published as Sessional Paper VII of 1959.

THE EARLIEST BED

The earliest bed mentioned in the old inventories is referred to as *ezel*. It does not appear to have been anything more or less than a wooden "Frame" with four legs and a planked or rattan bottom on which a mattress or straw bedspread or mat, lay. In Dutch *ezel* also means "ass or donkey". No doubt it is from this source we have the Sinhala term: *buru-ander* (literally "donkey-bed").

Turning our attention to the furniture for storing one's personal effects we must necessarily start with the "sea-chest" which perhaps was the first furniture article of Dutch workmanship to find its way to Ceylon. The origin of this showpiece (the Dutch chest), so largely faked and displayed in many a reception room now-a-days, has already been discussed. How the original chest had been converted into many another imposing bit of furniture remains to be told.

There seems very good reason to assume that the Dutch chest was the progenitor of the "chest of drawers". The decoration achieved by brass handles and key-scutcheons, and the "claw and ball" legs, are not usual. Normally this article of furniture is modelled with severe plainness, with three or four drawers piled one atop of the other into a frame about three feet square on frontal face, and two feet in projection. Many chests of this type have stood the test of time and changing fashion. As an article of furniture it is still popular and the old models are greatly prized for the surface-patina that they have acquired from the long use of polishing cloth. Usually, the carcass breaks into half, which greatly helps in moving this heavy article about. The top of the "chest of drawers", we are told, did service as a toilet board, and on it was placed a small mirror of the eighteenth century — a piece of polished metal or a coating of silver, or an amalgam of metals with reflecting power, which served as a looking-glass.

Incidentally, the "silvered" surface mirror was unknown even in Europe before the midyears of the sixteenth century. Even at that, it took two centuries before such things were within the means of the small householders.

THE 'KANTOORTJE'

We now come to the writing chest known as the kantoortje, meaning "office-desk", derived from the Dutch word kantoor (meaning office—from which Sinhala has borrowed the word: *kantoruwa*). A simple model is illustrated (Fig. 6). You will readily notice that this is the "chest of drawers" converted to serve as an office-desk.

In Figure 7 we have a very good specimen of a *lessenaar*, which was peculiarly Dutch in origin and commonly found a place in the *zaal* or hall (from which is derived the Sinhala word *saale*). This was a combination of book-cabinet and writing-desk, commonly described by authorities on old European furniture as "bureau bookcase of Dutch origin". The upper part of this piece of furniture was divided into numerous recesses and pigeonholes for papers and by many secret drawers.

DUTCH WARDROBE

The chest of drawers on which the entire structure rests is of traditional design. This piece is finished off with an architectural pediment and below it we see reproduced the tracery of a fan-light over the doorway of an old Dutch house in Galle. This model belonged to J. P. Lewis, who had an unique collection of colonial-Dutch antiques, all of which were removed when he retired from the Civil Service some years ago,

We next turn to the Dutch wardrobe — a rather cumbersome article in the sleeping-chamber — on which a great deal of good carpentry must have been expended. The wood used is solid, thick and heavy, and it is so large that it covers a great part of the only blank wall in the room

