

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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SUMMARIES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECRET WAR
COMMITTEE OF THE DUTCH POLITICAL COUNCIL OF
CEYLON DURING THE WAR WITH KANDY 1762—1766

INTRODUCTION

BY

S. A. W. MOTTAU (Retired Asst. Archivist)

THE Minutes of the "Secret Committee" of the Dutch Political Council of Ceylon contain a complete record of the secret discussions which guided the policy and plans adopted by the Dutch in the later stages of their campaigns during the War against the Kingdom of Kandy from 1762 to 1766, and the prolonged peace talks which culminated in the Treaty of 14th February 1766 ⁽¹⁾

A treatise on this War, chiefly based on the documents in the Rijks-Archief at the Hague, has been published in Dutch as a thesis by W. Zwier under the title "Het verdrag van 1766 tusschen de O.I. Compagnie en den vorst van Kandi".

The wealth of detailed information on this subject contained in the series of "Secret Minutes" in the Dutch records in the Ceylon Government Archives was not, however, made available to the public in English translations until very recently, when the contents of one volume of the proceedings of the Dutch Secret Council dealing with the events leading to the War and the earlier stages of it, covering the period January to November 1762, were published in the Dutch, with an English translation of the same, by Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz, retired Government Archivist, in August 1954.

(1) Copies of this Treaty in Dutch are filed in several volumes of the Dutch records in the Ceylon Government Archives. (Nos. 3344, 2444, 2448 ect.) An English translation appears in the 'Orientalist', Vol 3., page 115.

Since then, English translations of the five subsequent volumes ⁽²⁾ of the Dutch text, containing the discussions of the "Secret Committee" (a Privy Council specially appointed to deal with the War against Kandy)⁽³⁾ were, at the instance of Government, undertaken by Mr. E. Reimers, retired Government Archivist; and the work on four of these has already been completed, covering the proceedings at the Sessions of the 'Secret Committee' from 5th October 1762 to the 20th of December, 1765.

These translations, with the Dutch text in typescript, were deposited by the translator at the Government Archives monthly as they were prepared by him, with a view to their publication as each volume was completed. Four of the five volumes were ready for the Press since 1954. For some unknown reason, however, the work of publishing them was never undertaken, and the useful work done by Mr. Reimers in this connection has not yet seen the light of day, and has lain in the repositories of the Archives, as it were, "hidden under a bushel".

Having worked on these records recently since my retirement from the public service, I find that these translations are most useful for a detailed study of the delicate and intricate circumstances connected with the strategy and policy adopted by the Dutch in the conduct of their campaigns during the war. The translations, at least, are fully worth the trouble of publishing *in toto*. Owing to the need for economy in printing, however, I have endeavoured to condense them in the form of brief summaries of the proceedings of the Dutch War Council, setting out the main trends of the mind of the Dutch Administrators and the motives underlying their plans and actions during the progress of the War. Translations of the more interesting and important phases of the discussions have, however, been quoted in full, in order to convey more fully the precise motives and principles followed by the Dutch Administrators in their relations with the Kandyan monarch and the dignitaries of his Court and his subjects.

I am sure that if Mr. Reimers were alive today it would have afforded some measure of satisfaction to him as author of these translations to find that his work has been made available to the public even in this abridged form.

FURTHER EXPLANATORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR

The dominion which Holland had acquired over coastal Ceylon proved to be an inheritance of ill-will. Rajasinha, their Kandyan ally had, in his eagerness to get rid of the Portuguese, promised more than he could perform. Holland took advantage of it. Whereas the Kandyan King contended that he had been swindled out of his territory, the Hollanders said: "Meet the charges of the war and we will evacuate the forts when you please". It may well be that van Diemen, who wrote as much to the king on the 26th of September 1640, would not have been so free in his offers had he not been certain the king could not meet their claims!

The Dutch showed no lust for further conquests after the expulsion of the Portuguese. Their military policy was purely precautionary and defensive, and the Supreme Government at Batavia all along urged the maintenance of peace with the Kandyan monarch—at all costs. In 1761 the strained relations between the Dutch in Ceylon and the Kandyan King led to open war. The aggressive policy of the Dutch Governor, Baron van Eck, who arrived in Colombo on November 11th 1762, culminated in an invasion of Kandy.

The expeditionary force had been mustered at Negombo. Van Eck left Colombo on January 13th, 1765, took command of the force, moved to Kurunegala, and proceeding thence via the Galagedera Pass, reached Katugastota on February the 16th. Kandy was occupied and the Royal Palace looted on the 19th, the king of Kandy having retreated to his hill-strongholds off Hanguranketa. On March the 4th, van Eck left Kandy taking with him some booty. He reached Colombo in six days. In the minutes of the Secret Council, 1764 (March 23rd) he is shown to be "absent through sickness". According to his tombstone in the Wolvendaal Church he died nine days later on the 1st of April.

The primitive raids and encounters between the Dutch and Sinhalese forces which led finally to open warfare and culminated in the peace Treaty of 1766, form the main theme of the translated minutes. The early British attempts to get a foot-hold in the country are also occasionally referred to.

(2) Ceylon Government Archives, Dutch records, Nos. 4864-4868.

(3) The following quotation from Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz's introduction to his work describes the arduous functions of the 'Secret War Committee' of the Dutch and the wealth of the existing information contained in the record of their deliberations.

"These Privy Council records contain the essence of all that was said and decreed by members while they wrestled with hardest problems:—scandals in the administration; how far to lay impious hands on the feudal and caste systems; whether to hang rebel leaders or gag them, and give their followers a free pardon or a whiff of grape-shot; what pairs of eyes and ears it would be profitable to use at Kandy and what animosities to whet; whether to brandish the olive-branch or the sword.

At these confidential meetings the despatches and advices which called for executive action were tabled and read out; the arguments for and against a suggested solution were marshalled and weighed; and the over-riding reasons which clinched the final decision were set out in detail. Thus, all the inner workings of the Government mind and the motives underlying its actions were clearly revealed. Not only can actual events be studied but also groundless fears and imminent contingencies which in practice failed to come to a head but yet governed daily action. Apart from setting down the political and military designs of the central authority, these minutes also embody reports from secret service agents and diplomatic envoys, tales of escaped prisoners, petitions from humble villagers and even parables by Sinhalese Dissavass, which gave vivid pictures of the habits and social life of the people."

(FROM THE DUTCH TEXT IN GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES,
DUTCH RECORDS NO. 4864^a)

Page
of
Text

2 5th October 1762

Admiral Nicolaas Houting, Commander of the Company's Naval Forces in India, is appointed a member of the Secret Committee, with the Chief Administrator Arnoldus Jacobus de Ly and the Hon. Major Felix Bisschoff, Chief of the Military, with John Hugonis as Secretary. Decided to get re-inforcements of native and Eastern troops from Malabar and Coromandel, and to form two or three Companies of German and French troops.

3 Offer of the Wannia and the Koddiyar and the Tampalakam headmen to submit to the Company.

4 Draft of a Sinhalese ola addressed to King Kirti Sri Rajasinha's ministers.

7 27th October 1762.

Three ships are ordered to be discharged of cargo and equipped for war.

9 Dutch troops and sepoys are to be requisitioned from Coromandel. The Dutch troops are to be stationed at Jaffna under Captain Job and the rest at Trincomalee.

12 16th November 1762

Statement of the Appuhamies (Appuhamy Bulatsingelege Gabriel Coere of Kotte and Attigelege Don Paulo of Madepaa), who were sent to Kandy with the letter to the King's Ministers is read and filed. They say that they appeared before the Adigar Pilamatalawe and the other Ministers on the 24th October and handed the letter to the Adigar. They appeared before the Ministers again on the following day, and the Adigar said that His Majesty is pleased at the Governor's order allowing the three Mudaliyars and others who were banished to the Cape to return to their homes, and that if the Governor carried out His Majesty's other wishes, he will have presents and favours, otherwise he will have trouble. He wanted this to be conveyed to the Governor.

(4) This volume contains the minutes from 5th October 1762 to the 20th January 1764.

15 Read a letter addressed by Captain Drosdowsky, Commandant at Negombo, to Major Bisschoff, stating that the King's Arachy at Chilaw, Simon de Mel and others who had crossed over there to escape ill-treatment by the Kandyans, had promised all support even at the risk of life as soon as he crosses the Kaymel river, and that Chilaw and 36 villages in the King's territory would submit to the Company and supply then with provisions, etc.

17 The Arachy is summoned and interviewed by the Governor, and found reliable, and it is decided to carry out the expedition after consulting Captain Drosdowsky.

19 2nd December 1762.

20 Reports of Military movements by the King in the Matara Dissavany are confirmed by translations of Sinhalese unsigned olas:—

1. Written by the priest Bentotte Tinnecoon to the Mohottiyar Don Simon de Silva, and

21 2. Written by Warnekele Wiresoeria Aresenieleitte, Mudaliyar at Negombo, to the Gate Mudaliyar Wijewardene.

22 3. Statement made by a Kandyan cousin of Salowe Dahanaike Appuhamy, who lately returned from the Cape, to the Atapattu Muhandiram Domingo de Sarram on information obtained through the Chief Priest Kobbekaduwa Rajaguru Terunanse. (Reports that troops were sent to Matara under the command of the Mohottiyars Ellepola and Iriyagama to reinforce the Adigar's troops there).

25 The Committee decided to take the offensive against the King in view of the recent successes, before the arrival of the expected Siamese Prince, by diverting manoeuvres in other places in the following manner:—

27 (a) To take post in Puttalam by sending 200 European troops and 200 Eastern troops under Captain Leonard de Coste, with due instructions to act in consultation with the Chief Officer of Calpenty (Mr. Aubert), and with orders to protect and treat well all those who submit to the Company, and to massacre and despoil all those who resisted, and to report progress to the Governor once in every 8 days.

30 (b) That a detachment under Captain Drosdowsky, assisted by further reinforcements under Ensign Grenier, cross the Kaymel river and take post there with similar orders.

31 (c) To send reinforcements by sea to Galle and Matara under Admiral Houting, and if possible, to take the Vidana of Tangalla, Don Simon, with him, and take post in the King's territory there, and conduct any diversionary manoeuvres possible.

34 6th December 1762.

The draft instructions to Captains de Coste and Friedhelm Jacob Drosdowsky, and the draft of the sannas ola addressed to the inhabitants in the King's territory are read and approved and inserted here.

40 19th December 1762.

Read letters from Captain Drosdowsky reporting a successful crossing of the Kaymel, and the submission and support given by the headmen and the inhabitants. Erection of a camp at Tammarawila. The loyal services of the Arachy Simon de Mel are rewarded by appointing him as Mudaliyar of Pitigal Korale, with the remission of the stamp duty of 10 rix dollars as a further encouragement.

43 22nd December 1762.

A letter from Batavia dated 20th October, 1762 is read and their marginal dispositions on Governor Schreuder's letter is circulated.

44 Review of the order that any actions against the Island by the English are to be dealt with tactfully with a written protest, and if necessary, with force in case of any show of hostile action by them.

47 It was decided, after deliberation, to make no change in the orders already issued to Trincomalee in this respect for the reasons stated.

48 Read a report from the Chief of Trincomalee communicating that the Koddiiyar Headmen and the Vanniyar of Coelepattu, Sanderes Segere Mudaliyar, were persisting in offers of submission to the Company, and that he was awaiting further orders to attack the Kandyans.

50 Decided to reply authorising him to accept their offers and enter into contracts with them, and to take the offensive against the Kandyans immediately, assisted by the reinforcements recently obtained from Coromandel in consultation with a Confidential or Secret Committee to be appointed by him for the purpose, both at Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Tampalakam.

54 At the request of various native headmen and inhabitants of the Alutkuru, Siyane and Hewagam Korales, it is decided to launch out further offensives in these Korales after first displacing the Kandyan watchposts at Pelligore, beyond the Pas Betaal.

56 29th December 1762

Translation of a warning letter sent by the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales to Dissava Bauert, suggesting submission to the Kandyan Court for the future benefit of the Company.

57 Copy of a Sinhalese ola sent in reply, saying that if the Kandyan Court duly observes all the normal formalities of sending Ambassadors to welcome the new Governor, and releases the Dissave of Matara and other Hollanders who were taken prisoner and withdraws from the Company's territory, it would be a good thing and advantageous to the Court.

59 4th January 1763.

A further ola received from the Dissava of the 3 and 4 Korales explaining the reasons for not sending the usual Embassy, and recommending an early settlement of the existing differences.

61 Decided to let it remain unanswered as deserving of no consideration whatever.

62 7th January 1763.

Read a letter from the Governor of Coromandel reporting the arrival at Porto Novo of a brigantine destined to sail for Ceylon with supplies of ammunition etc.

63 Read a letter from Lieut. Kimbergen, Acting Commandant at Negombo, reporting successful attacks by the Dutch forces at Singakoelie and Tamarawila, with the capture of much arms and ammunition etc. belonging to the Kandyans, and the desire of the people there to submit to the Company.

64 Read a report by Captain de Coste of similar success at Puttalam, and the capture of that town and the so-called Royal Palace there.

65 Proposed action against the smugglers' resort at Oedempekare.

67 Report from Captain Drosdowsky of operations near the Kaymel river.

68 Difficulties experienced in obtaining supplies of fresh water there. Reply ordering him to go back to Tamarawila and overawe the Puttalam district as much as possible.

69 Decided to send secretly an Act of Pardon (copy inserted) to 19 European deserters reported to be with the Dissava of the 3 and 4 Korales at Malewanne.

70 Acceptance of an offer from the French Captain Bint to raise a Company of Germans to reinforce the depleted French Company, on a three-year agreement of service.

