

# Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.

"Eendracht maakt Macht"

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# Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

On first June 1985, Sri Lanka lost a truly cultured and noble son, one of her brilliant scholars and teachers of English Literature - EVELYN FREDERICK CHARLES LUDOWYK.

Born on 16th October 1906, he received his early education at Richmond College Galle and entered the Ceylon University College (affiliated to London University) in 1925 where he received First Class Honours in English and won a Scholarship to Cambridge in 1929. At Cambridge he obtained a First Class in the English Tripos and also won the coveted Oldham Shakespeare Prize - the First Asian to do so.

Returning to the land of his birth, he was appointed Lecturer in English in 1932 and became Professor of English in 1936 at the early age of thirty. He was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1940., the first Ceylonese to hold this high office. On his retirement in 1956 he was appointed Professor Emeritus of English.

Lyn Ludowyk was a brilliant scholar and teacher of English Literature and he imparted his knowledge to his students with devotion and insight maintaining extremely high standards of teaching. In essence, he was a towering figure in our intellectual landscape but always remained a modest and unassuming personality. He had the gift of being able to immerse himself in his work while possessing the objectivity and the knowledge to stand aside and reveal its depths and facets to others. He was a model of a litterateur, cultured, warm - hearted, yet simple and gracious. A man of noble character, his passing has created a vacuum difficult to fill.

Lyn Ludowyk's contribution to the Theatre should not go un-noticed, or unmentioned as it was as important as his teaching career at the University. He was always interested

in drama and was a member of the Marlowe Society at Cambridge. He was easily the ablest interpreter of any dramatist he chose to discuss or bring to the theatre and to hear him explain a scene or character in a play made one marvel at his instinctive creative knowledge as well as his academic knowledge.

His important contribution to the University Dramatic Society had an educating and civilizing influence which is even evident today. He set a high standard in production and in his selection of plays he made it possible for local audiences to become acquainted with Classical Plays of the West and East.

While Professor Ludowyk's name is widely associated with his contribution to the English Theatre his connection with the Sinhala Theatre was a brief but significant one. One reason that people tend to overlook. Professor Ludowyk's contribution to the Sinhala Theatre is that his reputation in the English Theatre overshadowed everything else. The fact that he was Professor of English, a Dutch Burgher by descent it was difficult to believe that it was possible for him to produce a Sinhala play. But he had the mental adaptability, cosmopolitan values and linguistic knowledge having studied classical Sinhala for a time. In his own words "it is worth keeping the lines open for internationalism. After all that is, by definition, one of the functions of the University."

We truly moan the loss of such an eminent personality and our sincere sympathies go to his wife Edith and his relations. We thank God for his life and work and for the enduring and valuable knowledge he has left behind for future generations.

## TRANSLATION OF FRANCOIS VALENTIJN'S DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON (Chapter 17) \*

By S. A. W. Mottau

p. 409

**The Christian religion in Ceylon.** The Roman (Catholic) religion. Xavier's services here, Anno. 1542. Who also converted those of the island of Mannar. The events that took place between the two parties. Proclamation against the Romish Priests. The Reformed religion in Ceylon. Th Predikants who served here from 1642 to 1658 A. D. Disputes (or differences) in Ceylon. A Proclamation dated 1659 A. D. regarding the the introduction of the Dutch Language. Observations thereover. Remonstrance of the Rev. Mr. Manteau, regarding the learning of a foreign language. Predikants (who served) from 1660 to 1664 A. D. They rarely occupied seat of the Political Commissioner here. Instruction of 1667 A. D. issued to the Church Consistory. The Rev. Mr. Burenus, 1667 A. D. Result of the inquiry regarding the aforementioned seat (table). The Predikants who served from 1667 to 1668 A. D. Classis held in Ceylon in 1668 A. D. The Predikants who served from 1668 to 1704 A. D. Resolution of the Lords Seventeen concerning six Proponents and the printing of the Rev. Mr. Ruel's Grammar, observations regarding the measures for remedying the decline of the Churches and Schools. Special observations of the Rev. Mr. Synjeu thereon. Instructions for the Scholarchen. Church order. Report of an inspection of the schools and

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\* The previous number of the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union (Vol. LXI-Jan-Dec. 1983) contains a translation by S. A. W. Mottau of Chapter 16 of Valentijn's Description of Ceylon. Chapter 16 deals with Buddhism, Hinduism and to a lesser extent Mohamedism. Chapter 17 deals with Roman Catholicism and the Dutch Reformed Church and their activities in Ceylon towards the latter part of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century. This is probably the first time that Chapter 17 has been translated into English. For a biographical note on Valentijn see Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union Vol. LXI, Jan. - Dec. 1983, pages 8-10.

churches etc. Letter addressed to the Hon. Mr. Simons there-over. Mr. Bolscho's report on the schools and Churches. Observations regarding the seminarians at Jaffna. Further observations regarding the Seminary, etc. Further report for the Commencement and progress of the Seminary. Letter of the Rev. Mr. Synjeu to the Hon. Mr. Simons regarding the four Tamil Seminarians who were examined by him etc. Second letter of the Rev. Mr. Synjeu, over the question whether a Rector of a Seminary should learn the Tamil or the Sinhalese Language. The Rev. Mr. Ruel's large Catechism is rejected. Brief account of matters studied by the students. Persons employed for the work of the schools and the Seminary. Predikants who served from 1706 to 1772 A. D. State of the Ceylon Churches in 1681 A. D. Request by Raja Singa for a heathen temple in our territories referred to the Church Consistory in Colombo is refused. Establishment of the Tamil Seminary in 1690 A. D. The Rev. Mr. Cat's zeal in the same by the compilation of several works. The Rev. Mr. de Mey appointed first Rector of the Seminary in 1692 A. D. The Rev. Mr. Cat translated the Old Testament in both languages in 1694 A. D., and in the same year he also began to translate the New Testament. The Rev. Mr. de Vriest appointed Superintendent of the Tamil Seminary at Jaffna in 1695 A. D. *The Rev. Mr. Ruel preached in Portuguese and learnt Sinhalese in 1695 A. D.* The Rev. Mr. Cat still busy compiling his Dictionary in 1697 A. D. The Sinhalese Seminary began to function in 1696 A. D. The Rev. Mr. Ruel appointed Rector of the same in 1698 A. D. Differences between the Rev. Messrs. Ruel and Cat. The Rev. Mr. Ruel's further works in 1699 A. D. Death of The Rev. Mr. de Mey in 1699 A. D. after having made some pupils proficient in preaching. They also lost the services of six Predikants. The Sinhalese Seminary is abolished in 1699 A. D. The Rev. Mr. Ruel's further proofs of diligence. The Rev. Mr. Oude and the Rev. Mr. de Vriest Rectors in 1700 and 1701 A. D. respectively. But he (the Rev. Mr. Oude) goes to Batavia and the Rev. Mr. de Vriest is again Rector in 1701 A. D. Poor state of the Tamil Seminary. The Rev. Mr. Ruel dies in 1701 A. D. the great loss by his death. The Sinhalese Seminary is revived in 1704

A. D. The Rev. Mr. Synjeu is appointed Rector of the seminary in 1705 A. D. His zeal in this work in 1709 etc. The consequent state of these churches, and observations thereon. List of the Predikants of Galle. The Predikants of Negombo and Matara. The Predikants of Jaffna and Colombo.



## THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN CEYLON, AND PRIMARILY THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION

p. 410 (1).  
The Christian religion in Ceylon.  
The Roman Catholic religion  
Xavier's services here A. D. 1542

The Christian religion practised here from former times either the Roman Catholic Religion or that of the Reformed Church, both of which are still being practised in the Island.

The Roman Catholic Religion was introduced here by the Portuguese after they had established themselves on this Island.

The great Apostle of the Indies, Franciscus Xaverius, having sailed from Lisbon to the Indies on the 7th of April 1741 and arrived at Goa on the 6th of May, 1741 betook himself in the beginning of October (so the Jesuit Jarricus says) along with Francois Mansilla, who was not yet a priest, to the country of the Parruas, where the Pearl Fishery was held around Mannar and Tutucorin.

As soon as he arrived there he compiled several articles of faith, with some brief explanations and prayers from the Catechism as a Confession of Faith. He taught them especially to recite the Lord's Prayer (Pater Noster), the 'Ave Maria', the Creed and other similar prayers, and lived among them most strictly and modestly, by which he achieved much fruitful results

He had various differences with the Brahmins in the land of Madura, only one of whom he was able to convert; but he converted over 40,000 of the heathens among these fishers. There were previously over 20,000 nominal Christians, who were however in fact heathens, who were probably brought over to Christianity here by St. Thomas, but these

p. 441 (1).

were no comparison to those who were converted by Xavier, so the Portuguese say.

After he had already done the necessary work on the Coast of Madura, he left for Tutucorin and there baptised a pregnant woman who was unable to give birth, but she miraculously delivered her child immediately after he baptised her, whereafter he baptised not only her child and her family (lit: household), but thereafter also that entire city, who were amazed over this miracle.

He also performed many other miracles there, for he restored one possessed of lunacy, and raised persons from the dead, which he did more than on one occasion, wherefore he achieved the name of "The Great Father", nevertheless, he never prided himself over these achievements in any way, but was always modest and humble and never sought for fame thereover.

After he had thus remained until December at the Pearl Fishery and around Cape Comorin, he returned to Goa, but everyone was amazed when they heard from the staunch Jesuits about the great Xavier, that he had converted 40,000 heathens to Christianity since they have not succeeded for several years past in converting even 3 or 4 persons; but on the other hand, when one considers that the whole faith of these Christians (as we have learnt from our recent experience) consists only in an 'Ave Maria' and in a 'Pater Noster', which I believe, that these dull Parruas have learnt by heart in that period of time with much difficulty either wholly or in part, but soon after Xavier had left, had again forgotten the same one could easily understand the position, more so since in every place where he had converted so many people, the position still remains the same and we have experienced that all this is in fact highly exaggerated, besides which the char-

acteristics of all Indians indicate that they are generally lazy, indolent, slow in learning and inclined to immediately forget everything that they have learnt, unless they are very strictly egged on and compelled by force, as it were, to pursue the same, and these are the sort of people whom the great Xavier has made to be Christians in that short period of time, and no other; wherefore it would have been better if they had remained silent rather than boast thereover.