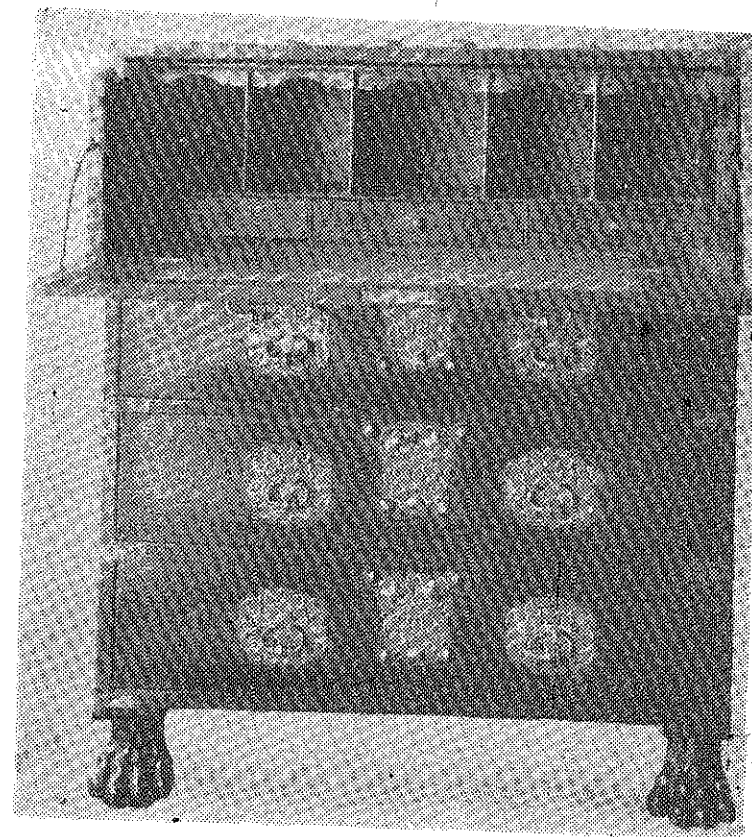


Fig. 6 A "kantoortje" or bureau - desk.

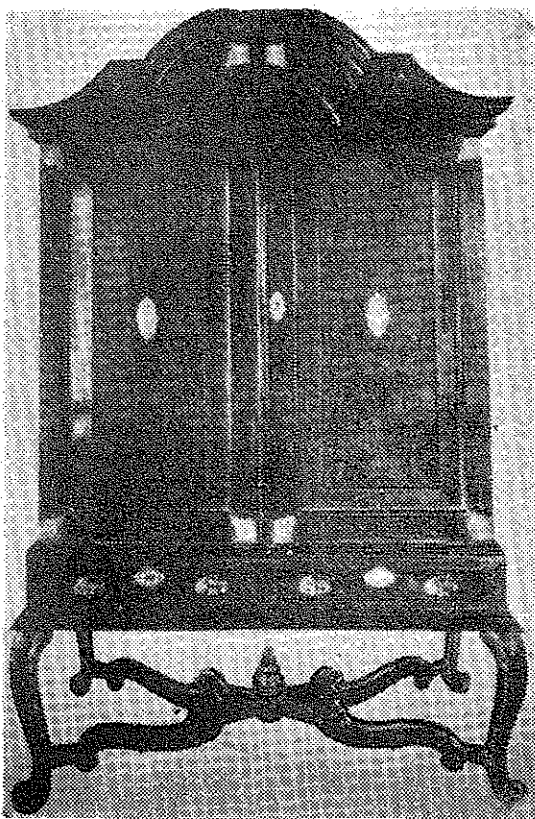


Fig. 7, Clothes chest commonly called "almirah", a Portuguese word equivalent to the English : wardrobe

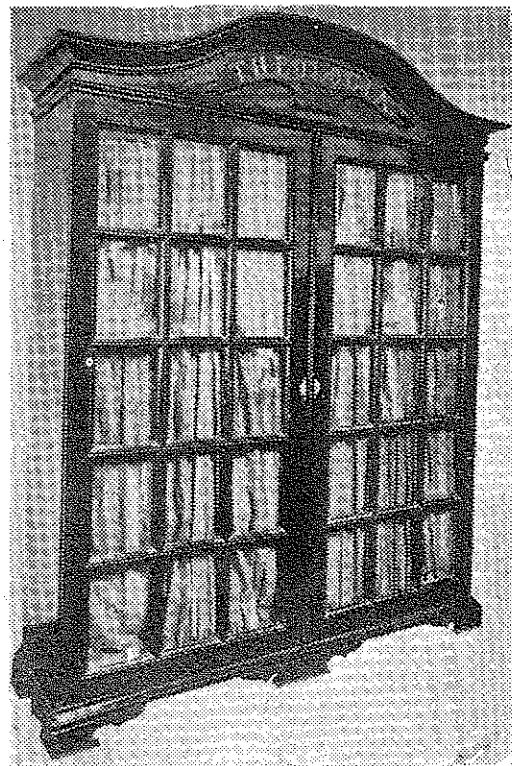


Fig. 9, Book-cabinet "Theologia", Colonial-Dutch liner.

and would hardly have found place for itself in a modern bedroom. Only the larger rooms of the old Dutch house could have accommodated such a massive bit of furniture, but this was no disadvantage, for the colonial-Dutch dwelling houses were themselves on the large scale. The two front sleeping-chambers, at least, were high and spacious.

What in English is called a wardrobe was by common usage called by the colonial-Dutch an "almirah" (a Portuguese word equivalent to the English "wardrobe"), as it was evolved for depositing the clothes and wearing apparel of a person.

There are many unique types of Dutch "almirahs" all belonging to a development reached in the later 18th century. These are in severe classical patterns with ornamental supports and with deeply moulded pediments copying the architecture of the period. The model illustrated (Fig- 8) shows the norms to best advantage.