- 72 Proposals of the Batavian Government regarding ways and means of sending letters to Holland through an overland route to avoid their capture by the English.
- 74 Proposals for the grant of extra subsistence allowances and remuneration to Company officers performing additional duties.
- 76 **12th January 1763.**
Expectation that the Kandyan Court will make further overtures is realised. Read an ola addressed to the Dissava Mr. Bauert by the Dissava of the 3 and 4 Korales stating that the Kandyan Court will send grandees to welcome His Excellency the Governor and to discuss the present differences, and to bring back the Dissava of Matara and the other European prisoners.
- 79 Reply sent to the above letter, mentions also the delivery of the cinnamon peeled in 1760 and withheld by the Court.
- 80 Read letter from Captain Drosdowsky regarding the operations at Chilaw.
- 82 **14th January 1763.**
Read letter from Ensign Maus, Commanding at Tamarawila, regarding approaches made by the Dissava of the 7 Korales.
- 84 Replied that the best efforts should be made to persuade the Dissava to come over to the Company, or, failing that, if possible, to temporise with him, and in the meantime not to be deceived by any fair words but to continually be on the alert.
- 85 **16th January 1763.**
Read letter from Captain Kimbergen at Negombo. Says that it is necessary that Ensign Francius should remain in the Alutkuru Korale: which is accordingly approved.
- 86 Read a letter from Captain Simon reporting successful attacks at Biagam and Mallewanne, and the retreat of the Dissava of the 3 and 4 Korales to Sitavaka. *
- 88 **18th January 1763**
Read a further ola from the Dissava of the 3 and 4 Korales. He sends an evasive answer regarding the conditions for the restoration of the cinnamon peeled in the Kandyan Provinces.
- 90 Replied adhering to the conditions already stated, including the immediate withdrawal of the Court Grandees now occupying Company's territory, as a preliminary for the reception of the Kandyan Embassy.

- 92 **20th January 1763.**
Report from Matara that Captain von Born had advanced to Dikwella, and thence past Kahawatte to Tangalle, capturing much booty, arms and equipment.
- 94 **22nd January 1763.**
Captain Drosdowsky from Chilaw reports the capture of three vessels with cargoes of iron, gunpowder, etc. belonging to Moors engaged in smuggling. The Vanniyar of Chilaw and the Adeppenaar of the Moors claim ownership and demand the restoration of these. Decided to confiscate them to the Company: any further vessels to arrive in future are to be allowed to proceed to Colombo with a pass issued by Captain Drosdowsky after careful examination of their cargoes.
- 95
- 97 **25th January 1763.**
Captain Drosdowsky from Chilaw reports the arrival of five more vessels with cargoes of linen goods, iron and saltpetre.
- 99 Replied that it is clear that these vessels were engaged in smuggling, also that saltpetre would be of assistance to the enemy, and that he must once and for all deprive the Vanniyar and all others of all hope of carrying on a trade so harmful to the Company, and that the five vessels should be sent to Colombo under proper Military escort.
- 101 **26th January 1763.**
Letter from Captain Van Born at Tangalle informing the Dissava of Matara that he would send the Mudaliyar and 1st Interpreter Widjesinge back, owing to his suspicious conduct and behaviour (details given).
- 103 Decided to order the Dissava of Matara to arrest the Mudaliyar and send him in close arrest to Galle, to be retained there until further orders.
- 104 **28th January 1763.**
Read a further ola from the Dissava of the 3 and 4 Korales, agreeing to compromise if the Company's people who are now at Puttalam and other places belonging to the King's Store are called out. Replied as follows :- "The Mighty Company did not begin the war, nor has it given the least cause therefor. On the other hand, Their Honours, after the outbreak of hostilities, have always endeavoured by friendly means to bring them to an end and offered more than ten times to send Ambassadors to the Supreme Great Court, but the Supreme Great Court would not listen, but over and over again rejected the offer. How, therefore, can His Excellency the Governor, now that the Mighty Company has been forced to act in earnest and its people are
- 107
- 108

victorious everywhere, depend on the offer of the Supreme Great Court now to send Ambassadors and sincerely restore friendship? And how can Your Honour claim that His Excellency the Governor should recall the Company's folk who are now at Puttaiam and other places in the King's territory before the Supreme Great Court, which has unreasonably begun the war, makes further amends? Or does your Honour perhaps suppose that we should allow ourselves to be deceived any longer? Indeed, NO! You must not think so; on the contrary, I can candidly inform Your Honour that not only will the Company's people not be recalled but that they will indeed advance still further, until the Supreme Great Court should have shown a sincere desire to restore our friendship, and, as a token thereof, to carry out in every respect all that I have so often mentioned and so clearly expressed in my last ola, and which I shall again repeat..... If all this should be done, and that strictly within 14 days, it will be very good, and only then will His Excellency the Governor receive the Ambassadors of the Supreme Great Court; but should the above mentioned three articles not be complied with, it would be best if Your Honour did not write to me again, as there would be no purpose in an exchange of letters".

109 **31st January 1763.**

Captain de Coste at Puttalam reports the capture of 13 dhoneyes carrying cargoes of linen, medicines, muskets and bullets etc; engaged in smuggling.

110 Decided to deal with these in the same manner as those captured at Chilaw.

111 **1st February 1763.**

Captain Bersky from Bentota reports a successful raid against Pitigal,* nine hours' march landwards from Bentota, where the inhabitants had been molested by supporters of the Kandyan Court. The rebel Mudaliyar Segerie's house is stormed and the enemy put to flight.

113 Discussion of the correspondence received from His Excellency Mr. Pigot and the authorities of the English East India Company at Negapatnam (through Governor van Teylingen) regarding protests made by the Governor and the Council in regard to their exchanges of Embassies with the Kandyan Court.

117 They say: We cannot but take the liberty to say that however much Your Honour may place reliance on an exclusive right, the same in no way appears from what Your Honour has been pleased to refer to; and although we have no desire to dispute your treaties with the King of Candia, we however cannot see that any treaty in which we are not a contracting party, and of whose contents we ourselves are ignorant, can in any way bind us. On

the contrary, we feel that both Companies, the English as well as the Dutch, have the same right and liberty for trading and negotiating with every independent power in India who is willing to accord the same to them, and that in all possible circumstances, excepting those in which such trade or negotiations had been specifically excluded by the treaties; and we know of no treaty whereby our negotiations with the King of Candia could be forbidden. We know fully well that your nation has had the power and authority to shut out the said Prince from negotiating with foreign nations; but we neither know nor believe, and it has hitherto not been proved to us, that manner of proceeding is founded on any right. We say this is in no way with the object of disputing or infringing the treaties of the Dutch East India Company, but only to show Your Honour that the principal foundation on which Your Honour's argument rests is nothing more than inconclusive. The articles from various treaties which have been cited by Your Honours are not unknown to us; we recognise the same in their relevancy to the matter in question; we know their force, and we have a due regard for the same; but we cannot but take the liberty to say that the same have no bearing whatever on the root of the matter in question".

119 **Annexes:** Mr. P. J. Dormieux's narrative of the details of his interview in this connection with Mr. Pigot. Refers to the scant courtesy with which he was treated and the affront etc: which he was subjected to.

No action is considered necessary on this letter.

121 **3rd February.**

Strictures against the Dissava de Ly and Captain van Born for their action in arresting Mudaliyar Widjesinge at Tangalle, contrary to the instructions sent. States that the Mudaliyar was sent over to the State Adigar with the Governor's knowledge and approval in order to induce the headmen with the Adigar to come over to the Company.

122 Orders that he be released immediately as being faithful to the Company and re-instated as Interpreter to the Dissava.

124 General authority granted to the Administrator Houting and the other officers operating in the South to conduct any expeditions into the King's territory there as was found to be expedient, with due precautions in receiving those who may come over from the Colonne Korale.

125 Authority is granted to Don Francisco Dias, Mudaliyar of Siyane Korale, to advance landwards to drive away the rebels. Captain Simonsz of Malewanne is ordered to assist him with a Company of Moors and provisions, and to send 150 European and Eastern troops to Hamenebedde and take post there.

126 Captain Hattorff is to advance from Embulgama to Hanwella. Ensign Francius is authorised to advance into the Hapitigam Korale leaving a Sergeant and 12 European and 36 free Javanese behind at Minuwangoda.

127 **9th February 1763.**

Captain Drosdowsky of Chilaw reports the capture of a King's storehouse with about 15,000 parras of paddy.

128 Orders are issued for the disposal of the paddy. Successful operations by Captain van Born in the Colonne Korale and the capture of paddy supplies there. As in the previous case, all the paddy captured is to be sold to the Company's stores at a fixed price, and the proceeds divided among the officers and men participating.

129 Ensign Francius advances as far as Ballagalla and Ensign Pels from Tammarawila to Halpe against the Dissava of the 7 Korales, who has now totally abandoned the Company's territory.

131 **10th February 1763.**

Dumbara Ralehamy is suddenly relieved of office as Dissava of the 3 and 4 Korales by Pilimatalauwe Wijesundere Rajepaxe Panditha Mudianse Ralehamy.

132 Read an ola from him to the Dissava Bauert. The Dissava admits their fault and says they have now withdrawn all their Grandees from the Company's territory. He offers a further approach towards peace. Promises to send an Embassy to welcome the Governor and to return the Matara Dissava and the other Dutch prisoners and to deliver cinnamon. It is decided to reply acknowledging their admission of responsibility for starting the war and their offer of terms of peace on the conditions already stated.

136 **13th February 1763.**

Offer of the Headmen of the Colonne Korale to come over to the Company and help them against the Adigar.

137 Report of further successful attacks: the Korala is captured. The Adigar flees towards Kamburugamuwa setting fire to his own house.

138 Favourable report from Captain van Born of support from the inhabitants of the Colonne and Attakalam Korales.

139 Decided to erect a redoubt at Mallewane owing to the persistent rebellious actions of the inhabitants of the Siyane Korale.

140 **16th February 1763.**

141 Reports of Captain von Bron's further pursuit of the Adigar. Heavy firing on his troops with cartridges made of English writing material. Two of the prisoners captured, being men of the Morrua Korale, are immediately executed, and the third, a runaway slave, is given a conditional pardon on a promise to point out buried cannon. He says that the Adigar's troops are mostly the Company's own subjects and a mixed rabble of a Kaffir and some deserted Boeginese of daring quality.

142 **26th February 1763.**

143 Report from the Chief Officer Rein of Trincomalee that Tampalakam headmen had come over for protection to Capt. von Frytag, who left by sea and landed there with European and native troops. The Vanniyar of Coelepattu, Sandere Segere Mudaliyar, is brought to Trincomalee at his own request and submits to the Company. The headmen of Koddiiyar too come over to the Company for protection. Further instructions to Admiral Houting regarding the disposal of the ships and troops with him. Captain von Born reports hopes of further success. He says "the hatred of the Adigar by the inhabitants appeared to be so strong, that if he was once driven away from those Korales, they themselves would in future keep him out of them," and that he found these people better disposed to the Company than its own subjects.

149 **27th February 1763.**

Further success by Capt. von Born. The Adigar is driven out of the Attakalan and the Mende Korales. The Morrua Korale is now completely cleared of the enemy.

151 **3rd March 1763.**

152 Further advance by Capt. Von Born to Lellepittie on the other side of the Walawe river. He sets everything on fire there by patrols and captures much booty, including stocks of European gunpowder, saltpetre and sulphur, and destroyed them all by fire and by disposal in the river owing to transport difficulties of conveying the same over the steep hills..... He decides, in consultation with Adam Houting, to invade the King's territory along the Coast on the further side of the Walawe river.

154 **22nd March 1763.**

155 Captain von Born having crossed the Walawe and Kirinde rivers has advanced to Jaliput in pursuit of the Dissave of Uva, brother of the State Adigar, and captured much booty. All the inhabitants offer to help the Company except those of Nagamme who ran away, and this village was set on fire. Thereafter, he re-crossed the Walawe river owing to the approaching monsoon.

157 27th March 1763.

A Sinhalese ola is received from Pilimatalawa, Dissava of the Three and Four Korales. He says that cinnamon has been collected and Ambassadors for peace proposals will be sent before the Sinhalese New Year. He asks that hostile action by the Dutch in the Hurulu pattu be terminated. Orders are accordingly issued for the immediate cessation of hostilities. Replied accordingly to the Dissava, adding that not only the 17 Javanese but also the rebel headman of the Company and a certain potter named Pote Ellapatta, who are now in the King's territory, should also be delivered, and that cinnamon peelers to be sent out for peeling cinnamon should not be molested and that all the gravets which are now closed for trade should be opened, before the ambassadors are received in Colombo.

174 1st April 1763.

Read an ola received from the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales that the Kandyan Ambassadors are already on their way and that orders have been issued for giving effect to all the conditions specified in the Governor's letter. Adds that 214 pingoes of cinnamon are now available in the Dissavany of Saffregam and the Three and Four Korales and could be removed.

161 2nd April 1763.

Letters are received from Batavia that the Ambassadors who had left for Siam had returned having failed in their mission. Considered a request from the Chief of Mannar for reinforcements in view of a threatened invasion by the Theuver who is displeased over the loss of the Puttalam harbour. Decided to send reinforcements under Capt. Baatke.

163 Captain Dros from Chilaw reports rumours of proposed all round attacks by the Kandyans and asks for reinforcements. Although the rumours are probably false, supplies are ordered to be sent there.

166 The previous order for reducing the post at Hanwella is set aside, and it is decided to re-erect the Fort there in view of its advantageous position for keeping the surrounding districts in order.

167 4th April 1763.

On the recommendation of the Chief of Trincomalee, it is decided to appoint Sandere Segera Mudaliyar as Chief of the Province of Tampalakam and of Kattakolom Pattu, he being the first to offer to help the Company and pay tribute of elephants etc.; and to ask him to enter into a contract accordingly. 171 Decided also to inform the Chief of Trincomalee that although 172 further Vanniyars had offered to make submission, the terms of the letter of 28th March regarding the cessation of hostilities offered to the Kandyan Court should be strictly observed.