*who also reclaimed (converted) those of the Island of Mannar. p. 411 (2).*

He came there again in February 1544, and then brought with him Mansilla, (who had now become a priest) and some other priests, four of whom he left at the Pearl Fishery, and departed for Travancore, where he baptised more than 10,000 heathens, on account of which he was pursued (i. e. persecuted) by their priests and by several disloyal (i. e. unfaithful) Christians. On hearing of this conversion of so many people by Xavier, the people of the Island of Mannar too came over (i. e. were converted). He also received letters from that island and sent priests over there with the intention of proceeding there himself after first establishing the matters of religion.

In the meanwhile, the priest sent by him to Mannar was well received, but the King of Jaffna was not pleased about this and pursued him (though he pretended to be a friend of the Portuguese), and shortly thereafter had over 600 persons of those at Mannar brutally murdered, both men, women and others of all ages. This King also tried to kill his eldest brother, to whom the sovereignty (lit: Crown) really belonged, but this Prince fled to Goa, and having been well received by the Portuguese there, he was also baptised by them.

*The events that took place between the two parties*

Thereupon Xavier left for Cochin to restore the position at Mannar, and from there he proceeded to Cambays to see the 'Sofa' in order to seek his assistance to extirpate this tyrant of Jaffna. Having obtained his assistance, he left in April 1545, accompanied by Jan Mansilla, with a fleet for Mannar, but his plan was frustrated by an intervening occurrence, as a Portuguese ship arriving from Pegu was tossed about by storms on the coast of Jaffna, and thereby his plan to wage war against this King till this ship was able to arrive again was foiled. In the same year Xavier sent Antoni Criminaal (one of the three priests who had also been brought to the Indies by the new Viceroy of India Joan de Castro, the first named of whom had come to the Indies with Xavier) to the Pearl Fishery, and he died there as a martyr in the company of Jan de Beyna (also one of the three priests).

Subsequently, when the King of Jaffna waged war against them, the Portuguese conquered that entire Kingdom. He revolted again soon after the Viceroy Constantyn de Saa had left for Goa, refused to pay tribute any longer, and persecuted the Christians, which he particularly did in the year 1590 when he appeared in the Bay of Mannar with a fleet of 65 sailing vessels just at the time when there were hardly 65 men in the fortress of Mannar, but he was however completely routed and retreated after he had lost several of his men.

*p. 412 (1)*

He made a further attempt in the year 1591 but was again defeated along with the Malabar troops of Sea-Rovers which assisted him, so that the Chief of the Malabars ceased to help him, and the King again took to flight and the whole of Jaffna was conquered then by the gallant Don Andrea Furtado de Mendosa, who was sent there by the Viceroy Matthias Albuquerque after the two defeats of these fleets before Mannar, as a result of which subsequently the

Portuguese, having gradually gained a greater footing in Ceylon, were afforded the opportunity of converting very many Sinhalese to their ways of life, however, we find no further information thereafter in the publications by Portuguese writers.

This was the position which had been achieved through the zeal of the Portuguese priests from time to time as long as they were the Masters here in regard to religion in Ceylon, until the Dutch conquered this Island (in so far as the maritime cities and some inland fortresses which we have mentioned earlier are concerned) and the Portuguese were driven out.

*Proclamation against the Romish priests.*

However, their priests and ministers, according to their usual custom have not neglected to sow the evil seeds of their doctrine here and there, against which the Government has had a placcaat published here dated the 12th of August 1682.

### THE REFORMED RELIGION OF CEYLON.

It is now fitting that we also make mention of the Reformed religion and the Ministers of God's Word on the Island of the Dutch (East India) Company, who, have laboured for the conversion of the Sinhalese.

**On the 6th of October 1642.** The Rev. Antonius Hornhovieus was the first of those who were called from Batavia and left Batavia to serve as the Predikant at Galle, but I have been unable to ascertain how long he served there.

On the 7th of July 1643, the Rev. Joannes Sterthemius was called to serve at Galle and departed there in the same month and remained there until the year 1645, in which year His Reverence took seriously ill and left for Batavia, where he arrived on the 24th of April that year. During his residence

there, he also had the services of a Proponent, Jacob Pieterszoon, who had died in the meantime as a result of which this Church was in great difficulties, as he had rendered much useful service during his lifetime.

**On the 26th of June 1645:** The Rev. Antonius Hilarius left for Galle, to serve as Predikant there and he remained there for several years. On the 15th of January he applied most earnestly to the Governor Jan Thyszoon Paayaart here for permission to extirpate the Mohammedan religion which had been deeply rooted here.

**On the 18th of July 1645:** the Rev. Joannes a Breyll was called to serve at Galle, but as he preferred to serve at the Coast of Coromandel, he remained there and this calling was accordingly amended and he was appointed to serve at the Coast with the approval of Batavia.

**On the 9th of September 1647:** The Church Consistory of Batavia appointed the Rev. Daniel van Arkel to serve at Galle, but His Reverence died at Batavia prior to his departure.

**On the 10th and 31st of August 1648:** The Rev. Messrs. Antonius Lenzius and Henricus Bongaard were called (i. e. appointed) to serve here, the former of whom served until the year 1650 and the latter till much later, but for how long I am unable to ascertain from any source, except that I find from Mr. Baldaeus that His Reverence had already died in the year 1671. The Rev. Mr. Lenzius, after he had been harassed and punished along with the Rev. Mr. Bongaard too, by the Hon. Mr. Maatsuyker, was sent up to Batavia and found not guilty notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Maatsuyker had reported very strongly against him; however, the whole squabble arose over the special Pensioners' Board which he wanted to introduce, which

*p. 413 (1).*

*P. 412 (2)  
The Predikants who served here from 1642 to 1658  
A. D.*

the Predikants, with good reason, opposed as there was no precedent therefor.

**In the year 1649:** The Rev. D. Hilarius was sent over to Batavia on grounds of misconduct and appeared there on the 14th of December, but it must be mentioned that this gentleman and also Rev. Mr. Lenzius were very harshly treated and persecuted with legal processes by Mr. Maatsuyker, the Governor there (who was a Jesuit at heart); wherefore not much regard was paid to such reports of Mr. Maatsuyker which the Government contrived to manipulate at his dictation, and besides that the Rev. Messrs Hilarius and Pougaard said that they had also been punished by him.

**On the 13th of September the same year:** The Rev. Antonius Stamperius was appointed to serve at Negombo, but this calling was on such a basis that he should also be regarded as a voting Member of the Church Consistory at Point de Galle. It is not clear for how long he remained there.

**In the same year:** Mr. Maatsuyker was justified against the Rev. Mr. Hilarius by his great friend Mr. Van der Lyn, although he was in the wrong, the more so, as the Batavian Predikants had forewarned Mr. Van der Lyn about his judgment.

**On the 11th of July 1651:** The Rev Franciscus Wyngaarden was sent out here from Batavia, and he remained here till the year 1655, in which year he appears to have been the Predikant of Negombo, but it is not known for how long he remained there.

**On the 26th of July 1659:** he was back again at Galle whither he was sent by Mr. Van Goens on his own authority in spite of and without the knowledge of the Church Consistory of Galle, taking upon himself that ecclesiastical role, and he left

from there for Batavia in the year 1660, where he arrived on the 28th of June with laudable testimony of his work and conduct.

**On the 26th of September 1652:** The Rev. Dominicus Vinsemius was called to serve at Galle, about p. 413 (2). whom very bad reports were read out on the 14th of October in the Church Consistory meeting at Batavia, on account of which, it appears to me, he was since recalled as I find no mention of him after that time anywhere in Ceylon.

**On the 9th of July 1655:** The Rev. Petrus Kesselerus left Batavia with the General the Hon. Mr. Gerard Hulft; but his Reverence appears to have been already dead by the 19th of October 1656.

**On the 18th of September 1656:** The Rev. Messrs. Philippus Baldaeus and Joannes Fereira D' Almeida were called to serve at Galle and they departed there on the 6th of November. The former remained there till the year 1657 and then served for a period of 8 months as Army Chaplain. His Reverence was later, in the year 1658, appointed as the first Predikant at Jaffna, where he remained for 3½ years only till the year 1661, and after that again till the year 1665. The latter (i. e. the Rev. Mr. D'Almeida) was appointed to Tutucorin in the year 1658 and remained there till the year 1663.

**On the 12th of September 1658:** Their Honours at Batavia called the Rev. Joannes a Breyl to serve at Galle, and he was transferred to Mannar in that same year and served there till the year 1661, and was then appointed to Jaffna where he remained until the year 1665, and thereafter left from Batavia for the Fatherland in the year 1668 and died on the voyage home at the Cape of Good Hope where he was also buried.

In former times there were great troubles from time to time between the Governors and the Church authorities here whom they sought to oppress, in which Mr. Maatsuyker took a prominent part, arrogating everything to himself as far as it was possible, and introducing unheard of rules for instance, that the Political Commissioner must have a separate table in the Church Consistory meetings with a red scarlet cloth (which we shall refer to again later), which even Their Honours at Batavia had never demanded for their Political Commissioner who was a Councillor of the Indies

*p. 414 (I)* And grave complaints were mutually made both to Batavia and also to the Fatherland; but during the time of Mr. Hustaart, the correspondence between Messrs. Maatsuyker and Kittensteijn and the correspondence of the Church Consistory were burnt at Galle, and all the documents from the year 1651 to 1654 too seemed to be similarly destroyed, after which there was some respite from these troubles.

In that same year there were also disputes as lots had first to be drawn whenever a Predikant had to proceed on circuit to inspect the country churches, as recorded in the minute book on the 12th of January that year; but it is not clear whether this rule was observed.

**In the year 1659:** Mr. Ryklof van Goens issued and proclaimed the following salutary placcaat for Colombo:

*A proclamation in 1659*

"The Honourable Mr. Ryklof van Goens, Co-A. D. regar-uncillor of Netherlands India, etc. and his Council send their greetings, and proclaim that Their Honours, for some time past, have earnestly given their consideration to the renown and glory and the honour of our Dutch nation, and that they

have earnestly endeavoured in every way to honourably uphold the same, and that they have therefore decided it to be most essential for this purpose to advance and establish the Dutch language, and on the contrary to destroy and abolish the Portuguese language, so that with the abolition of that language and the establishment of ours, the name and the memory of our enemies might be forgotten and replaced by that of ours; And in order to achieve this, it was decided to make a beginning with the slaves, whereby whole families, and especially young children, would quite easily be able to learn the pure language of their fathers;

Therefore every inhabitant of this Island is hereby ordered and commanded to have the hair of the heads of their slaves (both boys as well as men) who are unable to speak the Dutch language, cut short, and continue to go about in that condition without wearing hats (lit: with their heads uncovered) until such time as they are able to speak Dutch, with the warning that those who are found to have neglected to do so within 6 weeks from this date, shall pay a fine of 3 reals of eight, excluding all such slaves who know the Dutch language, who alone, and no others, shall be permitted to have long hair and wear hats; which we also consider to be necessary in the interest of the renown (lit: reputation) and the honour of the Dutch nation.