A BOOK-CABINET

We next come to an uncommon model of a bookcabinet, illustrated Fig: 9) which bears out in silver letters on the facade below the cornice that it was a receptacle for THEOLOGIA. On first impressions one is led to believe that it must have been specially designed to lend character to the study of a Calvinistic Predicant. However, enquiry has brought to light that there were two other cabinets which were facsimiles of the one, similarly labelled: HUMANIORA and HISTORICA respectively. Although modelled on characteristic colonial-Dutch lines they were possibly built in the early years of the nineteenth century.

The story of this unique combination of genuine antiques is too interesting to remain untold. Apparently, they were in the possession of Charles Ambrose Lorenz, whose fame has never diminished, and may well be said to be even higher today than it was at the time of his death 96 years ago (1871). A few of Lorenz's household belongings passed on his death to his niece and adopted daughter, Maud Nell, who married Frederick John de Saram. They remained with her until her death in December 1936. Two of the book-cabinets: HUMANIORA and THEOLOGIA, thereafter passed into the possession of her son, Leslie de Saram — a connoisseur of the antique, HUMANIORA remains to this day installed in the office of F.J., and G. de Saram in the Fort of Colombo. THEOLOGIA was gifted to the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, together with other antiques of the "de Saram Collection" to be placed in the University's Archaeological Museum.

HISTORICA found its way to the old Felix Dias Bandaranaike family, and I believe is still in their possession.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF NETHERLANDS INDEPENDENCE

(Communicated)

The formation process of many European nations and states occupied centuries. In fact it is a process that is still continuing, because even the political groupings in which the nations have found satisfactory politico-geographical delimitations are about to dissolve to a greater or lesser extent into supranational entities, the outlines of which, however, have been vague so far.

The process has hardly ever been gradual and matter-of-course. Again and again the question crops up whether a certain evolutionary movement could not have been accomplished just as well in some other way. It is clear that external forces have often exerted very considerable influence on the process.

The origin of the state of the Netherlands is lost in the gray Middle Ages. The 16th century monarch Charles V, who was emperor of Germany and king of Spain and whose colonial territories in America, Africa and Asia extended so far that he could rightly say that the sun never set on his empire, was the first ruler of a region the frontiers of which more or less coincided with those of the Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg of today: they were then collectively termed "the Low Countries" and are nowadays often referred to as "Benelux".

When Charles V abdicated in 1555, the empire was divided up between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip II. The Netherlands fell to Philip, who, as king of Spain, was particularly interested in the Iberian peninsula. Resistance to the centralising measures taken by Philip, to religious persecution (those were the days of the Reformation) to the methods of levying taxes, together with incidental economic difficulties, led in 1566 to a revolt, headed by William the Silent, Prince of Orange, ancestor of the present Queen Juliana. In the Southern parts, now Belgium and Luxembourg, the revolt was not pressed home and Spanish, later Austrian, rule prevailed.

In the North a war was waged intermittently for eighty years and resulted in the recognition of the independence of a territory, the frontiers of which approximately coincided with the present frontiers of the Netherlands.

In the 17th century the Netherlands developed into a flourishing mercantile country with extensive colonial possessions, including Indonesia and Ceylon. New York and Cape Town were founded by Dutchmen. The Netherlands had a voice in world politics in those days,

The political structure of the Netherlands in the 17th century was extremely loose, which was understandable as the formation of the state was a reaction to the tendency towards centralization under the Spanish monarch. One might have called it a federation of highly independent provinces and towns, in which the competencies of urban, provincial and national executive organs were very vaguely distinguished. For a long time the princes of Orange acted as what were termed "Stadtholders", i.e.: as the highest military authorities, whereas the grand pensionary represented the highest executive power in civil matters and also handled foreign politics. Differences of opinion and conflicts often arose between Stadtholders and grand pensionaries, all of whom sought their own groups of adherents. There were indeed many conflicting ideals in the young state, and certain provinces and towns, especially Amsterdam, and the upper middle classes within it succeeded in securing an ever more influential position.

During the 18th century the political structure became too unstable to cope with serious internal and international stresses. Resistance to the oligarchy of those pulling the political strings became stronger. The ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity proclaimed by those who took part in the French revolution found eager champions in Holland. When the French armies overran the neighbouring countries in 1795, the Netherlands did not merely give in without a struggle, they actually welcomed the French in many places. The Stadtholder fled to England.

A National Assembly was set up, for the election of which indirect franchise had been granted to all citizens. All religions were accorded equal rights, which hitherto they had not had, although great toleration had been observed. Government was effectively centralised; the tax system improved. Much attention was given to education.