176 17th April 1763.

Captain Dros sends under arrest from Chilaw a Moor named Mira Neyna, a personal attendant of the King, who came to Jattekalane, five hours march landwards from Chilaw to Kandy, posing as a Prince and carrying an iron sceptre as a Royal emblem, Some Company-appointed headmen who paid him obeisance are massacred by the Sepoys. Decided to retain the so-called Prince in custody for interrogation.

179 21st April 1763.

180 Captain Dros reports that a request has been made from the fisher village Dunepatte Ratmale which had not yet submitted to the Company to send some forces to assist in capturing the notorious rebel chief and former Korala of the Alutkuru Korale (and now a Dissava of the King) who was ravaging the village, and ask for instructions in view of the order for the cessation of hostilities. Orders are issued, on the three grounds mentioned, to capture him, and if necessary to have him massacred by the Sepoys, with a definite warning to the troops sent out, under pain of death, that no harm should be done to the King's subjects or their property.

183 24th April 1763.

Read a letter from Batavia dated 14th December, 1762 recommending that steps be taken for effecting an honourable and lasting peace, which, in view of their previous letters, it was maintained in Council, must have been written in error, through a misunderstanding of the position.

185 Read a letter from the Minister of the King of Kandy dated 13th April addressed to the Governor and presented at the first audience on the 18th by an Embassy consisting of the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales Pilimatalawe, the Dissava of Uda Palata Palihepana, the Mohotiyar Nanayakkara and the Muhandiram Moragammene, as well as four accounts of consultations carried out on the Governor's orders by the Maha Mudaliyar Joan Alvis with these Ambassadors, and their replies; and "as it clearly appeared from the translation of the letter and the said accounts that the Kandyan Court was only disposed to restore matters to their old footing without any compensation to the Company for the damage sustained or the expenses incurred by it, nor to satisfy the Company by resigning the coasts and territory which the Portugese formerly possessed, in order that in the future the said Court might not unexpectedly attack the Company or enter into negotiations with foreign nations as had already taken place; and also as His Excellency had received a message from the son of the late Dissava of the Three and Four Korales Leupe informing him that the King now sought peace only to break it at the first opportunity, to which end he had

already addressed a powerful native prince on the opposite coast and had rubies dug out in the Saffregam Dissavany to be sent as a present to that Prince", and besides in view of the reinforcements of troops and supplies which are shortly due from Europe and Batavia and the Cape, it is unanimously resolved to have no further dealings with the Kandyan Ambassadors or the Court, but "as according to the 4th clause of the accounts referred to above the said Ambassadors had admitted that they nevertheless had power and had received order to conclude a new treaty, although they had brought no signed authority or credential, His Excellency the Governor, in order to try them and find out how far that authority and order might extend, had the Mudaliyar ask them whether they had power to relinquish to the Company all the territory which the Portuguese had formerly possessed and that also with the rights by which that nation had profited, and, in addition, to make good the great damage which the Company had sustained and heavy expenses incurred by Their Honours on that account, and to cede all the coast from the Walawe river as far as the promontory of Coetjaar with the adjoining districts to a distance landwards of 4 miles. His Excellency, when charging the Maha Mudaliyar with the commission had explicitly ordered him to give the Ambassadors to understand, in confidence that it was his own proposal, and that some mitigation of the terms might be obtained if the Court would only conduct equitable negotiations, and all this in order not to alarm the Ambassadors by the aforesaid claims and cause the Court to break off the cessation of hostilities which had been agreed upon, before the receipt of the above-mentioned reinforcements: it was nevertheless resolved that the Maha Mudaliyar should once more inform the Ambassadors accordingly as coming from himself, and, at the audience preparatory to their return, announce the following, viz :—

190 1: that whereas, according to the letter brought by the Court Ministers, the Supreme Great Court was disposed to restore peace and friendship on the old footing, and they, the Ambassadors, had given the Maha Mudaliyar to understand that they were willing to enter into a new treaty if necessary, His Excellency the Governor would immediately inform the High Indian Government accordingly, who, without any doubt, would not fail to reply as soon as possible, and, in all likelihood, send here a letter addressed to His Imperial Majesty instead of the letter which was sent here two years ago, regarding which His Excellency the Governor had caused the Ambassadors to be informed through the Maha Mudaliyar that as matters had now taken an entirely different turn it did not meet its purpose and therefore would be returned to Batavia.

2: That as soon as the letter referred to was received from Batavia, an important mission would be sent to the Court

with Their Excellencies' letter and presents, and Their Excellencies' answer to the above mentioned communication made known to the Supreme Great Court.

191 3: That His Excellency the Governor meanwhile would accord to the Court an extension of the cessation of hostilities for that time, provided, on its side, that nothing was done in violation of the same, and that the demands made known to the Ambassadors who were last here, and, later, by letter to the Principal Ambassador, the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales, by the Dissava Bauert, are complied with, the sooner the better, in full, viz: those relating to the cinnamon already peeled and the runaway peelers of whom 35 were delivered to the Company at Negombo, the issuing of strict orders not to molest the cinnamon-peelers who in a few days would be sent to the Three and Four Korales to peel cinnamon, and the delivery to the Company of the Javanese deserters and rebellious headmen now in the King's territory, as well as the potter Potte Elle Patta".

192 It is also decided to make use of a conditional offer of help if troops could be sent over the Sitawake river, made by the son of the late Dissava of the Three and Four Korales Leupe, as circumstances and time permit.

193 26th April 1763.

Reports are received from Mannar of an intended invasion of that place by Indian troops hired by the Kandyan King's father-in-law from the Katta Theuver.

194 Decided to order the Chief Officer at Tutucorin (Mr. Sweep) to send out secret spies to ascertain whether these reports were true, and to protest to the Kata Theuver and warn him.

196 4th May 1763.

A report is received from Trincomalee that Captain Amittaan, serving under the Senior Captain Erlebag at Coetjaar, with a number of sepoy, sergeants, corporals and firearms, had gone over to the Kandyans. It is decided to order a Military Commission to hold an inquiry in view of complaints received by the Governor of the ill-treatment of the Sepoys by Captain Erlebag, and if found to be true, to send back Captain Erlebag to Negapatnam.

199 15th May 1763.

Read an ola received from the Dissava of the Three and Four Korales complaining of military attacks and of acts of lawlessness by Dutch troops in the Yatigaha, Meda and Giradalang Pattus in spite of the assurances given.

201 Replied: that it was impossible to believe it, and attributing the
same to some of the Company's Javanese deserters who had
molested the Company's subjects in the Hapitigam Korale; and
complaining, on the contrary, that in spite of the assurances
202 given the Company's cinnamon peelers who were sent to peel
cinnamon in the Three and Four Korales had been prevented from
entering the King's territory, and re-assuring the Governor's
readiness to restore peace and friendship if all the conditions
stated are fulfilled.

203 **12th June 1763.**

A letter is received from Captain Dros of Chilaw complaining
against the behaviour of the tyrant Mudaliyar Simonde Melho
(details given), assisted by his two friends: the Lekam and
205 Muhandiram of Caymel. Says that he has arrested de Melho, and
asks permission to dismiss him and send his two friends under
206 arrest to Colombo. It is decided to reply to Captain Dros, as
a precautionary measure, asking him to treat de Melho patiently
for the present as if no complaint had yet been made against
him, as complaints from Sinhalese against their Chiefs, parti-
207 cularly during the latter's absence, are ordinarily frivolous, and
should be examined with microscopic care, and to report, after
watching him further, especially as most of the complaints made
are by the Bellales, who will not be placed under any low caste
208 persons and always invent false charges to gain their own ends.
Meanwhile, he should look out for some suitable person for
appointment as Chief of the Bellales, and de Melho should be
continued in Office as Chief only of the lower castes.

P. S. Troops should be notified that all deserters will be punished
with the halter.

210 **14th June 1763.**

On reports received from Captain Tournaye of further opposi-
tion and hostile action by the King's troops at Puttalam, it is
212 decided to reply that as these reports may be only rumours connect-
ed with probably casual incidents practised by interested
Moors or also by Kandyans indirectly in order to alarm us and
drive us to arms, he should proceed with great caution and
calm, but stand fast until further orders are sent, unless matters
go too far and the terms of the truce are definitely violated.

213 Meanwhile, the Governor has addressed a letter to Kandy about
this through the respective Dissavas.

Read a letter from Captain Dros from Chilaw reporting that,
contrary to the orders conveyed to him he had been forced to
arrest the Mudaliyar de Melho and his two friends for acting
against the orders given to them by Ensign Maus and for be-

having in a high-handed and rebellious manner towards him
and committed acts of lawlessness against the inhabitants and
trying to make himself Sovereign and defy the Company in
every way (details given).

214 It is therefore resolved to regard the matter as already dis-
posed of, but to inform him that the order sent to him should
be carried out in so far as the changed conditions rendered it
218 possible; and that Mudaliyar de Melho and his two friends
should be sent to Colombo under arrest and his goods and
cattle confiscated.

220 **2nd July 1763.**

Reports are received of attempts by the State Adigar, who
has returned to Kandy, to thwart the Company's interests and
induce the Court to violate the accorded truce, and that Com-
221 missioners sent to inspect the stone quarries in the Hewagam
Korale had been driven away. (See details in the letter from
Samaradiwakere, Mudaliyar of Hapitigam Korale, and other
reports of spies, from which it would appear that they are making
determined efforts to recapture Puttalam at any cost).

The informants also report that the following native headmen
who deserted from the company and other lesser headmen had
received maintenance villages etc. from the King:—

Pavlo Alvis, Mudaliyar of Hewagam Korale.

Don Anthony, Mudaliyar of Siyane Korale.

Baleluwe Mohottila and Bigamme Vidane.

It is decided to send a letter of complaint about these matters
to the Kandyan Court (see copy of translation). and informing
them that if any further agitation or action of this kind takes
place, they would have to bear the consequences.

230 **5th July 1763.**

Read a letter in reply received from the Dissava of the Three
and Four Korales, and as no answer was needed, it is decided
not to reply.

233 **9th July 1763.**

It is decided to circularise the Secret despatch received from
Holland dated 5th May 1763, and the resolution of 18th April
1763, and to take these up for discussion in detail at a subsequent
meeting.

The withdrawal of the prohibition against the admission of
English ships into our harbours and bays is noted.

236 16th July 1763.

237 Read and discussed the above Secret despatch and resolution
 238 from Batavia desiring that instead of using further force and,
 according to the intention of the Governor, making the Kandyan
 King a tributary, attempts should be made to restore peace as
 early as possible by means of a favourable and profitable treaty
 239 on the amended terms indicated. Considered the draft articles
 of such a Treaty prepared by the Governor. (The draft Treaty
 consisting of 20 articles is incorporated in the minutes—pages
 238 to 243). The Council unanimously doubts whether the
 terms would be acceptable to the Kandyan Court for the reasons
 240 indicated, particularly that regarding the cession of Puttalam,
 which they will gradually try to recover again, and considers that
 241 nothing could possibly be achieved except by force. Therefore,
 it is decided that in order to force the Court to enter into such a
 Treaty, our previous plan of resorting to war should more or less
 be put into effect.....and that we should accordingly continue
 to act on the offensive, or, owing to the lack of sufficient military
 force at present, that we should arrange matters either by delay
 ing or otherwise in such a manner as would be best possible
 according to circumstances, especially as the English now have
 242 their hands free owing to the cessation of hostilities in Europe
 and can be less trusted now and Westerwold's Treaty does not
 forbid the English from entering into negotiations with the
 Kandyan Court, whereas, according to the treaties of Westminster
 and Breda, it is not permissible for them to negotiate with the
 243 Court while the Dutch were at open war with Kandy. So, being
 deprived of English support, the Kandyans would be more
 manageable. It is decided, therefore, to inform the authorities in
 Batavia that it was not considered possible or probable to persuade
 the Court to enter into such a Treaty without having recourse
 to force.

244 It is decided also to write a tactful letter to the Dissava of the
 Three and Four Korales (draft entered) with a view to obtaining
 the stipulated supply of cinnamon as a preliminary step towards
 the establishment of peace. Read also the Dissava Pilimatalawa's
 letter to the Colombo Dissava Jan Bauert regarding the delivery
 of cinnamon and the inspection of the stone quarries.

253 Information having meanwhile been received that the Kandyans
 were preparing to recover Puttalam, it is decided to send further
 reinforcements there under Sergt. Etienne Lovendaal, who has
 been appointed Ensign in place of Pieter David Jenlie, who died
 of wounds at Matara.

254 Reports are received from Coromandel that the English Admiral
 Cornish was busy embarking troops and collecting men. It is
 decided, therefore, to be on the alert in regard to Trincomalee
 as it is possible that the English would attempt to obtain by
 force a harbour in Ceylon. This is further confirmed by the
 contents of a letter dated 14th June 1763 received from Admiral
 Cornish (re-produced below).