Thus done and passed in the Castle of Colombo on this 14th day of November in the year 1659.

Signed and issued on the 21st day of the same month and year.

(Signed): Ryklof van Goens.

(Lower): By order of His Excellency. Lucas van Weerden, Secretary.

observation  
thereover

This was indeed a very good placcaat and it would have been desirable that such a decision was taken in all the territories of the Hon. Company in the Indies, in order to propagate the Dutch language everywhere, and it is certain that then, after a period of 20 years, there would have been a tenfold more benefit from the work of the Predikants everywhere, and so many disputes over the languages problem would also have been avoided because several of the Predikants are now either incapable or too busy to master this or any other language, and when they happen to do so with much difficulty, then they are sometimes transferred by Their Honours to places where the language is not spoken and of no use.

If only a general order was made throughout the entire Indies for introducing the Dutch language, and that preaching should be done in no other but that language, all the Predikants would from the very outset have been in a position to be of service in every place wherever they might have happened to be sent to.

Indeed, I would say that even from now on it is desirable that no other but the Dutch language should be used and strictly established in the Indies and we would then, in a few years' time, find that the results of conversion of the heathens would everywhere be much more satisfactory, and that the expenses of the Lords Directors (of the East India Company) would also be much less than they are now; for where now (for instance) at Batavia, they are obliged to have some Predikants for the Portuguese and also some specially for the Malay congregation, they would definitely be able to do without these five Predikants, as the five Dutch Predikants would then have been able to preach to both these congregations as well as to the Dutch congregation without any prejudice to their normal duties.

p. 415(1)

And similarly too, as in Batavia, also in several other territories, where all the Predikants would then from the very outset have been able to render similar service among the native inhabitants, which now only half their number, and more often only one of them, can render (as the others do not know the language).

Besides this, Their Honours have also adopted several wrong measures and issued several rare orders, compelling persons of advanced years and those who could never have been competent in the same, to learn foreign languages, as if they were individually capable of learning languages, and as if they were obliged to do so.

*Remonstrance of the Rev. Mr. Monteau regarding the learning of a foreign language*

The Rev. Mr. Monteau was therefore sent over from Banda in the year 1675, and he then submitted a very general and clear expostulation to Their Honours at Batavia, in which he remonstrated:

(1) That the learning of languages was a voluntary work that each one who wished to undertake or found himself to be capable of doing so, undertook or not, and that no one could be compelled (as they are now) to do so, as this was a special gift from God that is not given to everyone who intends to undertake the task.

(2) And also that a special distinction in this connection should be made between young men in the bloom of their youth and men of more advanced years, as it is much easier for the former and very difficult for the latter.

(3) And also that it was never the practice of the Reformed Church to compel their Predikants to learn a language as this was not part of their duty in those days.

(4) He said that the Lords Directors (of the Company) had never issued any explicit order in this respect.

P. 415 (2).

(5) That, if it was intended to introduce this rule, then one person and not more should be selected as it was already apparent to many persons who had on several occasions been consulted thereover, and that none but those who elected to do so should be selected for the purpose. (Note by translator: The context of this clause is not quite clear).

(6) That, although nearly all of them are now required to do so, not all of them would therefore be equally capable of learning foreign languages, as experience has sufficiently shown that not even one out of ten has excelled in this connection.

(7) That the learning of a foreign language had given much more work for many Predikants than all their other normal duties, and that it was therefore best that (the services of) such young men who had a desire and were capable of doing so should be made use of for this purpose, and not men of advanced years of those who possess neither the desire nor the gift of God for the learning of languages.

(8) Besides, it was apparent from experience how little results had been achieved from the study of languages by those who had already excelled in the same.

This remonstrance, though indeed very reasonable in itself, was of no avail to His Reverence, as Mr. Hurdt, who proceeded to Java as General of the Army, did not take him along with him as Army Chaplain, for it was decided on the contrary to send him to the Fatherland without an appointment because he had refused to learn such a language.

If this gentleman had been here somewhat earlier, or had been able to see what happened ear-

lier, he would indeed have been able to add as a 9th clause that as there were already men who had the desire and the ability not only to be able to preach in a foreign language, but even also to spend their leisure hours in translating the entire Bible without remuneration or any demur (which was indeed most essential for the conversion of the heathens), they should then not have let such industrious men sit down with their translated Bibles without publishing them, in which connection the evil desires and jealousy of various individuals (which I am well aware of) have caused extraordinary harm and damage.

p. 416 (1)

This has been, and is even now, evident in the case of the translation of the Old Testament into Portuguese by the Rev. Mr. Ferreira and my own translation of the Bible into the low Malay language, which, notwithstanding the fact that I have preached for so many years in this language, and not without praise and good results in my congregations (as will be seen from my certificate of discharge which is mentioned under Amboina), however had to be put off on account of an erroneous predisposition by Their Honours for the High Malay language (on the bare statement of the Rev. Mr. Leydekker and his two brothers-in-law Messrs. de Haas and van Riebeeck, who were Councillors in ordinary of the Indies at the time, but were not qualified to express an opinion over this language) and on account of an unreasonable preference for the translation of Mr. Lydekker, which, in order to please Their Honours was rendered in the High Malay language, which was not understandable and unreadable by the Christians everywhere, while both the work of Mr. Leydekker as well as my own thus remained unpublished there as if all this labour was useless, whereas there was no sense of responsibility in this respect before God or the world, since either one of these two works, or even both of them together (as I have always considered it fitting to

respect the work of Mr. Leydekker with as much regard as my own) should have been published long ago for the benefit of the Christians there and elsewhere.

This was the fate of my Bible and that of the late Mr. Leydekker, regarding which it would perhaps be said that they were not published owing to differences of opinion which had arisen over the two languages, but there is really no doubt whatsoever that Mr. Leydekker was a very able Dutch Predikant, but one who had no talent to be able to preach in Malay and who did not understand and had never preached, in fact could not preach, in the Malay language which was preached everywhere in the territories of the Hon. Company in a manner that was understandable to the native inhabitants, nor could he be compared with me who for so many years past had preached with such commendation and results and so understandably, and with whose knowledge of the Malay language the Lords Seventeen were therefore fully satisfied and are still satisfied (as they have once privately been pleased to acknowledge), and have even given permission to Their Honours in the Indies, to decide that either he or any other Predikants, for well over a hundred years now, preach in this difficult language (which is an unfounded statement as the Dutch language would also be a difficult language as compared with the pure High Dutch) language, or whether it should not be tolerated now in the East and at Batavia, as it is everywhere well known. (Note: by translator: The context of this sentence is not quite clear).

p 416 (2)

And, is it the difference of opinion over these two languages that was really the reason why the Portuguese translation of the Old Testament by the Rev. Mr. Ferreira, over which there was no dispute whatsoever, was not published? It was due to noth-

ing else but gross indifference and disregard for the labours of assiduous Predikants, lack of zeal for the work of conversion among the heathens, and (instead of reward for the worker) a bitter feeling of jealousy by some who wished rather to see such works burnt than published, although they were fully convinced of the benefits of the same, and that too merely because they were envious of the mere renown which would have accrued to such zealous persons when they themselves were incapable or not disposed to undertake such work which would have been a burden to them.

And now, to comment briefly on the study of languages here: from the Church records of Batavia we were able to see that Their Honours had expressly ordered Messrs Op den Akker and Thornton (both of whom had already acquired a good knowledge of the Portuguese language and preached in the same for several years) that they should in the future also preach in the Dutch language, although both of them declared that they were unable to do so (which especially could not be demanded in the case of the very aged Mr. Op den Akker, a man who was then 70 years old), since they had throughout the years studied in the Portuguese language, and it was no longer possible for them to be able to express themselves as freely and as fluently in Dutch as they were able to do in the Portuguese language, but all their pleas were of no avail, and the Supreme Government insisted in upholding that General Order, wherefore they against all reason were compelled to comply with the same: a circumstance, the like of which I have never heard of any precedent in the seven United Provinces or elsewhere, where the Supreme Government has ever ordered an English, French or Scottish Predikant (for example) to preach other than in the language in which he was proficient and in which he had several years of experience and preached in, nor to preach in the (Dutch, lit:



Low German) or in any other language, an order) P. 416(1) (a) which several persons certainly could not comply with, because each person had to be proficient in his own language.

It would have been much better and more unobtrusive if Their Excellencies had left the matter of languages to remain *in statu quo*, but ordered all district Governors to introduce the Dutch Language only in the future, and then there would have been a hope of much greater benefit from the services of employees everywhere than ever before, and then the printing of all Bibles too, being unnecessary, would have automatically been eliminated and thus this expenditure and all the expenses, both of the printing of the same, as well as (the maintenance of) so many native teachers of these particular languages could have been avoided.

*Predikants who served from 1660 to 1664 A.D.* Now that we have made these incidental observations, we shall proceed further to (give details of) the years of appointment of the various Predikants who were sent out here.

#### The 30th of August 1660.

The Rev. Ludovicus Bogaard at Batavia, who was called to serve in Ceylon, was appointed in the same year as the First Predikant at Colombo, but I am unable to say how long His Reverence remained there or where he was transferred to thereafter as I am unable to find any record thereof.

#### The 18th of October 1660.

The Rev. Gerardus Helkenburg, who was also called to serve in Ceylon and was also stationed at Colombo the same year, where he remained till the year 1662, when he died there. He was then succeeded for some time by the Rev. Henricus Wallius after he had first proceeded to Cochin with the

Hon. Mr. Van Goens, when he fell ill on the journey to Cochin and was sent from there to Ceylon. I am not certain as to how long the Rev. Mr. Wallius stayed here, but I know that he was later appointed to Cochin.

#### The 22nd of August 1661.

The Rev. Joannes Nathanael Donker and another Predikant, whose name is not given, were called to serve in Ceylon. The Rev. Mr. Donker was stationed at Colombo, and was sent from there without a charge on the 28th of January to Batavia and arrived there on the 26th of February.