However, the destiny of the Netherlands gradually became more closely linked with that of the French empire. Foreign trade decreased considerably. Napoleon's continental system cut Europe off from the rest of the world. The Netherlands lost its colonies to England. It had to furnish men for Napoleon's campaigns. French rule became more and more oppressive.

When in November 1813 the power of Napoleon had been crushed by the united action of Russia, England and Prussia, one of the former regents, Hogendorp, who had remained faithful to the House of Orange and had not wished to hold an official function when the country was under French domination, proclaimed a provisional government. A few days later the son of the Stadtholder (the Stadtholder himself had died) returned from England and assumed government, "on the condition of a wise constitution".

Most of the constitution had already been drawn up by Hogendrop, who, in his liberation proclamation had actually announced that old times would return, and that the upper ten would reign again, but who had assimilated enough of the new views to retain the freedom of religion and a certain centralisation of government introduced by the French. However, during the Restoration the influence of the common people suffered a setback compared with the years immediately after 1795, elsewhere in Europe. And William I, who had now assumed the title of King, was certainly not prepared to relinquish any royal prerogatives: the reverse was the case.

During the famous Vienna Congress of 1815 the frontiers in Europe were determined anew. France was reduced to its former proportions. The Southern Netherlands and Luxembourg were added to the new kingdom to strengthen the military counterpoise.

An enlightened despot, William I did a great deal for the economic development of his kingdom. Numerous canals were dug and roads constructed, industrialisation was encouraged and trade organised with the colonies, most of which Britain had given back. The King did not hesitate to risk his private capital in new enterprises. He took an active part in the establishment of some undertakings that are now wellknown in many parts of the world, such as the Werkspoor engine works, the Wilton-Feyenoord shipyards and De Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij a bank also owing branches in India. William I was far ahead of his subjects in matters of economic policy.

However, in the political field he was less fortunate. He was inclined to restrict still further the scant influence the people had under the constitution, he did not care to meet the wishes of the rising bourgeoisie to have a say in matters too, and was insufficiently aware of the sensibilities of the various religious and philological groups in a state that had yet to be unified. Opposition to the monarch's rule increased particularly in the South. Inspired by the July revolution of 1830 in France, a revolt started in Brussels which led to the secession of what is now known as Belgium.

Partly under the influence of revolutionary disturbances elsewhere in Europe, the Netherlands constitution was to undergo its most radical reform in 1848 under William II, William I's successor. It was mainly due to Professor Thorbecke of Leyden, who had been advocating the modernisation of the Constitution for several years and had indicated exactly how he would carry it out.

The position of the king became more elevated; he could no longer do any wrong, but he lost some of his power. Comprehensive legislative and supervisory authority was given to the Second Chamber, which was now elected direct. If the government should get into difficulties with parliament, new ministers could be appointed or parliament dissolved. Several human rights, such as freedom of religion, of the press, of education, of association and assembly were specifically covered by the Constitution.

It was a great achievement, but it was many years before the King, ministers, parliament and people in general became fully aware of the opportunities this modern, democratic constitution offered them.

Although it was in 1848 rather than 1813 that political democracy became established, the latter date is important, since it was in 1813 that the Netherlands regained her independence and that the House of Orange, was reinstated as the Royal House. It is still reigning today.

FORGOTTEN LORE

HOW MAJOR THOMAS SKINNER, THE ROAD-MAKER, BAGGED HIS FIRST ELEPHANT.

Although quite a large number of thrilling interesting books on Ceylon have been written, a vast majority have been long out of print and are seldom seen nowadays except on the shelves of the collector. This extract is from one such book. We feel sure even those who have read the book in question will welcome a few brief minutes with an old friend.

THERE are few works, dealing with life in this Colony, more replete with readable anecdotes than *Fifty Years in Ceylon*, an autobiography by the late Major Thomas Skinner, C.M.G., the famous road-maker and Commissioner of Public Works, yet it would be probably difficult to find a hundred persons in the Island to-day who are familiar with this fascinating volume. Born in Newfoundland in May, 1804, Major Skinner came to Ceylon in 1818 to join his father, an officer in the Royal Artillery, who was then stationed at Trincomalee. Major Skinner relates how, when only 15 years of age, he obtained an appointment as a Cadet in the Ceylon Rifles and how he joined his Regiment at Colombo. He then proceeds:—