255 "I have received with very great amazement from the President
 and Council of Fort St. George copies of Your Honour's
 letters addressed to them, as well as Your Honour's extra-
 ordinary protest, in which I find that I too am referred to.
 Although I consider that I am not obliged to reply to these docu-
 ments, the respect which I have at all times entertained for
 the close union and friendship which exist between the King,
 my Master, and Their High Mightinesses the States General,
 compels me to take notice of the most offensive step that Your
 Honour has taken by prohibiting His Brittanic Majesty's
 ships from entering your harbours, particularly that of Trin-
 comalee. Should this have passed unnoticed, it would have
 justified in your own eyes the futility of your proceedings and
 induced you to commit acts of folly which would have resulted
 in the most terrible consequences for your nation; and it is
 therefore that I give Your Honour notice that should any
 such attempt be made, and should I consider it necessary to
 send any of His Majesty's ships within the bays of Trincomalee,
 or if Your Honour's Chief Officer at that place, authorised by
 Your Honour's rash and indiscreet orders, were to presume
 to fire one shot against the flag of Great Britain, I shall consider
 such action as a declaration of war and thereupon immediately
 take such forcible measures as will perpetuate the memory
 of the foolishness and insolence of Your Honour's interdict.
 I am at a loss as to whether I should give precedence to Your
 Honour's insolence or stupidity, as Your Honour being well
 aware of the impotence and futility of Your Honour's threats,
 it is amazing that Your Honour should have given such orders
 256 to the Chief Officer at Trincomalee, as Your Honour must
 be aware of the inadequacy of the place for purpose of defence
 and that should the Chief Officer persist in carrying out those
 orders the result must be its destruction. I leave it to Your
 Honour to decide how inconsistent and ridiculous the orders
 were by which that officer's conduct was regulated,
 and to indicate by what treaty or law he was authorised to
 take action in either case, namely to refuse admission within
 the bay of Trincomalee to a ship captured from the French
 and afterwards to admit another captured by that nation in
 the river of Bengale. I must only attribute it to the general
 partiality which is evident by Your Honour's various accepted
 methods of procedure in favour of the enemies of Great Britain;
 but seeing that we are no longer at war with an open enemy,
 I shall find time and opportunity to investigate this one-sided
 conduct of such of your nation who hitherto with impunity
 have insulted and molested the subjects of Great Britain. I
 shall not take the trouble to enumerate the many instances
 of this nature, and I have only to mention the discourtesy of
 Your Honour's Company's servants in India, but the conduct
 of your Chief Officer is the principal subject of my letter, as
 being due to the orders which, it is said, were received from
 Your Honour.

I demand immediate and public satisfaction for his insolence and presumption by firing on, in the month of April 1762, and preventing from entering his harbour, the tender named 'The Swallow' which was laden with provisions and other necessities for His Majesty's squadron, an act that can admit of no palliation or excuse, as he was fully aware of what ship it was before it attempted to come within the harbour, an injury that I cannot brook and which Your Honour must redress by a public disapproval and a proportionate punishment for him; but if his action had been authorised by Your Honour I expect that Your Honour will give satisfaction conforming to such insulting and inexcusable conduct. The prevention of the consequences which would be very unpleasant to me should I be forced to retaliate would depend entirely on Your Honour, for I should be sorry to have to visit Colombo in other than the most friendly manner. That I had taken on board a gentleman from this place who was sent to the King of Candia is a matter for which I am responsible only to the King, my Master, although it is the first time that the idea has been brought forward, as not being in conflict with the exceptions contained in Your Honour's treaties in respect of the Portuguese, that monarch may be a tributary prince and that he had not the right to send or receive ambassadors. The decision on this point rightly appertains to the Sovereigns of our respective nations, and I advise Your Honour not to place too great reliance on Your Honour's own judgement, through which Your Honour, by various insults, violates the friendship that exists between His Britannic Majesty and Their High Mightinesses the States General". Sgd. S. Cornish. 14th June 1763.

The Governor's reply to the same is reproduced below :—

"My disposition and regard for propriety, no less than the interests of my Lords and Masters, also the deep veneration which I have for His Majesty of Great Britain and his representatives, do not allow me to reply to Your Honour's letter dated the 14th June last, which was forwarded to me by His Excellency the Governor of Coromandel van Teylingen, in such discourteous and haughty terms as those made use of by Your Honour, or that I should enter into a full discussion thereover. Nor do I consider myself in the least obliged to render an account in detail regarding the reasons which have forced me during open war between the King of Candia and the Dutch Company to take measures corresponding with the safety of its territories. I am also unable to understand how Your Honour can consider that an affront to the British nation, as Your Honour as well as the Governor and Council of Madras have forced me owing to the clandestine transport by Your Honour's ships of an Ambassador to the monarch, to the prejudice of our interests and in violation of the treaties of Westminster and Breda, to interdict for a while the entrance of Your Honour's ships

into the harbours of this Island, which interdict had been withdrawn some time ago as matters here in the Island had undergone a change, notwithstanding however that hostilities still continue.

As regards Your Honour's comparison of the prize taken from the French, which was interdicted by the Chief Officer at Trincomalee and which was brought there during Your Honour's presence at Trincomalee, with the case of the English prize which was captured by the French in the river of Bengale, I shall only say that the protest was made against the entrance of a prize captured from the French, as it was in conflict with the treaties between the Crown of France and the Republic of the United Netherlands, whereby he undoubtedly would have had in mind the Treaty of Commerce of the year 1739, which expressly prohibited such a proceeding, and that I am aware of no other prize than a small one-masted sloop, which a long time ago might have belonged to the English, and which, while being sent to the Maldives by the French, came in there as it was leaking badly and under stress of bad weather in order to effect some repairs, which I do not consider to be in conflict with any treaty particularly in similar circumstances.

And now, lastly, regarding the tender 'The Swallow', in respect of which Your Honour is so greatly exercised, Your Honour must be aware that on the 12th of April last year, the ships 'Falmouth' and 'America', after previous request of the Captains, entered the Inner Bay, while the ship 'The Swallow' came to anchor in the outer roadstead of Trincomalee, the Chief Officer having been informed only of the name of the Captain and of the ship. Thereafter the Captain of 'The Swallow', without any request to be allowed to enter, joined the other Captains, and on his ship's setting sail on the following day and attempting to enter the Inner Bay, the Chief Officer protested and warned the Captain of the consequences that would follow his action, whereupon he was told very brusquely that the ship must come in; that notwithstanding that the said ship was first warned by the usual signals, later by a blank shot and after that by a ball, it sailed through after receiving a shot; that, later, after the exchange of messages by the two Captains and the Chief Officer, a Major of Infantry visited the Chief Officer and disposed in the best manner possible of the threatening expressions used by the two Captains, after which permission was requested for the said ship to enter and immediately granted.

A sense of responsibility and common practice require that permission must first be requested before any foreign harbour or bay is entered, and Your Honour in person, on the 1st of May thereafter, on your arrival at Trincomalee, had given ample proof of it by making request accordingly,

which the Captain of 'The Swallow' entirely omitted to do; and by Your Honour's conduct during a stay there of 66 days, there was no reason to think but that Your Honour must have approved of what had happened, all the more as Your Honour had never made any protest or representation regarding that matter, and had left that on friendly terms, sending Your Honour's Secretary to make your excuse to the Chief Officer, as, owing to your sudden departure, you could not take leave of him. How that behaviour, now fully a year ago, is now to be compared with Your Honour's absurd letter, I shall leave to the decision of our respective Sovereigns, and I shall send in a few days' time to Europe a copy of the reasons for complaint advanced by Your Honour to be presented to Their High Mightinesses, in order that Your Honour's procedure may fully be exposed and Your Honour's attitude towards the servants of the State in these regions.

262 I, for my part, cannot very well understand the reasons for Your Honour's changed behaviour and the threatening expressions used by you, unless it were that news of the peace in Europe, received after Your Honour's return from the expedition against the Manilhas was its immediate cause. Finally, I trust that Your Honour will give me no cause, in case Your Honour might come here, to receive otherwise than I have been always accustomed to do both here and during my stay at Negapatnam the ships of His Great Brittanic Majesty, since I, as well as Your Honour, according to my duty, regard with the utmost care and attention everything that may have any bearing on the close union between the Crown of Great Britain and the Republic of the United Netherlands, and shall always attempt to show that I remain with the fullest consideration, My Lord, Your Honour's most obedient and humble servant: Signed L. J. van Eck. Colombo 16th July 1763."

263 The Governor declares that he would stand fast and do what a patriot would do, and it is resolved to make a request for reinforcements of troops from Batavia for augmenting the resources
265 at Trincomalee, and to erect a flagstaff at Coetjaar against the possible arrival of the English there, and to ask the Governor of Coromandel to report further movements of the English there.

266 The orders of the Batavian Government regarding the five years' remission of the obligatory dues in money and in kind to the Company's subjects as a means of conciliating and keeping alive their loyalty are discussed in retrospect, and it is decided to report that the result of such a proceeding might give false and dangerous notions to the native subjects, and would be more harmful than beneficial to the Company. He says that there was no Sinhalese whosoever who had anything to urge against the ordinary dues renderable to the Lord of the Land.

(To be continued)

"BURGHER" ETYMOLOGY AND SOME RELEVANT REFLECTIONS.

BY
G. V. GRENIER

(The writer desires to express his indebtedness to Messrs Jan Paulusz and Mr. S. A. W. Mottau for extracts from the Archives and necessary translations.)

That words can in the course of time come to mean more or less than they originally indicated is well known. Of such words "Burgher" is a glaring example, especially in its Ceylon setting. But of this more anon. Let us first consider some other words—"Anglo-Indian" for a start. It meant—to quote Cassell's Dictionary—originally "an Englishman born or long resident in India", but nowadays the use of it is officially encouraged in substitution for "Eurasian" which originally meant one "born of a European father and a Hindu or Mohammedan mother". A variation of this term—viz "Euro-Ceylonese"—intended to connote the offspring and later descendants of a Ceylonese father and a European mother, shewed signs some years ago of coming into use, but has now, with the growing use of the term "Ceylonese" been apparently forgotten. The latter term indeed, however convenient it is, does not connote any homogeneous group of people and therefore cannot extinguish the natural urge to refer to one's racial origin more narrowly and precisely when necessary, any more than the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish are content to be always dubbed only "British".

To return, however, to the word "Burgher". It suggests on the face of it, no particular country or race, for it is a well-known English word meaning "a citizen or inhabitant of a burgh, borough or corporate town". Its German and Dutch counterpart is "Burger". When the Dutch East India Company began to control the maritime provinces of Ceylon there was no Community called "Burghers". The word was then probably unknown in the country. Nor did the Dutch apply the term to any racial community which they founded. They used it only of those of their subjects (whether of pure European or of mixed descent) who were not in the service of the Company but were permitted to reside in the fortified towns and to make a living for themselves as best they could without competing with the Company's activities. Such citizens were issued Acts of Burgership in confirmation of their status and as was pointed out by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz (C. A. L. Regr Vol I page 191) "nothing was of more frequent occurrence than for members of the same family to be alternatively some "Company's servants" and some "Burgers". Nor were the former considered in any sense superior to the latter (as was the case with British Civil Servants in Ceylon vis-a-vis the Clerical Servants). On the contrary, the Burgers enjoyed some independence in civil life which was denied to Company's servants, for they were entitled to engage in private trades to a limited extent and to be elected

to various offices, e. g. in the Town Council, the Court of Marriage Causes and other local bodies. They were also of course eligible for service in the *Burgerij*, ie, the Town Guard, both as Officers and as rankers. Some status, therefore, attached to Burgership, so much so that it was not uncommon for some persons who were not legally "Burgers" to pretend to be such, both to improve their civil standing and also to avoid the performance of such obligatory duties as could be exacted from persons of certain castes. Such pretensions of course necessitated a change from an Asian costume to the European, which metamorphosis normally required official sanction (v. Minutes of Dutch Political Council G. A. Codex 1/131, of 1759 and e.g. the case of one Andries de Waas "of the fisher caste who had earnestly applied to be recognised as a Burgher")-which application was granted on his paying a fee of 15 rix-dollars, "a certificate of Burgership being therefore issued to him under the usual seal of the Company." Similar admissions to Burgership were sometimes made even in the cases of emancipated slaves (*libertijns*). The Burger section would thus have been automatically widened. So also, when officials retired from the service of the Company for, whether they were issued formal Acts of Burgership or not, they would naturally have commingled with their Burgher brethren and all would have been loosely regarded as Burgers.

A further expansion of this class must have occurred during the closing years of the Dutch regime, for in 1781 (v D. P. C. Mins. G. A. Cx. Vol 183) it was proclaimed that "all Burgers and free citizens" (i. e. those who are not slaves, explains Mr. Paulusz) "or in other words all persons whatsoever who are not in the actual service of the Company but are Christians and also wear European dress, over 16 years and under 60 years of age" be enlisted in the *Burgerij*.

Once Dutch rule ended there could of course be no longer any "Company's Servants", for they would all have become British subjects and have further helped to swell the ranks of Burghers, with no formal obligation to obtain any certificates. The resultant class must then have been not a racial but a sort of civic community, probably united to some extent by sentiments of anti-Britishism, which though not so marked amongst the Portuguese certainly existed amongst the "Dutch inhabitants", whom the Governor's Despatch to the Secretary of State in 1800 (v. Douglas Papers p. 132) denounced as "inimical being almost to a man ruined by our occupation of Ceylon. Their national connection between their mother country and the remaining Dutch settlements therefore required their exclusion (except in special cases where there was no alternative) from Government employments and the destruction of their influence in the country." The Report further added that the policy should be "not to suffer foreigners particularly French and Dutch to settle without a license from England" (or for other good cause). In pursuance of this policy an "Order by

His Excellency the Governor in Council dated the 26th day of February 1802 gave instructions regarding the registration* of "Europeans licensed to remain on the Island of Ceylon."