#### p. 416.(1)(b) The 24th of July 1662.

The Rev. Messrs. Antonius Scherius and Gosuinus Slipperius arrived here. They were both stationed at Colombo, from where the former was sent in the year 1669 to Batavia for misconduct, and from there again to Cochin, but the latter was in the same year that he arrived stationed at Colombo, and also thereafter died in the year 1668, but where the former continued (to serve) or how he fared and where he went thereafter, I do not know.

And it appears that in this same year the Rev. Cornelius Caletus was sent out, but I am unable to give any further details regarding His Reverence.

#### In the year 1663.

The Rev. Joannes Ferreira a De Almeida was called over from Tutucorin to the Portuguese Church at Batavia and arrived there on the 1st of May.

On the 9th of July the opportunity was again afforded in the Indies, and the Rev. Balthasar Obie de Meter was called to serve in Ceylon; he remained that year at Colombo and left in the year 1664 as Predikant to Cochin, where he died, as will be seen in our description of Malabar.

## The 12th of August 1664

The Rev. Messrs. Jacobus Maxwell and Bartholomeus Heynen were called over to serve here by Their Excellencies. The former was stationed at Colombo in that same year, and remained there till the year 1668; but the Rev. Mr. Heynen was in the same year stationed for a short time at Galle and at Jaffna, but for how long I do not know. Later, he was again stationed at Galle, where he continued to serve till the year 1676. His Reverence was born at Paraiba in the West Indies, and he came out in the "Waxing Moon" in the year 1664.

*The rarely occupied seat of the Political Commissioner here.*

## In the year 1665, and on the 11th February 1666.

The members of the Church Consistory of Colombo arrived in the vestry, where they observed a red scarlet cloth, two ells in length, at the upper end of the table. The Political Commissioner Mr. Isaac de St Martin, was asked from where this new custom and mode of procedure was introduced, whereupon he replied that the Honourable Admiral of the Fleet Superintendent Mr. Ryclof van Goens had ordered the same and at the same time he said that he wished to know whether Their Reverences had any objection to it; whereupon they respectfully replied that on this occasion they would certainly obey it as a definite order of His Excellency the Admiral of the Fleet, (which they also then did), but that otherwise they in no way approved of it, firstly since it was without any precedent in the Indies, or at Batavia (where there was a Council for the Indies), or in the Fatherland (i. e. Holland), and on the other hand also because it was entirely and already introduced without the knowledge of the Church Consistory; and thirdly, because this was not a matter which could be decided by a particular church, and about which they were bound firstly to consult with

*P.416 (2)(a).*

the other churches in the Indies and also with the churches in the Fatherland.

## In the beginning of the year 1667.

The Rev. Joannes de Voogd came out here from the Fatherland and was stationed at Colombo, and left again from there for the Fatherland in the year 1679.

*Order issued in the year 1667 in the Church Consistory*

## The 12th of July 1667.

The Hon. Mr. Goens (caused to be) delivered a new set of instructions, which was drawn up on the 25th of December 1665, and approved by Their Excellencies (at Batavia), which the Church Consistory desired to have, being notes of advice for the Deacons, etc.; but no reply was received at the time regarding the seating arrangements at the aforementioned table of the Political Commissioner.

## The 18th of July:

The Rev. Jacobus Burenus was called over to serve here by Their Excellencies and was stationed at Galle, and it does not appear to me that he was stationed anywhere else in Ceylon until the year 1676, except that His Reverence appears in the notes of the proceedings of the Classis at Colombo in the year 1668.

*Result of the (enquiry regarding) aforementioned seat.*

## The 28th of December:

The Hon. Mr. Van Goens made a suggestion to the Church Consistory of Colombo that the Political Commissioner should have a separate table, covered with a long red cloth; whereupon the Church Consistory replied that they could not approve of it as it was never the custom of the Supreme Government of the Indies, that they rather believed it to be an honour due to

Their High Mightinesses (i. e. in Holland) but never a privilege due to the Political Commissioner of p. 416(2)(b). Colombo.

The Hon. Mr. van Goëns thereupon replied that this was in fact very often the custom in former times, especially in the year 1650 when the Hon. Mr. Maatsuyker had introduced this custom at Galle, (as will be seen from an old process, i. e. suit, of the Rev. Mr. Lenzius against him in this respect), on the ground that he had come over has a Pansionary.

The Church Consistory of Colombo wrote in this connection to the churches of Jaffna, Galle, etc; but they were of the opinion that all this was quite unnecessary, which having been notified by the Church Consistory of Colombo to the Hon. Mr. van Goëns, His Honour replied that he then, for the peace of the Church, would drop the matter; but this cost the Rev. Mr. Maxwell his dismissal to Batavia, that year, which he then requested and also received on the 20th of January 1668.

#### The 29th of August:

The Rev. Servatius Clavius was called over to serve here, and in the same year (1667), he was stationed at Jaffna, where he served till the year 1670, and was then called to serve as Predikant at Batavia.

In this year, the Rev. Arnoldus Oorschot arrived here on the ship "De Wassende Maan" (the waxing moon), and was stationed at Colombo, and similarly too the Rev. Joannes de Voogd.

#### In the year 1668:

The Rev. Jacob Corf arrived here, who was stationed at Colombo, and in the beginning of this year, the Rev. Mr. Manoel who was ill departed and arrived

in this condition on the 23rd of April at Batavia, the more so as His Reverence could not get on with the Hon. Mr. Van Goëns, and because he saw a dark cloud hanging over him which he never expected, namely: the meeting of the Classis in Colombo which was fixed for the 14th of March, at which all wrongs it was said would be rectified although everything took quite a different turn. It consisted of the Predikants of Colombo, Jaffna and Galle, the Political Commissioner being present, and it was held on the order of the Hon. Mr. Van Goëns, Governor of Ceylon, Admiral, Superintendent, Special Commissioner, and Councillor in Ordinary of the Indies.

*Classis held  
in Ceylon in  
1668 A. D.*

This Class lasted for 16 days, in the mornings and afternoons.

#### P.416 (3)(a). On the 14th of March:

The case of the Proponent Joannes Tholi was discussed.

#### On the morning of the 15th of March:

The discussion was over the decision that the opinions of the Governor should be respected and in the afternoon the discussion was about the circulation of Church documents.

#### On the 16th of March:

The discussion was about the reply to certain expressions of opinion and about the definition of words, necessary knowledge, etc., and,

In the afternoon, about the exemption and application of the 39 Articles of the Batavian Church Order, and about the request for an extract thereof.

#### On the 19th of March:

Both in the morning and in the afternoon, again about the case of (the Proponent) Mr. Tholi, over which 20 Articles were drawn up.

**On the 20th of March:**

The discussions were about the matter of the renewing of Catechism classes and about the affairs of the Diaconate, and also about the reforming of certain Church errors, about the calling of of the Rev. Mr. Heynens and his Church testimonial and about a certain requirement in the Article and the Act of the year 1659; and

In the afternoon, the demand for coolies or work-slaves that were needed for the school visits and inspections.

**On the 23rd of March:**

In the morning: about the affairs of the Diaconate.

**On the 26th of March:**

Some special observations over the same were discussed.

**On the 28th of March:**

The matter of the languages was discussed and measures devised for not introducing the Portuguese language, in compliance with the Placcaat of the year 1659, in order to do away with the influence of the Portuguese nation, the comments wherever were most remarkable; and

In the afternoon, the entire Church Order of the year 1659 was revised and approved.

**P. 416(3) (b) On the 30th of March:**

A special item concerning the calling of the Rev. Mr. Clavius was discussed.

**On the 3rd April:**

The discussions were about the perusal and reading over of the Formulary for marriage, bap-

tism, and procedure of visitations, or the visiting and admission of Church members, their preparation therefor, and other relevant matters.

In the afternoon, the Political Commissioner was asked whether he had any suggestions to offer on behalf of the Government, and he answered in the negative; then, after a mutual exchange of thanks, the Classis ended; a brief draft of the proceedings was drawn up and signed by the following persons:-

Antonius Scheerlus, Predikant at Galle, President.  
 Jacobus Burenus, Predikant at Colombo, Scriba.  
 Arnoldus Oorschot, Predikant at Colombo, Assessor.  
 Servatius Clavius, Predikant at Jaffna.  
 Mr. Michiel Dibbet )  
 Elders  
 Mr. Benjamin Belyn )

*The Predikants who served from 1668 to 1704 A. D.* The Rev. Messrs. Jacobus Schee and Jacobus Corf arrived here. The former was stationed at Galle, but for how long I do not know. The latter was stationed at Colombo, for how long I do not know; but the latter was later stationed at Galle and died there in the year 1671.

In this year, the Rev. Nicolaas Agotha was also sent over here and was stationed at Galle; he was stationed at Negombo in the years 1696 and 1697, but was again appointed to Galle, and died there in the year 1718.

**In the year 1669.**

The Rev. Laurentius Hemling arrived here and was stationed at Colombo, where he remained till the year 1657 (n. b. this is an error in printing perhaps for 1675 probably) and then left for Batavia.

**In the year 1671:**

The Rev. Simon Cat came out and was stationed at Colombo. He was released from office in the year 1694 on account of old age, and died there in the year 1704.

There also arrived here the Rev. Mr. Corf and the Proponent Mr. Tholi had also already died earlier.

In this year too all the members of the Political Council were removed from the Church Consistory and exchanged for others.

**In the year 1674:**

The Rev. Hermanus Specht arrived here, and he departed from Colombo for the Fatherland in the year 1691.

**On the 15th of October 1675:**

The Rev. Messrs David Farry and Lucas Busch ab Os, former Predikant at Everdingen in the Classis of Buuren, were called to serve here.

The former was stationed at Colombo, but I am not aware for how long His Reverence remained there; but the latter remained there only from the 18th of January 1676 till the 30th of March and then left for the Coast (of India).

**On the 31st of August 1676.**

The Rev. Marcus Masius was called over to serve here and was stationed then at Negombo. He was relieved of his office in the year 1691 on account of old age, and died at Colombo on the 23rd of April 1706.

The Rev. Theodorus Cloppenburg too had already died a year earlier. He was stationed here at Negombo before he died in the year 1675, though some seem to think that he died in the year 1678; but it is not known when he arrived here. The Rev. Mr. Heynen too left from Galle for Batavia in the year 1676.