"My Colonel who was also on Sir Robert Brownrigg's General Staff, when he presented me to His Excellency, was desired to take me with him to King's House whenever he went there to dinner; consequently, in about a week, I received notice from Colonel — that I was to dine with he Governor that evening, and was duly called for at the proper hour. My sword, an ordinary regulation one, was a serious inconvenience, being out of all proportion, in point of size and weight, to its wearer. I had had a heavy day's drill and felt knocked up. Lady Brownrigg had most kindly reserved a seat for me next to her at dinner; but, directly it was over, my head dropped, and I fell asleep at the table. When the ladies retired, she most kindly took me to her room, disencumbered me of my military paraphernalia, and laid me on her bed, where I slept until my Commanding Officer was ready to take me home again. This is a sad story to the prejudice of my fitness for the service, but an instance of the motherly kind-heartedness of Lady Brownrigg which I can never forget. I never went to sleep again at the Governor's table, although frequently invited to it."

Later Major Skinner was transferred to Maturate and, during the temporary absence of the Lieutenant in charge of the Station, soon found himself an Acting Commandant. A huge rogue elephant had been seen in the vicinity of the camp and Major Skinner (not yet 16) determined, if possible, to have a shot at the beast. He writes:—

I went to bed, but had little sleep, the half-hours between the sentries' call, 'all's well,' seemed to be immeasurably long. Directly daylight broke I hurried on my clothes and went out to reconnoitre; it was some time before objects were sufficiently clear to enable me to distinguish between an elephant and the rocks with which the surface of the hill was studded. In a few minutes, however, my doubts and anxieties were satisfied. I could see a huge mass moving along, its size being exaggerated by the indistinctness of the grey morning light. I rushed to the guardhouse, which was pretty near my quarters, seized a cut-down flint and steel musket from the arm-rack, took ten rounds of ammunition out of the sentries' pouch, and off I started to bag my first elephant—my inexperience and ignorance of the danger giving me perfect confidence.

I had no sooner left the guard-room than the alarm was passed speedily to my sergeant, whom I soon saw in the distance with a file of men at the double. I was at first a little piqued at his officiousness in supposing I was not a match for my prey without their assistance. I check-mated them to a certain extent by sending two of the men to make a flank movement on the enemy, while the sergeant and I approached him in front. As I advanced nearer, and the light dawned brighter, the proportions of this monster of the jungle appeared to me very appalling. He was a splendid tusker. I thought little of that, supposing that all elephants were thus supplied with ivory, whereas not above one in 300 are so armed. I crept up to a level with the ground on which he was, before I made a direct movement towards him; but he soon discovered me, and, gallantly accepting the challenge, rushed headlong at us.

The sergeant, being better aware of the danger of such a contest than I was, suggested that I should, with all speed, climb upon a rock close by. The fury with which the beast was rushing at us allowed little time for any evolutions, however simple; but, assisted by the sergeant, I was on the top in a moment, about two feet above the elephant's head, just as he was making for the sergeant. I had only time to cock 'Brown Bess,' and, putting the muzzle on the crown of the monster's head, fired into it. He rolled over with a tremendous crash, to my no small satisfaction. It was not until I saw the huge mass of animal life prostrate and extinct by a momentary act of mine, that I could realize the great danger I had so recklessly run for my faithful sergenat and myself.

To kill a huge tusker with an old cut-down flint musket at the first shot I would, at any period of my life, have considered rather a feat; but that the first elephant I had seen, or come in contact with, should fall to a boy of fifteen—for I was not sixteen at the time—was an event. I would have given anything to have remained to gloat over my prey.

but at once felt that it would have been unsoldier-like and undignified to appear at all elated at the exploit, especially as the two men the sergeant brought from the Fort, *for my protection*, had joined us from their flank movement: so I coolly directed that the head should be cut off, brought down to the Fort and buried, to enable me to get the tusks out—they were a splendid pair—and I then walked back to my quarters, pretending to be as indifferent as if I had bagged hundreds of elephants before.

"The incident created great excitement in the cantonment, all the men off duty rushed up to see the animal their *Tuan Kilchel*—little gentleman or officer—had shot. I saw the head and tusks brought to the Fort by about fifty men, and observed where they intended to bury them; but still considered it would lower me in the opinion of my men if I exhibited the smallest interest in the subject, so I had to bear as best I could the feigned stoicism I thought it right to assume in reference to this strange monster. I waited patiently in my quarters until I thought the whole of the men had returned to the Fort for their breakfast, when I stole out quietly and unobserved to gaze in private at my trophy.