The term "Burghers" however, whether the persons concerned were of Dutch or of Portuguese origin must have appealed to the British Government as a convenient one to use when referring generally to their new non-indigenous subjects. The Douglas Papers in fact, at p. 16, state that amongst the inhabitants of Ceylon are "descendants more or less remote of the Portuguese and Dutch.....Burghers as they are called in all The Dutch possessions in India"-which last statement is of questionable accuracy, for it has been said by others that in Indonesia the old Portuguese word "Senhor" (Gentleman) has survived with reference to Dutch descendants. Further, according to Brian Harrison (Professor, University of Hong Kong) in his book "South-East Asia" p. 243, The Dutch population in Indonesia used to comprise two classes, viz. a) the "Blijvers" ie. those who intended to reside there permanently and b) the "trekkers", who came out from Holland for a period of service of anything up to 35 years". In Ceylon however, "Burghers" did come into use as a convenient civic label. Hence it was that Governor North in his despatch to the Secretary of State dated 20.4.1803 reported that "the Burghers of Colombo have formed into a Town Guard of 500 strong. Similar units are to be formed at Galle and the outstations". But even so, the Government did not always ignore the fact that in this comprehensive mass were at least two well-defined and identifiable groups, viz) those of Portuguese and those of Dutch origin. This appears in so early a document as the Secretary of States' Despatch of 1810 in which certain action was authorised regarding "Civil Suits in which Dutch Burghers are involved." In 1813 also the term is given prominence in the order (v. Government Gazette, of 2nd September) for the ceremonial "removal of the bodies of Their Excellencies the Dutch Governors from the Burial Ground adjoining the Parade within the Fort of Colombo" to the Wolvendaal Church. Special positions of honour were allocated to "Dutch Burghers" and to "Gentlemen of the late Dutch Government" (i. e. those executives who after the British conquest had not left the Island for Batavia or for Holland but had stayed back, many of them not having been able to dispose of their properties at a satisfactory figure (v. Despatch of 9.5.1803 to S. S. Vol. 5/2 p. 144). All of them were now of course unofficials and "Burghers".

Though however all species of Dutch were now popularly spoken of as "Burghers" they had not lost their sense of racial identity, even though from the comparative comforts of a ruling race they had now to face practical poverty. They could hardly therefore have asserted themselves boldly, for the new conditions of life must have resulted in closer social contacts with the other subject-races, including the Portuguese descendants, with whom in fact they

* The original of one such Certificate issued at the Jaffanapatam Cutchery on 7th June 1802 is in the writer's possession and available for inspection.

already had some personal ties, for in early days, due to the scarce arrivals of would-be brides from Europe (for details regarding which see D. B. U. Journals I, II and III and the published genealogies) Portuguese women of mixed descent had usually been married to Dutchmen or other Europeans. In spite, however, of this reason for some goodwill towards the Portuguese (or mistices as the Dutch called them) they were as a community rather kept at a distance, probably because they were of the Roman Catholic persuasion and had become so un-European in appearance, owing to their ancestors having from the earliest times freely intermarried and indulged also in illicit relations with Asian women. Their domestic habits were also more Asian than European and the Rev. James Cordiner, the Garrison Chaplain, writing in 1807 says of them that they were "completely degenerated." Some of them must however, have from time to time have proved worthy enough and been even appointed to certain offices, as was the case of Bernardo Vaes Pereira who (v. Ceylon Journal H. S. S. Vol. II p. 21) was appointed to the Board of Management of the Galle Orphanage. It is therefore not difficult to conclude that in the privacy of family converse the risk of losing their racial identity must often have been discussed by Dutch Burghers, whether they were poesties (i. e. born in Europe) or casties (i. e. Ceylon born Europeans) or mixties (i. e. of mixed parentage---to mention the classification adopted by the Dutch with regard to all of European origin who accepted their rule. But despite the difficulty of organising any sort of Dutch Union in those days our ancestors managed to hold their heads up and several British writers have referred to them quite appreciatively. To again quote from Cordiner, Vol. I p. 87, "The Dutch inhabitants in Ceylon, are about 900 in number..... they maintain an appearance in the eyes of the world, sometimes affluent and gay, always decent and respectable." Practically all these early writers refrain from using the word "Burghers", using instead the term "Dutch" or "Dutch inhabitants" or "Dutch descendants" and one of them (Davy) "Ceylonese Dutch," But Henry Marshall (Depy. I. G. of Army Hospitals) writing in 1808 has at p. 18 of his book a paragraph entitled "Burghers", of whom he says "This class comprehends the descendants of Europeans of un-mixed blood, and that race which has sprung from the intercourse of Europeans with the natives." His reference to "Europeans of un-mixed blood" is in pleasant contrast to what several modern writers have said, in their ignorance of the fact that specially in the 17th century several European women did accompany their husbands out East and that others came later as brides-to-be, thus ensuring to some extent a future supply of "Castie" brides; The "natives" referred to by Marshall would include mostly Portuguese women of mixed blood (mistices), marriages with Asian women requiring, however, official permission. There must also of course, have been from time to time several cases of illicit relationships, though the Government in their optimism actually legislated against such indulgence.

A further increase in the so-called Burgher population occurred when the slaves were all emancipated in 1815, for they easily merged both by marriage and by social intercourse with the mistices.

One fact regarding the term "Burgher" should not go unnoted, which is that the Sinhalese never adopted it in their language, according to which the Portuguese descendants were "Purtugase", and the Dutch descendants "Lansi", a word adapted from the fuller Dutch expression "Hollandsche natie" (i. e. the Dutch nation).

But there had to come a time when some official definition of the term became necessary. This happened when Chief Justice Ottley was appointed to investigate the matter. His recommendation in 1833 was that "the name Burgher belongs to the descendants of the Dutch, Portuguese and other Europeans born in Ceylon.....whatever number of generations through which the family has passed in this Island if the the male ancestors were Dutch, Portuguese or other Europeans, whoever may have been the female parents and if the parents were married." With regard to Dutch Burghers such proof as this definition required was obtainable from the Dutch Archives, from Presbyterian Church Registers and in a few cases from private family registers. To those claiming Portuguese origin similar documents were, however, not available. Worse off were those who were paternally of Slave descent and also some of Asiatic origin whose paternal ancestors had on conversion to Christianity taken European names and even surnames, usually Spanish or Portuguese.

But even though the matter was now "res judicata" the term Burgher still continued to be misused; The patient endurance of Dutch Burghers however, finally gave out and after one abortive attempt in 1899 our Community formed in 1908 The Dutch Burgher Union of to-day, basing the qualification for membership on the Ottley definition, but also extending it to include the descendants of any female Dutch Burgher who had married a European of the post-Dutch period.

Legislation, indeed, later accepted our definition when, for the purposes of the Franchise, any person who could connect with a European of the Dutch period only through the female line was also deemed qualified to vote for the election of the Burgher member in Council, which from a human and realistic standpoint was reasonable enough, for most of such persons are by their general outlook, their sentiments and their habits of life already practically incorporated into the Dutch Burgher fold, but however much goodwill there exists between them and us, there is a formal, nay, a legal barrier, to their election as full members of the Union in Rules 1, 3 and 9 of our Constitution. These rules may seem to some critics unduly exclusive and harsh but they were framed it must be recognised as the result of a century of the misuse of the term "Burgher" and in order to preserve and maintain traditions which are now 300 years old.

To-day, however, the need to think as conservatively as we used to does not appear to be so compelling, and the recent move of the General Committee to admit "Associates" is surely a step in the right direction.

It is much to be hoped that once the situation is explained to such as are now legally ineligible for normal membership many more Associates will be elected.

One other alternative remains, for argument's sake, to be considered and that is to dissolve The Union under Rule 11 and to create a new Association, which while safeguarding the traditional rights of Dutch Burghers and the proper administration of our assets and Trusts, Endowment and other Funds will also make full provision for the admission of Associates. The services of a master-draftsman would however be needed to frame such a new Constitution as would be necessitated, for it must so operate that in the course of time the very fact that there was a Dutch Period in the History of Ceylon and that certain benefits did accrue to the Island during that period* will not be forgotten. Above all must be perpetuated the fact that The Dutch Burgher Community is a living witness to the reality of such facts and that from time to time several individual Dutch Burghers have rendered and are still ready to render valuable service to the country of their adoption.

How would such a new body be named? The Dutch Burgher and Associates Union? But till such a day dawns let us be as practical as we now can and endeavour to increase our Roll of Associates and help them to feel happy within our walls.

ABBREVIATIONS

C.A.L. Regr	...	...	Ceylon Antiquary & Literary Register
G.A. Codex	...	...	Government Archives Codex
D.P.C. Min	...	...	Dutch Political Council Minutes
S.S.	...	...	Secretary of State
H.S.S	...	...	Historical and Social Studies
I. G.	...	...	Inspector-General

* See Vol. XLV D.B.U. Journal for Dr. E. C. Mendis' broadcast talk on "The Importance of Dutch Rule in Ceylon."

THE GOOD OLD DAYS VIII.

A FAMILY SEAL

BY

BAAS KEUVELAAR (*Chatter Box*)

When Dirk van Alphen, Dissave of Matara, was given the family seal by his grandfather on the eve of his departure to the East Indies, little did he anticipate the developments that were to arise therefrom in the future. It was an old brass seal, the device on it being a bull's head affronte⁽¹⁾. He put it in his pocket and thought no more of it. On arrival at Galle however he discovered its loss. He made no attempt to search for it or to advertize for its recovery. The fact was that he dropped it in his cabin and a fellow-passenger picked it up, and attaching no value to it and not understanding its heraldic significance, put it away in his trunk. This fellow-passenger was Jan Hofmeester, who was stationed at Jaffna. On his death there, the seal passed into the possession of his eldest son, Hendrik Hofmeester, and was always regarded as a true presentment of the family escutcheon.

Dirk van Alphen died at Matara. Having a faint idea of his arms he had already described them as a stag's head affronte. So that when he was buried in the church there a tombstone was placed over his grave with the stag's head engraved thereon on a shield and the following epitaph :—

HIER ONDER LEGT BEGRAVEN
DEN WELL ED GEB. HEER DIRK VAN ALPHEN
IN ZYN LEVEN DISSAVE VAN DE STADT
EN LANDEN VAN GALLE
GEB. TE DORDRECHT DEN 10 SEPT. 1640
TE MATURE OVERL. 6 OCT. 1710. ⁽²⁾

Jan Hofmeester died at Jaffna having held a similar office there. He was also buried in the church and his arms as indicated on the seal in question were engraved on his tombstone with the following epitaph on it :—

TER GEDACHTENIS VAN
DEN WEL ED. HEER JAN HOFMEESTER
DISSAVE VAN JAFFNAPATNAM
GEB. TE AMSTERDAM DEN 7 SEPT. 1638
ALHIER GEST. 10 JAN. 1708. ⁽³⁾

- (1) An heraldic term.
- (2) Hereunder lies buried the rightnobly born gentleman Dirk van Alphen. In his lifetime Dissava of the town and environs of Gale. Born at Dordrecht 10 Sept. 1640, Died at Mature 6 Oct. 1710.
- (3) To the memory of the rightnobly born gentleman Jan Hofmeester Dissave of Jaffnapatnam. Born at Amsterdam the 7 Sept. 1638, Here laid to rest 10 Jan 1708.

Erasmus van Alphen (the son of the Dissave) and Hendrik Hofmeester were first cousins being the children of two sisters, the daughters of the Pakhuismeester of Galle, Rombertus Quevellerius. Erasmus and Hendrik had together come up to Colombo for some genealogical investigations and discovered for the first time that their fathers had arrived in Ceylon in the same ship "Het Wapen van Amsterdam" on the year 1661, both with the rank of soldaat ⁽⁴⁾ They had, of course, not previously taken the trouble to consult their family papers: but Hendrik, who had the seal with him proudly showed it to his cousin, who although not in the favourable position of being able to produce a similar token of his gentility, remembered that his father had told him that his shield had a stag's head as its charge. Having had sundry drinks of genever at the Hotel kept by the widow, van der Meyden, in Bier Street, Colombo, they returned to their respective stations.

On looking into his family papers however at Matara, Erasmus discovered that his grandfather was Erasmus van Alphen (Dirkszoon).⁽⁵⁾ He also found some letters to his father Dirk from his (Dirk's) grandfather enjoining him to take great care of the family seal given to him on the eve of his departure to the East, reminding him that the bull's head on the seal was in commemoration of an act of prowess on the part of a distant ancestor who rescued General Graf van Bernstein from the attacks of an infuriated bull which charged the Dutch ranks during one of those historic sieges in the Netherlands. The Dissave van Alphen had, of course, preserved a discreet silence as to the loss of the seal.

The family papers of Hendrik Hofmeester gave a bare record of his father's arrival in Ceylon, his birthplace, marriage and the usual domestic occurrences.

It thereupon suddenly dawned upon Erasmus that the seal in Hendrik's possession was no other than the seal presented to his father, and that Jan Hofmeester had stolen it on the voyage out. He lost no time in intimating his views on the matter to his cousin. Hendrik stoutly declined to surrender the seal to Erasmus and indignantly denied the soft impeachment that his father had stolen it. Amicable relations between Erasmus and Hendrik of course ceased at once, and it was not long before their mothers were drawn into the vortex. A deadly feud reigned between the two families and all about a brass seal.

Erasmus was by now firmly convinced that the arms on Jan Hofmeester's tombstone were really his father's arms. But the question was what was his remedy?

(4) Literally a soldier, was also freely used to mean a military man without reference to rank.

(5) Son of Dirk.