**On the 5th of September 1678.**

The Rev. Joannes Fredericus Stumphius was called to serve at Jaffna by Their Excellencies (i. e. at Batavia) and was also stationed there in that same year; but he was sent up in the year 1680 to Batavia without dimission or Church testimonial (i. e. attestatie), arrived there on the 26th of August, and had much difficulties thereover; but on the 16th of January 1681 he was again sent over to Ceylon by Their Excellencies to get his testimonial and then leave for the Fatherland, unless he might become reconciled there, after which his services could be employed there or elsewhere. He died here in the year 1692 or 1693.

The Rev. Jacobus op den Akker also arrived in the year 1679 and was stationed at Jaffna at that time, and he continued there till the year 1687, and was then in July that year called over from there to serve the Portuguese congregation at Batavia, but he departed there in the year 1688.

In the year 1679, the Rev. Mr. Clavius was transferred from Jaffna to serve the Dutch Church at Batavia and then also departed there.

At this time the Rev. Adrianus de Mey was also appointed to Jaffna, but it is not known when he arrived there. He is mentioned further under the year 1682.

**The 22nd of September 1681:**

The Rev. Joannes Coiterus was called to serve here by Their Excellencies (i. e. at Batavia). After his arrival he was stationed at Jaffna in that same year and remained there till the year 1686, when His Reverence left for Batavia, where he arrived on the 27th of May. He then appears to have left for the Fatherland, and we find that he had come out again in the year 1699.

**In the year 1682:**

It would also appear to me that the Rev. Adrianus de Mey has been at Jaffna (as mentioned before), but when he arrived here I do not know, and he was Rector of the Tamil Seminary there, (that he was released from his work in the year 1692), and with much merit (lit: praise or commendation) died on the 28th of February 1699; but he appears to us to have served on the Coast (of India) once again before his death.

**The 27th of August 1685:**

The Rev. Messrs: Feico Wylsma and Adrianus Bakker were sent over here. They were both stationed at Jaffna, the former in that same year, but for how long I do not know; but the Rev. Mr. Bakker was appointed to serve there in the year 1686, and was sent to (serve at) the Coast (of India) in the year 1687, and he was called over from there to (serve) the Dutch Church at Batavia.

**In the year 1686:**

The Rev. Messrs: Francois Chasse and Conradus Croonenburg came over to Ceylon from the Fatherland and they were both stationed at Jaffna. The former died here on the 7th of May 1694, and the latter in the year 1687.

**In the year 1687:**

*p.416 (5)(a).* The Rev. Isaac van der Bank arrived here and was then stationed at Colombo, and he died there in the year 1703. He had already been released from his duties in the year 1695 in order to serve as Rector of the Sinhalese Seminary.

**In the year 1688:**

The Rev. Mr. de Mey was sent over from here to the Coast (of India) or Negapatnam for some

time (i. e. temporarily), where he remained until the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Clement: he really wished very much to remain there, but this was refused. He came here once again to Jaffna in the year 1690.

**In the year 1690:**

The Rev. Nicolaus Livius came to Ceylon and was stationed at Galle, and was drowned there in the year 1691.

**On the 3rd of April 1692:**

The Rev. Messrs: Thomas van Simey and Philippus de Vriest were called to serve here, and on the 28th of the same month, the Rev. Regnerus Croonenburg, and also the Rev. Messrs: Gerardus Hakoma, Rudolphus Meerland and Joannes Romans.

The Rev. Mr. van Simey was stationed at Jaffna in the year 1694, and sent from there to Galle, in the year 1697, and appointed to Colombo in the year 1699, from where he left for Batavia in the year 1700.

The Rev. Mr. de Vriest was stationed at Jaffna in the year 1692, and he was appointed as Rector of the Tamil Seminary there in the year 1694. In the year 1699 he got involved in disputes and was sent up to Batavia, but in the year 1700 he came back here again as Rector (i. e. of the Seminary at Jaffna), left for Colombo in the year 1702, and according to the latest information, he was still there in the year 1722.

The Rev. Mr. Croonenburg was stationed at Matara in the year 1692, but was transferred from there in the year 1697 to Jaffna; in the year 1697 again he was at Matara, and in the year 1698 at Galle, from which place His Reverence left for Batavia in the year 1700.

The Rev. Mr. Hakoma was stationed at Galle in the year 1692, where he remained until the year 1697, and then left for Matara where he remained till the year 1698, and was then stationed at Jaffna from where he left in the year 1699 for Batavia and also later for the Fatherland.

The Rev. Mr. Meerland (having come over here from Cochin), was stationed at Colombo in the year 1692, where he died in the same year (1692).

The Rev. Mr. Roman was stationed at Jaffna in the year 1692, and left for Batavia in the year 1699.

In the same year (1692) or the year before the Rev. Joannes Ruel too arrived here and was stationed at Colombo in the year 1692, and he died there *p. 416(5)(b)* in the month of May 1701. It will be observed hereafter that he was amazingly proficient in the Sinhalese language.

#### In the year 1694:

The Rev. Hermanus Specht was stationed at Colombo and he died there in the year 1697.

#### In the year 1696:

The Rev. Joannes Coiterus comes out to Ceylon again from the Fatherland, was stationed at Jaffna, and died there on the 14th of July 1699.

It is said that round about this period, and even perhaps 30 years earlier, there were already in this Island 200,000 Christians, and as the Hon. Mr. de Heere says in a letter to the Hon. Mr. Collaart, there were as many as 230,500 Christians, who were proficient in the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Prayers, etc., for whose ministration ten or twelve were able to be of very little help, which is the case throughout the whole of the Indies, where there are so few labourers for so rich a harvest.

#### In the year 1699:

At the end of this year, or in the beginning of the year 1700, the Rev. Gerardus de Oude arrived here from Cochin, and was appointed to Jaffna on the 1st of February 1700 in place of the deceased Rector the Rev. Mr. de Mey, when he was succeeded in the year 1701 again by the Rev. Mr. de Vriest as Rector, and he continued to remain here till the year 1703, when His Reverence was appointed to Colombo, and died there in the year 1720.

#### The 11th of October 1700:

The Rev. Philippus Goting was called over from Malacca to serve here and was stationed at Colombo, and he remained there till the year 1705 when he left for Cochin.

#### On the 17th of July 1702:

The Rev. Messrs. Francois van de Sande and Arnoldus Swem were called to minister here, the former of whom was stationed at Jaffna in that same year and he died there in the year 1705.

The Rev. Mr. Swem was stationed at Galle in the year 1702 and remained there till the year 1711, when he left for the Fatherland, and he died at Hoorn a few years later.

*p. 416(6)(a)* In that same year (1702), the Rev. Nicolaus Rimersma also arrived here and was stationed at Colombo at that time, and he remained there until the year 1711, when he too left for the Fatherland and now resides at Leyden.

#### In the year 1703:

The Lords Seventeen (i. e. in Holland) made certain decisions in regard to the Seminary, as will be seen in the following extract:-

**Extract from the Resolutions of the Lords Seventeen at Amsterdam on the afternoon of Thursday the 28th of June 1703.**

*Resolution of the Lords Seventeen regarding 6 Proponents and regarding the printing of the Rev. Mr. Ruel's Grammar.*

In the proceedings at the Hague on the 7th of May last, having deliberated in detail over matters regarding the Seminary or Training Schools in Ceylon, namely: one at Jaffna and one at Colombo, and the hopes and prospects expected from them, and suggestions as to what action was deemed to be necessary for the improvement and progress of these institutions, which had declined consequent on the death of their Rectors and Wardens; after mature deliberation with a view to remedying such misfortunes and taking advantage of their benefits, (it was resolved that) six young capable persons be sent out, firstly to learn the languages in use there, namely: the Tamil language at Jaffna and the Sinhalese language at Colombo, and that they be distributed so that thereby, in the course of time, not only School masters and Comforters of the Sick (Siekentroosters), but also Proponents and Predikants may be trained for the further instruction of these native inhabitants and others in their own languages; in the hope that the Synods of these lands, in order to meet the urgent needs of the present, would desist from their sustained opinion, namely: that the Churches in the Indies would not be capable, as it has been experienced from times long past in those lands that they have not, and especially too by the English in their colonies in the West Indies and those regions, to train Proponents, and much less any Predikants; But if the said Synods, beyond all (our) expectations, would not be able to be weaned away from such opinions, that they should nevertheless proceed to do so, and succeed in the foregoing plan.

That further, the grammar compiled by the Predikant Mr. Ruel in the Dutch and Sinhalese

languages conjointly should be printed and sent over there for this purpose.

(Below): Collated and signed by: E. Schot.

(Certified by): J. Brouse, first clerk.

*The Rev. Mr. Sinjeu in the year 1704.*

**In the year 1704:**

The Rev. Petrus Sinjeu arrived here and was stationed at Colombo, where His Reverence was appointed as Rector of the Sinhalese Seminary in the year 1705, and was still officiating in that capacity in the year 1722. His Reverence also preached once in every fortnight.

*Observations regarding measures for remedying of the Churches and Schools*

But before passing over from this year (1704) to the following year, we shall, in order to give some further indication of the state of the churches and schools here, first intercalate the following matters (all of which took place during the administration of the Hon. Mr. Simons, an ardent supporter, lit: foster-father, of the Church, as they would generally afford much enlightenment.

This Honourable Governor of Ceylon, having learnt from the Rev. Predikants there about the poor state of the Churches and Schools, requested them to furnish him with a report for their reform (lit: restoration), in order to do what he could to help them in the same, which they delivered over to His Excellency in the following form

*P. 417 (I)*

**To:** The Right Honourable Mr. Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon with the dependencies thereof.  
Right Honourable Sir,

Since Your Honour has been pleased to order us to submit in writing our recommendations regarding the measures whereby we consider that the decline of native Christianity could further be checked



and restored in some way, we therefore could not neglect to comply with Your Honour's order in this connection.

Since it is so evident now that all institutions cannot be better conserved or restored again from decay by any other means than according to the principles on which they were originally founded, we are there of the opinion (subject to your wise judgment) that at the outset this could be achieved by no better means than by following the old style and orders which produced good results in former times.

There are two things which could provisionally be given consideration: the first, regarding the work of the schoolmasters, and the second, the work of the Predikants.

(1) As regards the schoolmasters: it would not be unprofitable seriously to order them to see that their school-children attend at school regularly, that they learn the prayers and catechisms diligently, and that those who are knowledgeable are assiduously instructed in the wellknown fundamentals of Reformed Christianity.