"On approaching the headless mass I was suddenly arrested by the most unearthly sounds, which appeared to proceed from it. What could it be? Tigers could scarcely have been so prompt in their attendance on the carcase, and that in broad daylight, on the side of an open hill, and yet the noise sounded very like their deep growl. I approached most cautiously. The noise increased as I got nearer; my courage was waning, when it occurred to me that I might ascend the same rock from which I had shot the animal, and reconnoitre my position. I crept up to it by a circuitous approach. Imagine my surprise when, on looking down, I found a large hatchway opened in the middle of the carcase and a couple of Caffres, or African soldiers, in the stomach, most industriously employed. Finding I had no danger to encounter, I descended to the scene of action, and was astonished at the noise their voices made within the body of the animal. When I asked them what they were doing, they told me they were taking out the heart, liver, and lights, which they described as great delicacies in their own country, where they were always used for food. The more I saw of this extraordinarily huge animal, the more astonished I was that he should so easily have fallen to my one haphazard ball, and I began to think I had done rather a good morning's work."

Later the author was transferred to Kurunegala where he contracted jungle fever and, in this connection, he writes:—

"I got over my attack, but it was a marvel that I did. One morning my doctor bled me till there was scarcely a drop of blood in my body: he then gave me forty grains of calomel, and in the evening—as the fever was still raging—he ordered me to be taken out to the yard of my quarters, laid on a bare rattan couch, and buckets of cold water thrown over me, for about twenty minutes! I was then put back to bed and fortunately fell asleep for several hours."

Major Skinner then goes on to relate how H. E. Sir Edward Barnes, the then Governor, offered him an appointment on the roads. Two military friends endeavoured to dissuade him, fearing that he might not be able to resist the temptations by which he would be surrounded, but Major Skinner was not persuaded but eventually consented to "toss up" as to whether he should accept the appointment or not. He tossed and won and the event influenced his whole future life. His first task was to construct a road from Balapane to Warakapola in the Ambanpitiya district, and he relates most amusingly how he was mystified by the instructions he received to descend the pass at a "gradient of one in twenty." He had not the faintest idea what the term meant, was too proud to acknowledge his ignorance, so got on with the job without fathoming the mystery. It was whilst thus employed that he met with the laughable adventure which he describes in the following extract:—

"I was much tormented by the wild elephants, which seemed to take a special pleasure in making nocturnal raids on my newly formed embankments. I had been working near my bungalow, and on a beautiful moonlight night sat up for some time guarding a new piece of road with which I was well satisfied. Later I went to bed, giving strict orders to my servants to call me immediately if they heard any alarm of elephants, loaded my gun, and placed a supply of ammunition in readiness. I had not lain down more than ten minutes when a servant rushed to my room in great excitement, crying out that a herd of fine elephants was on the road quite close to the bungalow, and that if I got up quickly I might get a shot at them from my door. I jumped out of bed, seized my gun, and was out. The elephants had moved a little, and the night was so clear and bright, I thought it worth while to follow and obtain a better aim at them. I dropped one, but the fellow rose again, so disabled, that I was led on, little by little, in my state of *deshabille*, till my poor feet—which had grown tender during my civilized life—were so cut that I had to hobble back to my wigwam and attend to them. My night-shirt gave ample evidence of the activity of the leeches, for the Ballapany paddy-fields were fine preserves for them, and at night they simply swarmed. This little incident is scarcely worth recording, but, as years go by, it strikes me now that I should hardly care for a repetition of it."

The Inaugural Meeting of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon took place on the 18th of January 1908. This issue of the Journal commemorates the 60th year, or the Diamond Jubilee of the Unions' formation.

The first issue of the Journal is dated March 31st 1908. Somewhere down the line two years appear to have been skipped, which explains how we are in the LVIIIth—volume.

NEWS AND NOTES

Humanity in Punishment: Living as we do as tired victims of civilization in what is popularly termed humane times, it is difficult for us to realise how severe were the sentences passed by the Supreme Court on prisoners here in Ceylon a little under a century and a half ago. We find in the official records of the criminal sessions of the Supreme Court held in Colombo from the 7th to the 12th May 1832, attested by the Registrar, Mr. V. W. Vander Straaten, that the Honourable Mr. William Rough, Sergeant at Law, Acting Puisne Justice, passed the following sentences:— (1) For receiving stolen property knowing the same to be stolen: 100 lashes and hard labour in chains for one year. (2) Assault: 200 lashes on two different days and hard labour in chains for two years. (3) Culpable Homicide not amounting to Murder: 200 lashes on two different days, hard labour in chains for seven years and at the expiration of the term, security for good behaviour.