The numerous tomes which his lawyers consulted gave no indication of the steps to be taken. A proposal by Erasmus, who was then the Administrateur of Galle, to place a new stone over his father's grave with his real arms engraved thereon, was unanimously rejected by the Consistory of Matara. They failed to see the necessity for it, a stag's head being in their opinion just as good as a bull's head. Years rolled by and Erasmus who had developed into a man with a grievance aged rapidly. Hendrik had by now risen to the rank of an Opperkoopman and held the office of Dissave of Matara. He could not help smiling to himself every time he entered the church and saw the tombstone of his uncle. The eyes of the stag's head seemed to glare at him. He pitied his cousin Erasmus and would have gladly given him the seal if he hadn't defamed the memory of his father *zaliger gedachtenis*.⁽⁶⁾ In this state of things the town of Matara was suddenly called upon to moan the loss of its Dissave. Hendrik Hofmeester was crossing the Nilwala Ganga in a boat, when it suddenly capsized and threw its occupants into the water. Before anyone could come to his rescue he was seized by a large man-eating crocodile and was never seen again. This sad event brought about a reconciliation between the Van Alphen and Hofmeester families, and Erasmus van Alphen, who was appointed to succeed Hendrik, lost no time in offering a reward of 50 guilders to any one who would produce the carcass of the crocodile who had for so many years been killing many a Maturian (of the town of Matara) who chanced to be on the river. The honour of winning this reward fell to the soldaat, Jan de Schieter. Armed with his trusty blunderbuss he approached the saurian as it was enjoying its midday siesta on the banks of the river and gave it its quietus. There was great rejoicing as the huge monster was dragged into the Fort by the native lascoreens headed by de Schieter. The reward was presented by Henrietta Quevellerius the Dissave's wife, amid the plaudits of the assembled crowd. And what do you think gentle reader did the post mortem which followed reveal? What was it that was found among the miscellaneous collection of odds and ends inside this croc.? Yes! it was the seal, but with its wooden handle so eaten away leaving only the metal portion behind. And what was there engraved on the back which had all this time been hidden by the handle, Why the words "Dirk van Alphen"!.

"God Dank" exclaimed the Dissave "Eindelyk heb ik het gevonden. Ziedaar het langverloren zegel!"⁽⁷⁾

The birth of a son and heir to the van Alphen estate could not have produced more pleasure and satisfaction to the Dissave than the recovery of the long lost family heirloom.

(6) Of blessed memory.

(7) "God be thanked. At last I have found it. Behold! the long lost seal."

An impromptu dance was at once organized at the Dissave's quarters that night in celebration of the event, the music being contributed by the local "vioolspeelers."⁽⁸⁾ The dance was quite an event in Matara, the occasion for it rendering it quite unique in the annals of the town. Needless to say that Erasmus van Alphen found no difficulty in inducing the Consistory to accede to his former request, and the Dutch *steen-houwel*,⁽⁹⁾ Hans Beitelaar, who was entrusted with the work, performed it to the entire satisfaction of the Dissave. The local Predikant suggested the motto "Eureka" which was at once adopted as a family motto by the Dissave and engraved on the stone.

A century or more had passed since the events recorded in this story and a new Kerk had taken the place of the Oude Kerk.

And there arose up new rulers over Matara which knew not the van Alphens. The tombstone has disappeared, but the incidents in connection with the seal used to form a favourite topic of conversation a century ago among the Dutch Burghers of Matara of the "Good Old Days."

(8) Fiddlers.

(9) Stone-mason.

Continued from Vol. LV. of 30. 1965)

VIGNETTES FROM THE PAST

III. LEGEND OF DE FIGUEIRA IMMURED ALIVE

BY

R. L. BROHIER D. LITT

Old Colombo (I refer in this instance to the Fort) was subjected to many changes in the second half of the 19th century. Howbeit, this very charming "old lady" who had passed through 350 years of exciting times, was subjected to the greatest change when methods of warfare decreed that she should shed her useless girdle of ramparts to render herself more comfortable and healthy.

And so, the picturesque made way for the practical—effect yielded to usefulness. The "old lady" (to adopt the same metaphor) has benefited by the breeze which the ramparts kept out of the Fort, and although deprived of her "old silk and laces and lavender" has perhaps passed gracefully into richer and more exciting years, with more space, light and air.

It was between 1869 and 1871 that labourers with pick, alavangu and mamotie, undid the solid work of many weary years, which the Dutch had devoted after their capture of Colombo (12th May, 1656), and which no enemy guns ever attempted to break down. The story is told that in the British period, when cannons were fired experimentally on the walls at short range, the heavy round shot had no effect on them, and merely found a resting place within the earthen bowels that lay beyond their massive face. The moats were filled with the rubble from the fortifications. At the end of York Street, and near that part of the fortifications known as Rotterdam Bastions, there once stood an old casemated Powder Magazine which singularly was spared for a few years longer to recall a weird traditional tale of dark tragedy. Here is the story, as recorded by Louis Nell (the father of Dr. Andreas Nell), who was a Queen's Advocate, a poet, and a one time Editor of that famous old paper "The Examiner" which was bought up by, and associated with, Lorenz.

"When the Dutch were investing the Fort of Colombo, a deserter from the Portuguese came to the Dutch camp, and offered to lead the Dutch to a part of the works that was carelessly defended, on condition of being adequately rewarded in the event of the surprise proving successful. The Dutch Commander accepted the terms, and was accordingly enabled to make the assault which ended in the capitulation of the Fort.

After the place was taken, and something like order restored, the Portuguese deserter, Gaspar de Figueira, applied for the promised reward little expecting that Nemesis which sooner or later overtakes all traitors was preparing his doom for him. The Dutch Governor harangued him on the enormity of the offence of having betrayed his own countrymen, and as a warning to all traitors sentenced him to be bricked up on the top of the powder magazine.

He was accordingly taken there, a loaf of bread and a bottle of wine placed beside him, and the sentry-box like vault, which still stands, was built up and Gaspar de Figueira was immured alive. It is a singular fact that at the demolition of the fortifications of Colombo in 1871, this monument and the powder magazine have been left untouched."

Gaspar de Figueira (de Cerpe) was the son of a Portuguese father and a Sinhalese mother. He was famous as well as notorious among the Portuguese captains who fought against the Sinhalese and the Dutch. Although a brave soldier who: "had not escaped being burnt when the hand-grenades thrown by the Dutch set fire to the pans of powder with which the bastions were well supplied", he apparently showed little mercy to his foes.

Knox says of him, that he acquired the name "de Cerpe", meaning "of the bill-hook", from his pleasant habit of "hanging up people by their heels and splitting them down the middle", and of carrying an axe into the field "to execute those he suspected to be false to him or that ran away". This has drawn the observation from J. P. Lewis "that he was born too early and missed his vocation as a modern Boche".

Howbeit, while Knox expressly states that Figueira was taken prisoner by the Dutch, and further that he was afterwards sent to Goa where he died, it is curious that tradition has elected to brand him a traitor and assign him a more tragic ending. Written history does not tell how he died but the tradition which has come down the corridors of time in a popular folk ballad seems to have originated from his own people left in Ceylon, the Porto-Sinhalese, and was rendered in the corrupt Portuguese patois they bequeathed to Ceylon.

J. P. Lewis, writing in the Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register (Volume I, Part III, 1916), says "I myself distinctly remember the sentry-box like structure associated with this tradition.....when I first knew Colombo in 1877". According to him, it stood between the site on which the old Surveyor General's Office came to be erected and the Echelon Barracks, and was not demolished but later covered up at the time the surface of the whole area hereabouts was raised.

As regards the legend, Lewis supplies eleven verses of the ballad, adding that he does so "in order that others may supply the lacunae". This seems a forlorn hope, for the melodious vernacular which was

much in vogue among the poor and struggling lower, middle-class populations—the tinker, the tailor, the cobbler and the coffin maker—has since ceased to be spoken and with the passing away of this community, its very traditions are forgotten.

In the process of demolition of the Ramparts, the labyrinthine entrance to the Fort from Galle Face known as the South Gate, scarce wide enough for two carriages to pass, came to be numbered among the things which form a part of history. The East Gate, which gave access to the Pettah, was left standing, and for many years up to recent times, stood behind the Times of Ceylon building, wedged in by new roads laid out to take the city's increasing stream of traffic, but yet savouring "of 'feudal times and old mystery'".

With the ramparts and their intervening "curtains" went the mile and a quarter elevated walk which girdled the fort, and encompassed on the one side the fresh water Beira Lake clothed with dense foliage, evergreen, and at certain seasons adorned with blossoms; on the western side by the ocean waves dashing on a rock-bound coast (Galbokka)—at the height of the monsoons lashing curtains of spray; and on the north by a semi-circular water-front.

In the days to which this paragraph refers, only very small boats could have moored close along the shore, the larger sloops or dhonies rode at anchor in the middle of the road, while large ships, the East Indiaman of those times, only looked in when the wind blew from the north-east off the land, and even then did not consider it safe to venture more than a mile away from the bar.

Such was Colombo before the prosperity and development of modern times rendered it a monument of British enterprise, not yet a hundred years old.

IV. WHEN TEMPLE TREES WAS A DUTCH DISTILLERY

Apparently, even in so small a measure of time as 125 years the eye of anyone standing on Galle Face roved over an unbroken vista of open land and surf-beaten shore reaching out to that boulder strewn jut we call Mount Lavinia.

About the year 1820, when Governor Barnes had furnished himself with a "noble building open to the delectable sea-breezes" where the Mount Lavinia Hotel now stands, he planned to have a marine drive connecting it with the Fort. He envisaged a Colombo with elegant villas facing an esplanade and sea-front six miles long.

The authorities at Whitehall did not apparently fall in with the Governor's views. Thus ended the dream of the first town planner to spare some thought for an aesthetic Colombo of the morrow.

Although Sir Edward's intentions as regards a marine drive were rumoured not to be altruistic as he had acquired private interests in land along this strip of coast-line, his passion for road-building was genuine. Besides the military road to Kandy, which he started in 1820 and "opened to traffic before it was gravelled," Barnes linked Colombo with every coastal town south of it and opened the way to the development of its suburbs.

Having with the support of Alexander Johnston persuaded the Home Office to abolish the restrictions placed on Europeans to acquire land and on public servants to engage in commercial transactions, the areas adjoining the Fort of Colombo off the Galle Road came to be opened.

A large property extending from the sea to the lake shores, at the southern end of the Galle Face esplanade-as we know it today, passed over to James Steuart, the founder of the firm of George Steuart and Co; "who combined the functions of merchant, banker and boat-owner, with that of Master Attendant and Superintendent of the Pearl Fishery". Hence the name: "Steuart Place" by which that section of the high road to Galkissa and Galle is known.

The three old "villas" ranged south of St. Andrew's church, with wide verandahs and low, sloping roofs slanting towards the sea and reaching within six feet of the ground, so designed to resist the fierce attack of the south-west monsoon and shield the inhabitants from the glare of sunlight, are perhaps the pioneer buildings erected in early British times. Their lawns extended right down to the sea-shore.

Although the coffee plantations in the hills had not yet been established there must have been a small trade in that commodity, and in cinnamon which was a monopoly of the earlier Dutch Company. To this day there are remains of the mill and packing shed of that period, behind one of the bungalows in Steuart Place.

The precursor of the Galle Face Hotel was a building known as "Galle Face House". There is perhaps nobody alive-not a pioneer of the Gun Lascars-to recount how the artillery practising from below the south walls of the Fort sent a 20 pound ball into the Galle Face House, at that time a pleasing private residence. The ball broke through the roof of the building, and embedded itself in the brick-faced floor of the reception room. It was a nine-day wonder, and even the Governor, Sir Colin Cambell, came to see the mischief done.

"Temple Trees", more recently the Official residence of Prime Ministers and consequently where the history of independent Ceylon has been, and is being writ, is another old building in this locality. The house is of late 18th century vintage, and the earliest references to the property dates from the closing years of Dutch rule. At that time this house bore the name De Brandery, which interpreted means "The Distillery."

Mr. Paulusz the retired Government Archivist, observed in a brief memorandum on "Temple Trees" that it is a point for speculation whether, this peculiar name was conferred to reflect appreciation of its then tenant's excellent cellar, or whether it was bestowed on the score that the building was once used to distil spirits.

The Netherlands are credited to have been the first to manufacture rum from sugar molasses in Ceylon.

The extent of the property at that time was three Rehnish Morgen, a little over six acres. It was bounded by the lake on one side and the sea shore on the other. When the Island passed over to the British Daniel Ditloff, Count of Ranzow, was the owner of it.

He came of a distinguished family; for his father had married Louisa Henrietta, Baroness Breckenburg-the first cousin of Augusta, Princess of Wales, mother of George II. Sometime after 1805. "De Brandery" was transferred to Fredric Baron Mylius, a judge in the Ceylon Civil Service, and subsequently underwent many changes in ownership.

In 1840 C. R. Buller, a former Government Agent of the Western Province (who has left his name in Buller's Road), occupied it.

Later, it passed into the possession of the Layard family and in 1848 became the property of Dr. Christopher Elliott, the first Principal Medical Officer of Ceylon.

In 1856, the house was bought for. £2,300, by J. P. Green who remained in possession until his death in 1892.

At some time during this period the name was changed to Temple Trees so called for the Temple-Flower trees growing in the compound. These fragrant flowers (allied to "frangapani", the Araliya of the Sinhalese) are laid as offerings in Buddhist temples.

Apparently, in 1899, Sir Everard Im Thurn, the then Lieutenant Governor was living at "Temple Trees" paying a monthly rental to Messrs Tarrant, and Henderson who had then become the owners. A bid for Rs. 90,000 was accepted for it when in 1903 the Government decided to make the bungalow an official residence.

The original extent of the property had by then been considerably reduced. It had lost the garden portion extending to the sea, and by an earlier sale a portion at the north-west corner bordering the main road which has a building on it. Lastly, there was the appropriation of a chunk for the Colpetty police station.

(To be continued)

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

MR. H. KENNETH DE KRETSEK, C.M.G.