That they should also see that the inhabitants, as far as possible, attend at Church on Sundays, and after the reading and the performance of the other exercises of public worship and practices of former times, that those who have reached their years of discretion are diligently catechised on the fundamentals of the Christian faith, and that those who have been discharged from school too are made to repeat what they had learnt before in the schools and further instructed in whatever they still do not know.

In order to do so more successfully, we consider that it is firstly beneficial that the masters in their

p. 417(2)

questions and their instruction adhere strictly to the old Catechism with the general consent of the Ceylon Churches and as approved by the Supreme Government, and former usage, because in it the fundamentals of the Christian faith are simply presented and the inhabitants are already accustomed to the same, whereas, on the contrary, the new Catechism is more cumbersome and difficult for the simple folk to understand, and therefore the inhabitants learn nothing or very little therefrom, the more so since the present schoolmasters have unanimously confessed at the last Scholarchal meeting that they themselves are not able to read or understand the same thoroughly.

We do not mean that the new Catechism, which we consider to be a good and most useful work, should therefore be rejected and not made use of: this could be left over for those who by learning from the old Catechism have now reached the stage to be able to proceed to the study of the new, or that it be made use of for the reading and further study by adults.

It could also be used by the schoolmaster for further explanation of the fundamentals of the Christian religion, whereby he himself could, with the added instruction of the Predikants, be more capable to instruct his school-children and village folk better on the fundamentals.

It would also be necessary that the schoolmasters be strictly ordered to maintain an accurate roll of the Christians, adults, those who have been discharged from school, newly-born school children, and those who had died, each in his school, in order to be able to register their names, those who do not attend at school or at Church, and report to the Predikants which children in each school have to be baptised.

It would also be useful, in order to maintain good discipline and to urge on the native Christians, and also to avert abuses that may creep in, that the penalties and fines prescribed in former times be again enforced, but with discretion, the benefit of which could be more amply indicated.

And in order now to see that the schoolmasters perform their duties properly and to make them do so more efficiently, we consider it to be useful that according to the old custom the School Board meetings be held once in every two months, when all the schoolmasters must attend, not only to render a due report of the marriages and the disputes arising therefrom, or, if necessary, with further elucidation thereof, but also to report on the state of their respective schools.

p. 418 (1).

And also that the Master and the Assistant Masters, and from the far distant churches the Masters or Assistant masters in alternate turns, come up every month to be questioned and instructed by the Predikants, which would serve as a means of seeing how each Master is progressing and encouraging mutual competition among them and improving their knowledge generally so that the instruction given in the schools would be on a better footing.

(2). The regular inspection of the schools by the Predikants must also be considered as a very useful means of encouraging both the schoolmasters as well as the inhabitants in their studies and improving their knowledge of the true faith.

We therefore consider that it would be most beneficial if the visits could be carried out according to the former practice, namely: regularly every three months.

The duty of the Predikants at the inspection is not only to solemnise baptism and marriages,

but also to attend circumspectly to all necessary matters, and to examine and instruct the school-children and the adults in the fundamentals of the Reformed Christian faith.

For this purpose they should, for the reasons mentioned earlier restrict themselves in the first instance to the old catechism in their examination both of the school-children as well as the adults.

They could conveniently do this by explaining the fundamentals of the Reformed religion according to the principles contained in the old Catechism.

They should not disturb these native Christians with extraordinary questions and controversies, which are not discussed among Christians except by chance occasionally of which these plain folk are ignorant.

They should also take good care in their instruction about the true or false groundings which may have been imparted to the Sinhalese or Tamils in this respect.

These false groundings must be regarded as the greatest hindrance to the propagation of Christianity among these country folk; it is therefore necessary before everything else to root out these false groundings, wherefore then idolatry, exorcism and caste differences must be destroyed as a principle in religion.

And since these people undoubtedly have had true groundings which they do not strictly observe nor appropriately live up to, it is therefore necessary to consider this very circumspectly, and to begin p. 418 (2). from there further to deduce the hidden facts therein, and also add to this whatever else is necessary from the Christian point of view.

Besides what we have already recommended above, we could mention several other essential matters, and demonstrate several items from the

resolutions of the School Board approved by the Governor in previous years which have been successfully adopted earlier, and indicate what measures should be further taken in order to ensure successful results; but since we are unable to appropriately accomplish this owing to the shortness of time before Your Excellency's departure to Jaffna, we shall therefore, with Your Excellency's approval suspend this until such times as we are afforded a better opportunity. Meanwhile, we consider (subjecting our opinions to your wise judgment), that if the recommendations already made by us are provisionally put into effect and carried out, it would be sufficient primarily to help in putting these poor ignorant folk on a better footing in regard to instruction.

Hoping that these recommendations of ours would be acceptable to Your Excellency, we beg respectfully to remain,

Your Excellency's obedient servants:

(Signed): Philippus Goting, Gerardus de Oude, N. Riemersma, Marcus Majius and Petrus Synjeu.

Colombo, 18th March 1704.

Certified by: C. Teay, 1st clerk.

*Special observations of the Rev. Mr. Synjeu* After the aforesaid general opinions on the state of the churches and schools and the measures for restoring the decline in the same, the Rev. Mr. Synjeu also handed over his special comments to Governor Mr. Simons in the following letter:

p. 419(1). **To:** His Excellency the Honourable Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon with the dependencies thereof.  
Right Honourable Sir,

Our proposals regarding the schools in this district of Colombo, which were delivered to Your

Excellency on the 12th of November 1704 refer only to the duties of the Predikants and the present schoolmasters in the country, as the circumstances of the times and events afforded no other means for the conversion of the heathen.

But when the Seminary is reformed, this would open a positive way for the means of the conversion, or at least, more effectively help to bring about the same. I therefore, on the one hand consider it my duty, and, on the other hand, Your Excellency will not misunderstand it, that I follow up the previous recommendations with these my further opinions.

It is apparent that one cannot fight with arms alone, but that able and experienced men are also needed.

I consider that Sinhalese heathendom is either wholly or partly an enemy who must be resisted in order to compel them to surrender and embrace the Christian Religion, that weapons are competent and convincing measures for the stamping out of heathenism and the building up of the Christian faith but as everyone cannot bear these arms nor use them appropriately, my thoughts therefore now pass over to the need for having good personnel in order to achieve this aim with the blessings of the Almighty.

The measures by which the enemy should be treated, how weak or strong he may be, is what weapons should be used and would give the best results against him, and also according to whose demands and orders they will have to be supplied, and have been demonstrated by us in the foregoing recommendations, to which we would entirely refer you since there has been no reason for altering them subsequently, so I shall pass on the personnel which will be needed for this battle.

We shall begin by eliminating some persons who are not suitable for carrying out this work effectively, and propose suitable subjects or personnel for the purpose and the numbers of the same, and finally give reasons why we consider these measures to be more effective and require so great a number of personnel.

p. 419 (2).

(1) This work cannot be accomplished by the services of the present Masters, because these men, though they are obliged to do school work, however, in the course of time are able to do and will go further and further and neglect their time and even their regular duty, and losing efficiency thereby are not desirable for the purpose;

Which also cannot be achieved by their monthly attendance and instruction which they would then have the benefit of, as will be evident from the following question itself: "What could one expect from Masters who are examined 12 times in the year, which can be achieved even by their examination four times a year (if the inspection is done without interruption)? But it may be said that then there would be so great an interval between one examination and the other, and they would miss all the means of assistance. I think that the Masters would not act in this manner like schoolchildren; and consequently

(2) Nor can it be accomplished by the inspection of the schools every 3 months by the Ministers. Granting that the inspection is done every 3 months and at each inspection the school children and those who have been discharged from school are instructed, there would then be four periods of instruction in the year; against which I would quote by way of example, that then from the point of view of the time of the Ministers, that they cannot be expected to perform their preaching duties and other work (not to mention that the

experience of so many successive years has convinced me and confirmed my opinion). From certain matters of doctrine) to be introduced in Sinhalese, I would say more affirmatively that it is absolutely necessary now, according to the foregoing recommendations of September and October 1704: but we must investigate here the personnel, the subjects and their capacity for carrying out this great object, and this is beyond our aim.

I therefore think that it must legitimately be admitted, because apart from these subjects (men) there are no others, and in these circumstances, there is no hope of any desirable results or complete victory that the necessary means or subjects (i. e. persons) have hitherto not been made use of and we must therefore, with good reason, seek other means, in order to be assured of the hope of achieving the desired success.

Having rejected these then, I am convinced that such subjects (i. e. persons) could be drawn out only from the Seminary, which is also the laudable object of our Lords Superiors that Masters for the schools should be recruited from the pupils there.

But since the number of students (in the Seminary) is limited to not more than 24, I therefore take the liberty most respectfully to submit to Your Excellency that this number should be increased to 60 at least, as these Masters have to cater to the needs of not only the district of Colombo but also those of Galle and Matara, and this cannot be done by the Proponents alone owing to the great number of the schools.

It is obvious that these should be the persons and as indicated, in my opinion, their cadre should be definitely fixed at this number.

When these pupils reach a degree of proficiency, these two difficulties, as demonstrated above,

would be removed; for when they are proficient, they could perform their duties as required of them and a visiting Minister would then be able to do more work with them than is now done during a whole year;

And their monthly attendance too would likewise be of the greatest benefit.

I shall not comment on the work of the Proponents who have been appointed from the pupils (of the Seminary) as this is outside my present object (or aim).

If we review the reasonableness and the advantages of recruiting Masters from the (pupils at the) Seminary, this number should also be conditionally appointed:

(1) None of the Kanakapulles (or Scribes who assist the Predikants) here are fit for their duties, for although all of them possess a knowledge of the commonly spoken Sinhalese language, very much more is expected of them, and they are not conversant with the subject in order to be able to do the necessary interpreting. We could do without these Kanakapulles by replacing them with such men (referred to above), and have the services of two persons who can be set apart for the necessary work of interpreting.

The Ministers would then have no need for the services of the Kanakapulles, as these Masters could do those duties with the competence required for the same, whereby, at the same time, a difficulty of no little magnitude would also be avoided, namely: that a Predikant who is not sufficiently competent to express himself in Portuguese would however be able to have it interpreted to him, and nothing would be lost thereby: and "What have Hollanders to do with the Portuguese language?"

(2) These masters could also be employed in translating passages or portions of the Holy Scriptures into Sinhalese, and in presenting and copying them, in which matter we have hitherto experienced so many difficulties, and for which work, as we have mentioned, these present kanakapulles are incompetent.

p. 420 (2). These men (i. e. the Masters) will also then have free access to all the Dutch documents and books whereby they would be in a position to improve themselves, and whereas they were previously deprived of the opportunity of conversing directly with a Minister (which they were hitherto unable to do, and the desired fruits of the heavy expenses and the objects of the Company were not achieved. This then is the sort of persons who are required for the knowledge and the ability in order to achieve this object, namely: the conversion of the heathens.