James Loos M.D.: The father of Frederick Charles Loos was among the first batch of students to enter the Colombo Academy (now the Royal College), which dates as a public school from January 1836. The Rev. Joseph Marsh was Principal. The College buildings stood on the slopes of St. Sebastian Hill in the Pettah. He was a conspicuous example of the possibilities of an education which was not a cramming process for competitive examinations, but rather of a true education which laid a good foundation of general knowledge and promoted in a student a desire for self-education after school life.

In 1838 at the age of sixteen, James Loos, applied for and was selected to study medicine in the newly established Bengal Medical College. There was no Medical College in Ceylon at that time, and subordinate officers were, being trained in the Military Hospital in Colombo.

Medical science has indeed gone far since 1838. Dr. W. G. van Dort reminds us that in the time of which we write most of the appliances which now alleviate suffering were unknown. He writes: "It was a time when the average medical man knew as little of the human body as Hippocrates; a time when it was a common thing, though auscultation had been introduced some years before, for elderly gentlemen when handling a stethoscope to put the wrong end of it to the ear; when pathology was virtually a mere note book of *post-mortem* appearances recording observations as dead as the bodies on which they were made; when there was little knowledge of nervous diseases, laryngeal and ear diseases, when even the diagnosis of skin diseases was made according to Dr. Hunter: who divided them as follows:—Those which sulphur could cure, those which mercury could cure and those which the devil himself could not cure. It was a time when anaesthetics was unknown; when no more was known of antiseptics but what was introduced by Semmelweis."

After four years of study in Calcutta James Loos returned to Ceylon and served as a Medical Sub-Assistant. At the age of 34 he left for England and obtained the M. D. of St. Andrew's University. On his return he was appointed Colonial Surgeon of the Northern Province which then included the greater portion of the North Central Province.—

It was a deadly region at that time with alarima and parangi rapidly depopulating the Wannu. At the request of Governor Hercules Robinson he fully investigated the causes of depopulation, and was obsessed with the necessity for more doctors and hospitals. It was due to his persistence, that a Medical School was opened in Ceylon in June 1870. Dr. Loos was its first Principal.

WORDS AND PHRASES: Some years ago (never mind how many) when I began to interest myself in writing, I had a Common-Place Book in which I used to enter carefully any little scrap of information I thought worthy of a place in it. In fact, I have my old book with me still, and prize it very much. The following lines which I read somewhere at the time, and which I thought appropriate for the beginning of a Common-Place Book, appear in the first page:—

"In reading authors when you find
Bright passages that strike your mind,
And which perhaps you may have reason
To think of at another season,
Be not contented with the sight,
But take them down in black and white.
Such a respect if wisely shewn,
It makes another's sense one's own."

Words are very much like people, since they have a history of their own; they are born, they have a duty to fulfil, they pass away and are forgotten. Figuratively, words are born to-day, multiply to-morrow, and are dead the day after.

The first English Dictionary was published in 1499 and contained only two thousand words; whereas an English Dictionary of to-day contains much over a hundred thousand words. Although such a vast number of words is to be found in the English Language, a writer, Bayard Taylor, tells us that a vocabulary of five hundred words will enable one to get along in any foreign country. That is what our educationists are doubtless after. Good luck to them, but pity the hapless student of the future from Ceylon who proceeds on post-graduate study.

Howlers: It would be unreasonable to suppose that *all* the specimens of "Howlers" brought to notice are the actual work of boys and girls in Schools. The two specimens given below, are vouched as genuine, and are all the more amusing in that they date to the days of the slogan: "English! More English!! Better English!!!" One should however be knowledgeable of the contents of the Children's Garland of Verse to appreciate them.

A boy was asked to write from memory some verses of "The Inchcape Bell". This is how he did it:—

"No stair in the air. No stair in the sea.
The ship was still as it might be:
Her Hair was thick with many curl.
That rustic round her head
Without either sign or sound of their shock.
And the flowed waves Inchcapes Rock
So little they rosy. So little they fell
And hide from view the Inchcapes Bell."

The third and fourth lines, it may be noted, are a reminiscence of "We are Seven".

Our second specimen is a concise, out-spoken narrative of John Gilpin's ride:

"John Gilpin's 20th anniversary was coming near. The John Gilpins wife told to have a holiday. The eventful day a carriage was brought to John Gilpins house and John Gilpin told you better go. I will come on a horse back, and John Gilpins wife and children went towards the Edmonton."