H. Kenneth de Kretser, a "Leader of the Community" as he may well be described, died on Thursday the 7th of April 1966 in his Australian home at Holland Park, Brisbane. He was 85 years old, and had made many outstanding contributions for the betterment of Ceylon before he surprised one and all by deciding in his late seventies to settle down in Brisbane, Queensland. His influence in shaping the history of the Public Works Department, in his capacity as the first Ceylonese to hold office as Director of Public Works, his interest in the vicissitudes as affecting the "Church of his Fathers" at Wolvendaal of which he was an Elder, his contribution to Society as President of the Rotary Club in Colombo, to Sport as President of the Ceylonese Rugby Football Club, and to his Community as President of the Dutch Burgher Union—have each and all left their mark by which he will be remembered. But even more than being a well-known figure, office-bearer, and contributor at meetings and conferences, Kenneth de Kretser had a wide circle of friends ready to pay tribute to his ability, his hospitality and his *bon ton*, besides his basic qualities as a simple, kindly, family man.

Kenny, to refer to him by what he was called in the home circle and by intimate friends, had his public school education at the Royal College in the days of Burrows and Harward. His parents being among the last of the families to emigrate from the "Gibraltar of the Burghers"—the Pettah, his boy-hood was spent at "Jasmine Villa" in Chetty Street, and later at "Makenzie House", off Barber Street where they had long resided. In your mind's eye you may picture him leaving for College on foot, with a satchel of books thrown over his shoulder; and retracing his way home when College closed to the "boom" of the time-gun at 4.15, along the tree-lined, laterite, brick-red roads which then gridded the Pettah of Colombo. He lived to see not merely change in the character of the Colombo of his boyhood, but bewildering names replace the long-familiar nomenclature.

By Bullock-coach to Jaffna:

At a period when very few Ceylon boys had the opportunity of doing so, Kenneth de Kretser was fortunate to have been able to proceed abroad to qualify professionally in civil engineering. He had his training at the Burgh and Patric Glasgow Corporation, and was appointed to the Public Works Department by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 21st of October, 1904. On coming back to Ceylon, he was instructed to report to the Provincial Engineer, Jaffna, and was told he could get there either by the steamer which in those times left Colombo fortnightly and sailed north-about or south-about, alternately, calling at the principal coastal towns of the Island, or by road.

Dipping into a narration of his early experiences in the Public Works Department, written for the Journal in 1942, we learn that as there was no convenient steamer which he could take, Kenneth de Kretser decided to make the journey to Jaffna by road. The railway had just been constructed as far as Anuradhapura, so he went by train up to that point, and changed over to the Royal Mail Coach which plied between Anuradhapura and Jaffna carrying mail and passengers.

Apparently this coach, which bore the crest of the "Lion and Unicorn" painted on its two sides, was drawn by a pair of bulls—and in reality was nothing more than a glorified double-bullock cart. It travelled day and night, and carried 1st and 2nd class passengers. In the front portion of the vehicle the second class passengers disported themselves on the mail bags collected at railhead, and gradually found their seat elevated as others bags were thrown in at various stations en-route. The first class passengers occupied the rear portion sitting on two wooden benches about 3 feet long placed opposite each other and which provided accommodation for four persons. Incidentally, we are told that of the three passengers travelling with him, one was the Civil Servant author Leonard Woolf, whose published diaries and his book "The Village in the Jungle" written later when he was transferred to Hambantota reveal many a period picture of those times.

In this quaint epoch which knew not the internal-combustion engine (or had barely come to know it) the journey by coach from Anuradhapura to Jaffna took the best part of a week, covering 15 to 20 miles a day. At stages 7 miles apart the pair of bulls was changed. Travelling was done only in the cool of the evening and at night.

"When I arrived at 9.30 p.m. at the Anuradhapura Post Office to start my journey", writes the subject of this sketch, "I was warned to be careful of the light-fingered gentry. In spite of this warning and my vigilance, when I arrived at Jaffna I found I had lost my best water-proof rain-coat, and a new set of drawing instruments."

Circuits in those time:

About this time, even so important a personage as the Lieutenant Governor had vilified Ceylonese aspirations to civil list posts in the Public service by publicly stating that: "the reason for the non-employment of Ceylonese in higher posts was because they were deficient in those qualities of duty and honour that the British Government had a right to expect." It is therefore hard to believe that it was in a pleasant atmosphere that Kenneth de Kretser was put through his paces and initiated into the Service. Howbeit, after a few months, he found himself under orders to proceed to Mihintale as Engineer in charge of that District.

Turning again to the narration left us by Kenneth de Kretser, we read: "A P. W. D. officer's duty largely consists of inspection. Cars then were unheard of. So, my first conveyance was a travelling cart

and a pair of trotting bulls. The cart was made to my design: it had racks for keeping guns and hooks for hanging a cycle, and had a seat that could be converted into a sort of lounge, if need be, and many other contraptions. I did my inspections in this cart for about 3 years. The journeys were very slow, and I walked a good bit of it. I used to carry with me large quantities of quinine, white mixture and sticking plaster, and stopped at every labour line, when the palsied sick gathered round me; and with my stock in trade, and with the air of a Harley Street Specialist, I did the needful!"

What horrors the circuits of those times must present to the inspecting officer of today who gets to every point in a motor car or a jeep, and so arranges inspections to invariably bring him back to his headquarters station for a game of tennis, and later bridge, in the clubhouse every evening! As the narrator recalls: "going on circuit in those days necessitated some arrangement, for one was away a week or more at a time. Circuit bungalows were largely used, and the usual practice was to have two carts, one for yourself, and one for your orderly and kitchen boy who travelled at night after having served dinner. The idea of travelling during the night was that the servants had time to prepare a breakfast against the master's arrival at the next circuit point the following morning."

Continuing, he writes: "I recall one occasion when going along the cross road from Horowapotana to Vavuniya, how I arrived at a stream crossing, and thought I recognised my Commissariat cart upside down on the side of the road. Before I could collect my thoughts, I heard loud yells and screams from the top of a tree, and looked up only to discover my servants looking very scared and frightened. On enquiry I was told that elephants had attacked the cart, and in the melee, the servants had climbed a tall Kumbuk tree and the bulls had broken loose and bolted—Heaven knows where! On another occasion, during the monsoon, many roads were under water, but as I could not delay my inspections, I set out in my cart, and somewhere near Kahatagasdiligila I came across a stretch of water over the road. I asked my carter to go on. We must have gone about an eighth of a mile when I found the water up to the platform of the cart, and the bulls swimming and the flood water tearing over the road at a great velocity. It was an exciting moment as large quantities of brush wood were being carried down. My "saman" was all washed away together with a coop of chickens I carried for food, but my gallant bulls swam straight ahead, and, after a few agonising minutes, we reached the other side."

* This statement was made by Sir Alexander Ashmore, in a speech at the Prize Giving of Trinity College, Kandy, in November 1906; and provoked a monster public meeting in Colombo, presided over by Dr. W. G. Van Dort who made a splendid fighting speech.

Animal Tragedies:

The advent of a more elegant form of travel later in life to supersede the travelling cart is another small detail which helps to build up reminiscences of a past, brimful of interest. He writes: "About this time, I thought, for a change, I would go in for a horse and carriage which was then superseding the travelling cart. So, I bought a horse called "Mikado" from, if I remember right, the later Mr. Abdul Rahaman, the father of Mr. A. R. A. Razik M.S.C.—this horse was an Arab, and a very fine animal. He was the envy of the other officials in the station; the D.E. in the adjoining district was Mr. Rothwell who owned a Delft Pony called "Smiler"—called so because he had a tendency of showing his teeth and chasing all strangers that came within range!"

"I remember the happy days I spent on horse-back riding "Mikado" along the country roads in the Mihintale District. Usually on circuits I used him in the shafts of a "trap"—a wonderful machine called an American Buggy, it was a carriage very suitable for travelling, as it was lightly constructed, but to get in and out of this vehicle required the skill of an acrobat owing to its large wheels. I used to be very proud of this turn-out, and "Mikado" was a horse full of spirit, and, when not exercised for a few days, had a way of standing on his hind legs and pawing the air before starting. This was a tense moment. On one occasion he fell backwards and nearly crushed me."

"One fine day "Mikado" got rheumatism. All the local vets tried their hand with no avail. So, I decided to send the animal to Colombo for treatment. I arranged for a horse box and took Mikado to the Anuradhapura Station. It happened to be during the Poson Festival when the station was thronged with pilgrims. The crowd was cleared, and Mikado was led to the horse box when, to my consternation, the poor animal fell dead on the platform. The irate station master yelled out to have the horse removed; but this was not an easy matter. I thought for a moment as to what I should do, and ordered my overseer to rush up to the labour lines nearby and bring all the P.W.D. labour he could muster, with their mammoties. They arrived in a few minutes and started to dig a hole by the platform, and in a few minutes more, to the shouts of "Sadu" and the station master's protestations, poor "Mikado" was laid to rest."

In this sequence of thought, Kenneth de Kretser calls to mind another incident, when he was District Engineer in the Matale District. The road from Wattegama to Ukuwella had just been constructed, and as was usual on up-country roads an elephant was made to pull the roller which consolidated the metal. He recalls: "the elephant working for us seemed quite fit, but after his mid-day bath, when he was put on to roll again, he went a few yards and fell dead. Now, to move a dead elephant is not like handling a dead dog, but something had to be done. The P.W.D. labour force was once again summoned and ordered to cut a hole by the roadside and after a while, and not without some exertion,

poor "Jumbo" was shoved into his grave in the outskirts of Markona Estate. I was told that a few days later the villagers living near by had to abandon their homes and bolt for their lives when the carcass began to decompose—that is just incidental."

Drugging a D.E.—

Apparently in those days a D.E.'s *bete noire* was making payments. Unlike at present, all the work was done on check-roll—even metal breaking—and the engineer was expected to pay each labourer individually. Payments were made in circuit bungalows, but as often happened all the payments could not be completed in one day and it meant sleeping out with large sums of money. "I very well remember" Kenny de Kretser writes, "how in the circuit bungalow at Madawachchi I used to sleep with the cash box chained to my wrist, so that if anybody took the cash box they had to take me too! It so happened that, on one occasion I had about Rs. 10,000 with me. I locked it up in my safe and put my revolver (one always carried a revolver in those days) under my pillow. When I was having dinner I noticed some black stuff in my soup but I took no notice of it and drank it all. After that came the fish with the same pepper-like stuff over it. When it came to the next course my boy came up to me very frightened and said "Master! I cannot bring any more food as there is some stuff over it." I do not know why, but I at once suspected drugging, and left the table and went straight to my bed to see if my revolver was there. It was there all right; but on the pillows there was the same black powder. This was about 9 p.m. and I was the only official in the station. I summoned my servants and told them what I suspected and explained that having partaken of the food, I could not say what would happen to me, and asked them to be on the alert and watch at different points. I went to bed and heaped some empty tins against each door, so that the noise of their falling would waken me. About 2 a.m. there was a tremendous noise of the fall of these tins and, at the same time, a hue and cry and terrific chase into the jungle by my watchers. The culprit was not actually caught; but I had very strong suspicions on a dismissed cook of mine; and, as even in those days dancing attendance at a court-house meant a waste of time, I took the law into my own hands and sent for the overseer, and instructed him to capture the man and tie him to a tree and do the needful. He was whipped as he was never whipped before, and he was put into the train—a very sorry figure. That closed that little episode!"

Matara and Matrimony:

One might have drawn from Kenny de Kretser many similar glimpses into old days as in the course of his professional duties he moved from one station to another. Two years short of half a century ago he was stationed at Matara, in residence within the "Star Fort", redolent of.....

".....old unhappy, far-off things,
and battles long ago."

As a sequel to his memories of this Dutch monument crumbling to ruin, it would indeed have pleased him to see it today proclaimed a historical monument, and recently converted to a Library and Reading Room where it is hoped every effort will be made to confine a section to old maps and books of the Dutch period.

It was while stationed at Matara that he married Celia Harriet Schokman, a daughter of Dr. G. P. Schokman, at St. Andrew's Kirk, Kandy on the 27th of July 1908. Matale, and then Kegalle were two other stations at which he served as District Engineer, before proceeding to Jaffna as acting Provincial Engineer, and to Badulla when confirmed in the capacity of provincial charge. His experience and knowledge stood him in great stead when he was brought to Colombo to fill the Head Office staff-posts, and it was a tribute to ability inasmuch as a repudiation of a Lieutenant Governor's flippancy which saw him serving as the first Ceylonese Director of Public Works in 1936.

Director of Public Works:

Much that happened during Kenneth de Kretser's tenure as Head of the Department bore the imprint of his unassuming manner of approach to a problem, and a concept which took pride and joy in the support he had from his colleagues. He left his mark by the judgment he exercised when a predecessor in office had condemned Queen's House as dangerous and unfit for gubernatorial occupation and had the Governor with his staff moved out to a private bungalow which overlooked the Colombo Cricket Club grounds pending the erection of another Government House. When he assumed office as Head, Kenneth de Kretser swayed opinion to his way of thinking by worthwhile and sound reasoning in discussions, and the plan to pull down the Queen's House was abandoned in favour of his proposals to nurse the old building used by Governors from Dutch times, by strengthening and making it safe for re-occupation. His wise decision was reflected in the solution of many post-war problems his successors in Office had to face.

Other Public Services:

Kenneth de Kretser's experience and influence were also felt in the Civil Aviation Department, and as a nominated member of the Colombo Municipal Council. In addition to his substantive office in the P.W.D., he was a Director in the former and was largely responsible for stimulating the establishment of an internal service. He retired in 1940 but it was entirely in character that during the war years he made himself available in a civil capacity to the Services operating in Ceylon.

In extra-occupational fields we find Kenneth de Kretser a Founder Member of the Engineering Association of Ceylon, (now the Institute of Engineers, Ceylon). He was closely connected with it since its inception in 1904 and played a great part in fostering its growth and usefulness. In 1936 he was elected its President. He was always ready with advice

and encouragement in the interests of his profession. On the other hand, his generosity and kindness were shown to advantage as a Rotarian and member of the Colombo Rotary Club. In tribute to his popularity and interest in the movement, he was elected to the Chair, as President of the Club. His interest in sport was confined to rugger. He was President of the Ceylonese Rugby Football Club for twelve years, and was largely responsible for fostering the popularity the game has attained in Ceylon today.