The numbers of persons, owing to the reasons mentioned and the great number of schools (which are about 70 in number) will then have to be admitted into the Seminary, since without this type of Masters, I reckon that the desired results cannot be realised and our object will not be achieved; we will however also have to consider the labour (i. e. difficulty) and the expenses that will be involved in putting the plan into effect, since this matter cannot also afford to be postponed or delayed.

The motives of these recommendations I consider as my duty, wherefore I presume that Your Excellency would be pleased to sincerely consider all the measures of improvement which I now submit or may further submit to you

I conclude with the hope that these measures might be beneficial to the schools, and I beg to remain:

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant:

(Signed): Petrus Synjeu. (in the margin): Colombo.  
21st October 1705.

(Certified by): J. Broelsz, 1st Clerk.

*Instructions  
for the  
Scholarchs*

And now, in order to lay a good foundation for the improvement of the country schools and churches, a very plausible order was already framed long ago by Their Honours and by the Government here for the appointment of Scholarchs and for the compiling of a code of instructions as to their duties and functions, as will be seen from the following extract.

#### Extract of the Instructions for the schools in Colombo

*p. 422 (1).*

We have at Jaffna, Colombo and Galle, (besides the superintendence of the Predikants over the country schools and churches here), on the 25th of December 1663, in our Council here and in the Council of India today, also decided, with a few amendments on certain approved instructions, and we have duly resolved to appoint two respectable, godfearing and intelligent persons from the Members themselves, who are members of our religion, as Scholarchs, not only to guide these country folk to our religion, but also to establish the schools for the youth in all these places, as the best benefits to Christianity are expected therefrom. They will then be under the superintendence of the same (without prejudice to the ecclesiastical responsibility, i. e. oversight or care, of the Predikants), according to the following orders:-

The provision of the necessary expenses for the maintenance of the schoolmasters and the schools, and also the repairs of the same, and likewise also the imposition of fines on those who do not send their children to school, or those who do not themselves attend at Church services and those who

neglect to do so, or those who, attending the same, behave themselves immodestly, and the good administration of the same, will be the sole responsibility of the Scholarchs, subject to the proviso that they should act discreetly in the matter of the imposition of fines.

The punishment and dismissal of schoolmasters shall take place in consultation with the Predikants, likewise too the appointment of new schoolmasters; but in case of differences of opinion in this connection, the matter shall be submitted for the orders of the Governors or Commandeurs.

Changes in and transfers of schools, or the building of new schools elsewhere, shall take place in consultation with the Predikants, but not until the prior approval of the Governors or Commandeurs is obtained therefor

The Scholarchs shall also take care to see that in the native schools out in the country or in the cities, no formularies (i. e. doctrines) are taught other than those which are now used by the brethren and drafted and approved by the Governor General and Council of India, without permitting any alteration in the same by anyone.

The Scholarchs shall maintain a regular list of all the schools, both within the cities and Castles (i. e. forts) as well as those out in the country, and they shall, as often as they have completed their inspections submit their report thereon to the Governor of this Island or to the Commandeurs of the Provinces of Jaffna and Galle.

*p. 411(2).*

The decision whether the children have attained a degree of proficiency to be discharged from the schools should be a matter for the general discretion of the Scholarchs and the Predikants.

If the Scholarchs find that the Dutch Children who are 4 or 5 years of age are not sent to

school, they shall see to it that the parents do so.

The Scholarchs shall take good care to see that the native girls above the age of 8 years are well protected and not misled by the voluptuousness of the boys and others.

For this purpose, the girls shall be admitted to school early, in order that they may be proficient to be discharged from school when they are about 10 years of age.

The Scholarchs shall conduct a general inspection of the schools every 2 months at least, either with one of the Predikants or alone, so that this essential work may not be neglected but steadily maintained.

When the time is ripe for the proposed inspection, the Scholarchs shall notify the same to the Governor or the Commandeurs of the Provinces, in order that the brother Predikants may be informed of the same by His Excellency, so that one of them may attend at the inspection, from which duty they will not be excused except for genuine reasons.

The Predikants and Scholarchs shall mutually give due respect to each other in order to avoid all contentions and disputes, and so that each one would be worthy of his office, and in order that no vexation or embarrassment is caused to the tender Christians as this is a matter of the greatest importance.

The Scholarchs shall also maintain strict discipline and have a good oversight over the adult native Christians, to see that on Sundays, at all places where there are schools and schoolmasters, a proper meeting is held, where Christian prayers and religious exercises are appropriately and devoutly conducted according to the Church Order.

The Dessavas shall especially see that the children of the native Chiefs, Arachchies, Mayoraals, sh.offs and those who are in authority over others attend regularly at the schools as far as it is possible.

(Below): In the Castle of Batavia,.....March 1667.

p. 422 (I).

(Lower): By order of their Honours. (Signed): Joannes van Riebeeck.

(Certified by): S. Anderson, Secretary,

Church  
Order

A Church Order was also subsequently issued by the Governor in the year 1699, which is reproduced below:

**Order issued by the Honourable Governor and Director Gerrit de Heere, to be observed by all those who belong to (i. e. are employed in) the schools.**

The children of baptised parents who are above 6 years of age shall be enrolled in the school on the day of the general inspection.

The parents of such enrolled children shall send them regularly daily to school; but in the case of families where there are 4 children, two of them shall attend school on alternate days, and in the case of families with 3 children, one or two of them shall attend school daily as ordered by the Scholarchs.

When the children assemble at school, the schoolmasters shall, after prayers are said and before instructing them, mark the attendance.

If any of them are absent, the Master shall ascertain who is responsible for the neglect. If it is the fault of the children, he shall duly castigate them; but if it is the fault of the parents they shall fine them half a copper coin ('tammekassje') a day for each child.

Those who fail to attend regularly at Church on Sundays shall be fined 4 copper coins ('tammekassies').

The Master shall maintain a proper register thereof and hand it over to the Scholarchs on the day of their inspection: those who continue to be obstinate (lit: disobedient) shall be more severely punished by the Dessava on being notified by the Scholarchs.

Each of those who have been discharged from school who do not attend at the inspection, shall be fined half a larin.

Every Macobado (i. e. person living in unlawful wedlock) who fails to attend at the inspection shall be apprehended by the Dessava and put into chains and be set to work for a period of three months at the Company's public works.

Those who have stopped (lit: forbidden) anyone's marriage banns without legitimate reasons shall be fined 2 rixdollars, or by default, be set to work for a period of 2 months at the Company's public work.

Anyone who fails to bring his child for baptism on the day of the inspection shall be set to work for a period of 4 months at the Company's public works.

p. 422 (2). Anyone whose marriage banns have been registered and who is not married within a period of 3 months thereafter or at the next inspection, shall be fined 3 rixdollars or be sent by the Dessava to work for period of 3 months at the Company's public works.

The dhobies shall inform the Masters every week, whether there is any child born or whether anyone has died; if they fail to do so, the Dessava

shall be notified, and he shall punish the defaulter according to the circumstances of the case.

An unbaptised woman who lives in concubinage with a married man, or an unmarried man who lives in concubinage with a baptised woman, who is not fit to be baptised at the earliest inspection shall be put into chains and be set to work for a period of 6 months at the Company's public works.

Two baptised persons who live in concubinage shall be fined 6 rixdollars, or, in default, be set to work for a period of 3 months at the Company's works.

This order is made and passed to be proclaimed and observed in all schools, on this 15th day of May in the year 1699. in the Castle of Colombo. (Signed): Gerrit de Heere. (Certified by): J. Broelsz, 1st clerk.

And now, in order to furnish further information on the state of the Churches and schools here, we have deemed it useful to add the following Church report on the inspection of the schools and churches here.

*Report of  
an inspection  
of the  
Schools and  
Churches*

**Report on the school inspection conducted in the months of September and October 1704 by the Predikants Messrs. G. de Oude and P. Synjeu and the scholarch G. de Costa, submitted to His Excellency the Hon. Mr. Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor and Director of Ceylon and the dependencies thereof.**

p. 423 (1). Since Your Honour has been pleased to specially commission us, the undersigned, for the inspection of the country schools in the district of Colombo, and to duly submit our report on the same to Your Honour, we have accordingly been firstly solicitous to find out the means whereby we could be of service



in this connection and in employing the best means of carrying out the same diligently.

The measures which we have found to be necessary therefor, and the use we have made of the same, are respectfully submitted to Your Excellency in our observations attached hereto.

We have hereby observed that the position of the native Christians is as presented by us now with all due respect to Your Excellency.

We shall, subject to your Excellency's pleasure, present our findings here, not under the usual headings, since we do so briefly in our recommendations, but will note what we have observed from school to school in the order in which our inspection had begun and proceeded.

#### **Wewala, 28th September.**

The school children, who had learnt by heart the simple Catechism of the Rev. Mr. Rual, having been questioned in turn (i. e. individually) on the same, answered the questions quite promptly. Those who had been discharged from school and the other Christian inhabitants generally answered well to questions from the Catechisms of the late Mr. Rual, and also other relevant questions regarding God, the soul and the conscience.

The parents who presented their children for baptism, who were also specially examined on the doctrine of baptism, answered reasonably satisfactorily.

The schoolmaster, Don Pedro, and his Assistant Master Jose Alvis, had learnt the short Catechism of Mr. Rual and a part of the larger Catechism, and on their being examined on the questions from both catechisms as well as on natural theology, they answered quite well and appeared to be diligent men and possessed of good discernment. They have

no letters (lit: olas) of appointment. The Church building was still in a reasonably good condition: the roof is thatched with straw. The seal on the placcaat which hangs according to the old custom in the Church was torn (off).

#### **Rammukkana, 29th September.**

p 423 (2) The school children who were examined, as before answered well, and those who had been discharged from school too and the people and also the parents who presented their children for baptism answered satisfactorily.

The Master, Domingo Fernando, and his Assistant Masters Don Simon and Don Philippe, said that they had learnt the shorter and the larger Catechisms of the Rev. Mr. Rual, but at their examination they were unable to answer correctly most of the matters: they were also extremely off their mark. From some of the answers given by them in which they had to use their brains (lit: judgment), it was likewise evident that they could very well benefit by further instruction. The Master and his Assistant Masters have no letters of appointment. The Church is a solid building with a tiled roof. The placcaat is torn.