General Knowledge: Among medicinal plants in Ceylon may be mentioned:— the *Velmi* or liquorice plant, used for coughs and colds; the *Hulanthala*, for cuts and slight wounds; the *Irimessu* (sarasparilla), a blood-purifier; the *Gotukola*, a blood purifier; the *Iriveriya*, or Ginger; the *Vathakaha* & c. *A Marés nest* — something that does not exist; — mares do not build or live in nests. *Hobson's choice* — "this or none"; Hobson was a Cambridge stabler who let out horses on hire, but the horse taken had to be the one nearest the door, the one that had been longest in. *Red tape* is used in tying official papers, hence the name given to the formality and routine of official ways. *A leading question* is one so worded as to suggest the answer expected. *A laconic speech* is a short one; Sparta, in Greek, was once called Laconia, and the Spartans were noted for curt speeches.

By the Way:

There is in all Dutch towns and townships, a typical reminder of the time, when Indonesia was part of the Dutch Empire. There are restaurants where they serve "rijsttafel" ("rice table"), consisting of a central, large dish of rice, surrounded by as many as twenty other smaller dishes, each including unusually-prepared, and often spicy, meat or vegetables. This is served with cool Dutch beer. It is not very costly and does appeal to everyone from the Orient. Particularly Amsterdam and the Hague have famous restaurants of this type.

Tu-Lips:

FOR several years now more and more tulips have been grown in areas outside the traditional centres of North and South Holland.

Outside these well-nown centres, tulips are being grown on large arable holdings, mixed farms and in addition, on smaller holdings which combine general farming with some horticultural crops. Tulips are also beginning to appear in the Delta area.

Tulip-growing requires a great deal of experience, and this is the main reason why this branch of horticulture was formerly found mainly on the smaller family holdings.

The tulip growing area has been greatly extended throughout the Netherlands: the increase in the North-East Polder was in fact spectacular (in 1962: 158.08 acres; in 1965 ; 358.15 acres; in 1966: 424.84 acres).

Tongue In The Check:

At a Seminar recently conducted by the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation discussion centered on: "Education for the New Society". A Tamil gentleman in the audience commenting on the two streams provided as the media of education for the Sinhalese and Tamil children, enquired what provision had been made for the children of the Burgher community.

One of the members of the panel -- a very responsible officer in the Ministry of Education, replied laconically: "I thought the Burghers spoke Dutch!"

In the silence which followed he softly added, "that was facetitious", and finally answered the question by saying: "that has been provided for". We do hope he is quite sure of his answer, and is now convinced that the home language of the Burghers is English. But, why the cynical *damp squib*?

Australian DPL:—

It gives us pleasure to record the recent appointment of Mr. Ian Wille to the Australian diplomatic service. Ian is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Wille who left Ceylon in 1957 to settle in Melbourne, Australia. He was born in September 1943, had his early schooling in the Royal College and graduated at the Melbourne University, obtaining the degrees, BA, LLB. He is presently attached to the service in Canberra.

Ian is a grandson of Mr. G. A. H. Wille who was an elected member of the re-constituted Legislative Council in 1924, and rendered great service both as elected member to the Legislative Council, and as a nominated member representing the Burgher Community in Parliament set up by the Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council of 1946, for over two decades.

Obituary: There are two members of the Community whose passing we call to mind: G. C. Ebell and Aubrey N. Wienman. The former, "Gerry", to his host of friends, proved himself in recent years a loyal and energetic supporter of the Union. He was a few days over 60 years of age at the time of his demise, and had but recently retired from a staff-appointment he held at the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank. He was a popular and active member of the Ceylon Motor Sports Club.

Aubrey Wienman, passed away in Perth, Australia, on 10th August at the age of 68. He took considerable interest in the Union and its activities and officiated with great acceptance as General Secretary from 1930 to 1935.

For two decades between the first and the second world-wars Aubrey Weinman was Secretary and Librarian of the Colombo Museum. On his return from the second war, after five years in a prisoner-of-war camp, Major Wienman made it his responsibility on being appointed Director of the Dehiwela Zoo, to convert it into a show-place worth a visit. Authoritative opinion holds that there is no Zoo that betters it for lay-out and setting, in all Asia.

Aubrey has made several contributions to scholarship in the volumes of this Journal, and for many years officiated as Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch). Leaving Ceylon, in 1962, he served as a Director of the Zoo in Kuala Lumpur, and shortly after, left for Australia where he settled in retirement.

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