Communal Claims:

Our special interest however, centres on his association with the Dutch Burgher Union, and the active part he took in every branch of the Union's work, so ably assisted by his wife. He was elected President in March, 1942, and his service to the Union in that capacity synchronised with the later years of World War II, when the Union was privileged to take an active part in providing hospitality to the evacuees from the Netherlands East Indies, who sought refuge in Ceylon after the Battle of the Coral Sea. He did much to make the Union Hall a home from home, to the personnel of the Dutch Forces sojourning in Ceylon.

The older members of the Union will remember that as a token of appreciation and gratitude to the Union, H.E. Admiral Sir C. E. Helfrich at a dance held in honour of Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina's birthday in 1945, unveiled the large oil painting displayed in the Hall, depicting the landing of Admiral Spilbergen in 1602, at Batticaloa, which was presented to the Union together with a radiogram by our Dutch sojourners.

It is to Kenneth de Kretser that the Union is beholden for the terrazo flooring in the vestibule one enters through the main door-way. He was re-elected as President at three consecutive Annual General Meetings actuated no doubt by the homely saying: "If you get hold of a good thing, keep it."

Finally, there remains to recall Kenneth de Kretser's sentiment and attachment to the Church of his Fathers, the Dutch Reformed Church of Ceylon. Nursed in the traditions, and veritably in the shadow of Wolvendaal Church—that hallowed landmark of many memories, it was but fitting that he lived to be the doyen and Senior Elder of its Consistory. In late years, his mind turned to the commercialization of the Pettah burial ground, unused and forlorn, girdled by its age-old moss-grown and blackened wall, crumbling to the mounting flood of industrial enterprise, of trade and commerce which had invaded the old Pettah of Colombo. Looking at it from the angle of the growing need and vital urge for the expansion of an expanding business-centre, and the economic advantages these slumbering acres presented, he was largely instrumental in raising the buildings which stand on the site, and today afford a steady source of revenue towards the maintenance of the mother church at Wolvendaal and its satellites which have sprung up in the suburbs of a growing City.

Naturally, we cannot all think alike, and there are many who do not condone the effacement of this venerable link with antiquity. And so, as sentiment must make way for utility, we pass on to conclude this sketch of a leader who inspired others as much by his zest for the welfare of the Church of his Fathers, by his warmth of human understanding, as by his integrity, resolution and his imaginative approach to progressive objectives.

Kenneth de Kretser's standing, and national services were recognised by his being awarded Companionship in the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George in 1950. His years of retirement in Australia were hampered by bad health despite which he took time to visit Japan, U. S. A. and Ceylon on two occasions. Latterly his ill-health worsened and he was confined to his home many months before his death. His wife pre-deceased him in Ceylon on the 27th of December 1954. At his request his ashes were brought to Ceylon and interred in his family grave. He leaves one son, Ronald who is resident in Brisbane.

ADDENDUM

FAMILY OF KEEGEL OF CEYLON

1. Vol: 27th January, 1938 No. 3; page 118 :—
Denis Keegel Died 1.8.1938 and his wife 30.5.1946.
2. Page 119 extend (1) Pelham Lucien Keegel will follow under XII. Page 119 extend (2) Caryl Stephanie. Born 26th December, 1939.
3. XII: Pelham Lucien Keegel M.B.B.S. (Cey.) of the Government Medical Dept., born 10th November, 1925 married at St. Paul's Church, Kynsey Road, Colombo, on the 24th of May, 1952 Yvonne Phyllis Bianca Herft, born 8th May, 1929 daughter of Paul Frederick Herft and Blanche Marion Bartholomuesz. He had by her:—Pelham Leon Keegel, born 14th April 1953. Yolette Lorraine Keegel, born 14th December, 1954.
4. Page 120 extend XI
 - (1) Rita Carmen, married Kenneth Woolmington (Professor of Chemistry, Kanpala, Uganda, East Africa) 31.1.1960.
 - (2) Michael Charles Underdown Keegel, married Frances Piper, 13th March, 1965. at the Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, London S.E. 5.



NEWS AND NOTES

A correction:—A reader has questioned the correctness of the "Note" on page 46 of Vol. LV of the Journal under the caption: St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Having written to the Deacon of St. Paul's, Mr. A. W. Lorenz-Andree states: "I stand corrected; the plaque referred to was erected to commemorate the tragic death of Rev. Vivian Redlich, the Canon's son, who died a martyr's death at the hands of the Japanese during World War II. This happened when he was ministering to Commonwealth troops in Papua..... I humbly apologise for the confusion."

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Wolvenndaal and Hultsdorp:—These familiar names are often misspelt **Wolfendahl** and **Hultsdorf**. The late Mr. W. S. Christoffelz has left a note that the blame for this rests with the soldiers of the Meuron regiment, who consisting as it did mostly of Germans, adopted the German method of spelling. He also suggests that Rev. J. D. Palm who was the Colonial Chaplain of Wolvenndaal in early British times, and was not a Hollander by birth, perpetuated the error.

Rev. John David Palm, was a German by birth and a weaver by occupation. He received his education at Berlin from Jaeneke. In March 1802 he was admitted to the Ministry when he was 26 years old. He was trained at the expense of the London Society and was sent to Ceylon in August 1803. He served the Ministry at Colombo and Jaffnapatam.

* * *

An adjunct to Hultsdorp:—

Not the least interesting and important of the links which Holland (See D.B.U. Journal Vol. XLV pp 129 to 133 for Dr. G. C. Mendis' broadcast talk on "The Importance of Dutch Rule in Ceylon") forged with Ceylon in the 17th and 18th Centuries was the incorporation of the provisions and the principles of the Roman Dutch Law into the legal system of the Country. And as though to make this fact the more memorable, it is Hultsdorf—which was the Headquarters of general Hulft during the attack on Portuguese Colombo—that was selected by Ceylon's new Rulers as their chief seat of Justice. We feel entitled to draw the attention of our members and other readers to another similar fact hardly comparable with the former though it be in importance. It is that the Honourable the Supreme Court has decided that the scene of their inquiries into Election Petitions shall be the D.B.U. Hall, thus making it a sort of adjunct to Hultsdorp!

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Dutch Broeder:

When Christmas is on the wing, thoughts turn to Broeders. The few girls and ladies who were instructed by their grandmothers in the art of turning out this Christmas speciality have nearly all bequeathed their knowledge to Australia. So today, anything goes under the name of the once famous Dutch Broeder. "Even it's spelling has now degenerated to "Breudher", as some modern advertisements have it!

In a back number of the Journal (Vol XIV, p97, 1925)' a lady correspondent who was a member of the D.B.U., favoured the Editor with the following recipe. It is reprinted here with the hope that it will bring back to existence one of those subtle kitchen triumphs of the Dutch.

Ingredients:—3 lbs. dough; 1/2 lb. 66 fresh butter; 2 dozen eggs; 1 lb. sugar (Soft) 4 lbs. raisins.

The dough can be purchased at any bakery, but at the present day you will find that it arrives in a highly leavened state, and the sooner you can apply yourself to kneading it the better. This should be done on a pastry board for at least 10 minutes. Do not proceed to mix in the butter until the dough is of a firm consistency. The butter should be added in pats while keeping up the kneading, and the same must be done while the yolks of the eggs are thrown in one by one. If the batter shows a tendency to "run", do not add all the eggs, as the sugar has to come in. It is possible to turn out a very passable Broeder, with fewer eggs and more butter, in that case you will probably turn out an ordinary cake, and all your trouble wasted, instead of the light and spongy consistency which the ideal slice of Broeder should have when baked.

(The full complement of 30 eggs kneaded into a Broeder, was considered a triumph of culinary art in the past generation—whether from the excellency of the dough then supplied, or from the modest proportions of the eggs of the village "koli" is not clearly known). Before sprinkling in the raisins, the beating up or clapping together of the batter should take place. If this is well done, you will observe that hollow bubbles will form themselves at intervals. This is a sure sign that your work has been successfully and well done. You will now be able to lift the entire batter, and place it in a buttered Broeder pan. Bake in a hot oven).

* * *

Burgher Soup:

Here too is a recipe of "Burgersoep": Take 2 lbs. of loin of beef and 2 oz. of shin of veal; put over this 2 1/2 quarts of water with a spoonful of salt and let it boil. After skimming, put in one head of celery with the leaves chopped fine and 1/2 oz. of rice and allow the whole to boil slowly for 4 hours. Thicken the soup with a little flour. (From Het Nieuwste Koekboek by Ernest van Houten.)

* * *

Portuguese Proverbs:

I ran into an old-timer the other day who could read, write and speak the patois bequeathed to Ceylon by the Portuguese. This melodious vernacular was largely used, as we know, three generations back, but is now altogether forgotten. We were on the subject of "changing times", and I heard my friend say: *Quei lo faye, Susie, Tempo tem assie*, (What is to be done sister, times are such).

It does seem such a pity that we are losing these aphorisms so familiar to the old folk. They were kept alive through the Porto-Sinhalese *ayahs* and domestic helpers in Dutch Burgher homes in the times gone by. I have managed to glean a few other phrases by turning up old numbers of the Journal and repeat them here in the hope that it will knidle the interest of a reader to add to them. Apart from sentiment, they reveal a fascinating subject for deeper research.

Here is one of these aphorisms in the form of a proverb: *Quem te vizia tanque nao more de segura*, (he who guards the tank will not die of thirst). In the form of a couplet we have the saying: *Quem to busca prazeiro mista perde dinheiro*, (he who pursues pleasure must lose his treasure). The saying *Nacao te mostra facao*, (his manners show his origin) is much the same as a parallel Portuguese saying: "You can always tell the Senhor by his hat".

The following is supposed to be muttered by the pub-crawler as he staggers from bar to bar: *Minha challi pa'im te telli* (my money keeps pushing me about), and a phrase pledged as a toast when drinking with a friend: *Lave kanu*, (wash the drain), uttered as the glass is tilted and the liquid is hastily swallowed in a single gulp. That the original Portuguese degenerated locally into a patois is shown by the use above of a Tamil word *Challi*, and a Sinhalese one *Kanu*. Another verse in patois is: *Nona, Nona, Santa, Kopi gedera canta*, i.e., "Lady Lady sit and sing in coffee-house". Note the Sinhalese words: *Nona, kopi, gedera*.

A Dutch Custom:

Amongst the Dutch in Ceylon it was considered disrespectful for the younger children in the family to address their elder brother or sister by their Christian names. "The eldest brother was always Broer or brother, and the eldest sister Sus or Susje to the younger ones. All the elderly friends of the family, whether relations or not, were Oom (uncle) or Mooie (aunt) to the young men and women."

* * *

A Curious Incident is recorded in the life of Nicolaas Schagen, Governor of Malacca, whom Valentyn describes as a thin, tall, lively man, and his wife as a charming woman who was quite an acquisition to the Dutch society in that station during the latter years of the 17th century. He is said to have inspected the building of a vault for his burial on the morning of the 3rd July, 1696, and declared it as much too small! He wanted it enlarged as soon as possible, adding "soon there will be an occupant for it."

On the 5th of July he was seized with a sudden stroke of paralysis, and died on the 7th. His link with Ceylon was in the person of his son—Joan Paul Schagen, who was Commandeur of Galle (1723—32). *Valentyn* (Amboina II pp. 249-250)

Iron Ore in Matara District:

The first British "Collector" of the Matara District was William Glanville. A successor of his, J.G. Forbes—submitted an interesting report dated July 1st 1818 to Governor Brownrigg, through R. Boyd, Commissioner of Revenue. The report was comprehensive, and showed "what persons were liable to be called upon to perform service for the Dutch Government up to the year 1796." Mr. Forbes observed that those customs existed even in 1818, but that the various services by the clans or castes were paid for, as "accommodessan" (grants of land for compulsory service) had been abolished by the British in Ceylon.

In Forbes's report one finds reference to the manufacture of iron implements in the Matara District out of local ore, discovered by Granville five years earlier. The Naindes in addition to their normal village duties which comprised carrying of baggage, building resthouses, doing duty in those buildings, agricultural pursuits, erecting elephant stables, had to procure firewood for the Dissava of their Korale or Pattuwa. The Naindes of the Angurugama (villages that supplied charcoal) had "to procure charcoal for the Government smithshop". In Gangaboda Pattu, Matara, there are Vidane Archchie's (Superior headmen's) divisions called Angurugama Ihala and Angurugama Pahala Walakadas.

The artisans or Newandanna people had, in addition to other duties, "to bring up carpenters and smiths for Government service". Archaries or blacksmiths worked for Government and the Dissawe. The blacksmiths were also entitled to "accommodessan or diwel lands". The Yammannas were "iron-burners" or iron smelters. They were "obliged to burn iron for Government and do all the low services of the village for which they possess accommodessan and those at the village of Kirima in the Cattoone (Katuwana) district are obliged to deliver some iron to Government annually."

In the year 1890 some ancient Sinhalese iron implements were excavated at Beralapanatara in Morawak Korale, on the site of the present Rural Court-house or Gansabhawa. Among the "finds were: an arrow, an adze, a plane, four bill-hooks, a mammoty-shaped tool, and another that was described as a "strange tool" by the then Mudaliyar of Morawak Korale. These articles were found at a depth of 5 feet in a clay bed. Iron ore is found in abundance at Beralapanatara. Investigations revealed that in the 17th century there were Paduwa caste iron-smelters at Beralapanatara. They were (according to oral tradition), expelled by the Sinhalese King for some grave offence. The implements were discovered under stone slabs—a fact that indicates careful burial three centuries ago.