#### **Horana, 30th September.**

The school children here answered promptly without hesitation. Those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians also answered the questions and propositions which were put to them satisfactorily like the above, and the parents who presented their children for baptism too were reasonably intelligent (i. e. knowledgeable).

The Master, Ignatio Correa, had learnt the larger and the shorter Catechism of the late Rev. Mr. Rual and also gave satisfactory and prompt answers to nearly all the questions. He (i. e. the Master) had instructed the school children and the Church folk

quite well and maintained good discipline. He has no letter of appointment, and he requested the services of an Assistant Master. The Church building is solid and in good condition, and roofed with tiles, and the placcaat is torn.

#### Uduwara 1st October.

The School children here were found to be reasonably good. Those who had been discharged from school ('Largados') and the other Christians answered some of the questions only fairly well, and likewise too the parents who presented their children for baptism

The Assistant Master, Don Manuel, here provisionally performs the duties of (Head) Master. He had learnt only the shorter Catechism of the Rev. Mr. Rual, was found to be very ignorant at his examination and could hardly answer the questions in Catechism, and was also very confused. The placcaat too was written (**Note:** the word in the printed text reads 'geschreven' i.e. written: judging from the context, this is probably an error for 'descheurd' i.e. torn). The Church building was in a reasonably good condition and had a tiled roof. The inspection of this school was conducted without any tumult or disorder and with the satisfaction of the inhabitants.

#### p. 424 (I). Diagama. 2nd October.

The school children answered quite well the questions from the Catechism which they had learnt. Most of those had been discharged from school gave satisfactory answers to the questions which were put to them: likewise too the parents of those who presented their children for baptism.

The Master, Don Joan, and his Assistant Master had learnt only the shorter Catechism, but

they showed proof of diligence and good understanding at their examination. The Master here had carefully preserved the placcaat. The school building is solid, with a tiled roof.

The previous Master, who had served for 25 years and was released (lit: excused) owing to his old age, requested to be granted some maintenance owing to his great poverty.

#### Alutgama. 3rd & 4th October.

The school children were found to be as satisfactory as before. Those who had been discharged from school and the other native Christians answered reasonably well to most of the questions and propositions that were put to them, except the men folk. The Master, Paulo Fernandes and his assistant Masters Constantyn Iopas and Michael Fernando had learnt both the larger and the shorter Catechism aforementioned; and they answered satisfactorily and promptly at their examination to the questions on the contents of both Catechisms; and they also understood the reasonings in most of the matters, and also gave satisfactory answers to other questions that were put to them. One of these Masters has no letter of appointment. The school building is in good condition and has a tiled roof.

#### Beruwala. 4th October.

The school children here were rather backward and most of them were unwilling to attend school. Those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians answered satisfactorily here and there to some of the questions, but most of them, especially the women, could not express themselves well. The parents who presented their children for baptism answered some of the questions here and there. The Master, Simon Fernando, and his assistant Master Don Philippe, had learnt the shorter Catechism and

parts of the larger Catechism. They answered the questions and propositions that were put to them rather reasonably. They have no letters of appointment, and they also complained that very few of the inhabitants here came to Church, and also that those who who attended paid little attention. The school building is in good condition and has a tiled roof, and the placcaat was torn.

*p. 424 (2).* **Maggon. 5th October.**

The school children were able to answer their Catechism questions well. Those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians too answered quite satisfactorily to both questions from the Catechism and other questions which were put to them. The Master, Maniko Fernando and the Assistant Master Joan Fernando had learnt the aforementioned shorter Catechism and parts of the larger Catechism. They gave satisfactory answers to various questions that were put to them. A request by the Master to use the services of his son for school duties was allowed. The school building is in a good condition and has a tiled roof.

**Payagala. 5th October.**

The school children were found to be as satisfactory as before. Those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians were examined as before, and answered fairly well. The Master, Don Joan, and the Assistant Master Joan Piris, know the larger and the shorter Catechisms aforementioned, and they answered reasonably well all the questions on the Catechisms and other questions that were put to them. The school building is in good condition and has a tiled roof, but the placcaat was torn.

**Kalutara Gravets. 6th October.**

The school children were found to be reasonably good. Of those who had been discharged from school, the men folk answered reasonably well, but among the women folk there was nearly no one who was able to answer. They were mostly children. The adults did not attend. The Master, Don Francisco, and the Assistant Master Don Joan, had learnt the shorter Catechism, but they answered questions only fairly well, and did not appear to possess the necessary ability. The placcaat was torn, but the school building was in good condition and had a tiled roof.

We understood that both here and also at Alutgama, the Masters collect some monies for burials of corpses in the school graveyard, which were then handed over to the Predikants at the inspection, who gives them over to the Dessava who maintains an account thereof. The Master of this school came and reported to us that the Rev. Mr. Goting, at the last inspection, had ordered him to bring to his house the monies received for the opening up of graves, which he, the Master had also done after the completion of the last inspection, amounting to 5 rixdollars, 3 larins and two copper coins ('Tammekassies'). On being asked the reason why he here informed us of this, he replied that it was because we should know about it and that it was his duty to do so. On being further asked if there were any monies still due, and why he had not delivered the same to us, he replied that there was in fact some monies outstanding, but that he had not collected them nor handed them over because he was not ordered to do so. We have not given him any further orders in this connection.

*p. 425 (1).*

**Kalutara. River 7th October.**

The school children here satisfactorily answered questions on what they had learnt. Those who had

been discharged from school too, and also the parents who presented their children for baptism, answered the questions quite well. The Master Michial Antoni, had learnt the whole of the shorter Catechism and a portion of the larger Catechisms. The Assistant Master, Domingo Silva, knew both Catechisms. At the examination they gave proofs of their efficiency, and especially the Assistant Master, who was a zealous and knowledgeable person. The school building is in good condition and has a tiled roof.

**Waluwe (? Wadduwa). 7th October.**

The school children were as satisfactory as before. Those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians did quite well at their examination, especially the women folk. The school master Andre Rodrigo was absent on account of illness: he knew the aforesaid larger and shorter Catechisms. According to the testimony of the Kanakapulles, he has no letter of appointment. Marco Pereira, who performs provisional duty as Assistant Master, said that knew the shorter Catechism. He was also examined at the house of the Rev. Mr. Goting along with his fellow-sollicitant, but could answer hardly anything at the examination, wherefore he was told that before the next inspection he should know the shorter Catechism well or that he should otherwise not be an Assistant Master. The Church building is solid and in good condition and has a tiled roof, but here too the placcaat was torn.

**Panadura. 8th October.**

The school children here had learnt great deal and well and were prompt in their answers. Those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians answered intelligently and with

p. 425 (2).

good understanding mostly all the questions and propositions that were put to them. The parents who presented their children for baptism also gave much satisfaction. The Master, Silvester Alwis, was a zealous and active man and he knew the aforementioned larger and shorter Catechisms. He had made careful notes of all the questions and their answers at some earlier inspections, assiduously instructed his people and the school children, and gave full satisfaction at his examination. His Assistant Master, Antoni Piris, knew the shorter Catechism and a part of the larger Catechism, and also answered the questions quite well at his examination; he had no letter of appointment. The Master had a copy of the placcaat, which was also torn here. The school building is solid and has a tiled roof.

**Moratuwa, 9th October.**

The school children were found to be as satisfactory as before. Likewise too those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians and also the parents who presented their children for baptism. The Master, Sebastian Corre, and his Assistant Master Thome Corre, knew the aforementioned shorter Catechism and a part of the larger Catechism, but they said (lit: testified) that they had left off learning the larger Catechism, as the Rev. Mr. Goting had at the last inspection expressly ordered them not to learn the same any more, nor to let the school children learn the same, and they also said that this order had been given by the Rev. Mr. Goting to all the schoolmasters, which we later, on further inquiry, found to be so.

The Master and Assistant Master aforesaid, gave us extraordinary satisfaction at their examination in their answers not only to questions on the Catechism, but also to various other difficult propositions which were put to them. They reques-

ted to be given the questions that were put them in writing. The Church building is solid and has a tiled roof.

**Galkissa. 10th October.**

The school children were as satisfactory as before, and likewise too those who had been discharged from school and also the parents who presented their children for baptism. The Master Joan Piris had learnt the shorter Catechism and a part of the larger Catechism, and his Assistants Masters John Rodrigues, and Michel Pereira had also done so. They gave satisfactory answers to nearly all the questions and propositions that were put to them. One of the Assistant Masters had no letter of appointment.

p. 426 (1). The school children and Church Members cannot be adequately attended to by the Master and the Assistant Master owing account of their large numbers. The inhabitants live here in far and wide areas, and a great number of them live close to Colombo, wherefore they seldom come to Church or send their children to school on account of the great distance that they have to travel. In order to relieve them of this inconvenience, it would be good if a school could be established outside the Galle Gate, as it is intended to do so.

**Negombo Sinhalese Church, 15th October.**

The school children here were poorly taught. They were hardly able to answer the questions in the words of the Catechism. Those who had been discharged from school, and the other Christians, were most of them unable to answer anything. Very few of them were even passable. The fathers of the children who were presented for baptism were all of them absent. The Master, Silvestus Pereira, had learnt the shorter Catechism and a part

of the larger Catechism. The Assistant Master, Gaspar Fernandes, knew only the shorter Catechism. They gave as the reason for their inefficiency the burden of their duties and the prohibition order of the Rev. Mr. Goting.

The Master gave reasonable satisfaction at his examination; but the Assistant Master was very nervous and answered little, and very poorly at that.

The Master conducts no services here on Sundays, but attends Church with his people, who are mostly Tamils, with the Tamil Master; he also does no catechising, and requested to be provided with a book of sermons if he was required to do so, so that he could read them to his people like what is done at the Tamil Church. This school is broken down, and the Master therefore conducts school in the Tamil school there.

**Negombo Tamil School, 16th October.**

The school children, who were questioned in the old Catechism, answered reasonably well, but very few, hardly half the number of the people attended at the examination, and they were found to be very poor in knowledge: only 6 or 8 of the entire number gave any answers to any of the questions. No answer at all was forthcoming from the others. One of them, on being questioned, confessed that the Papists had forbidden him to answer (any questions).

The Master of this school, Manuel de Melo, and his Assistant Master Diego Teixeira, had learnt the three Tamil Catechisms, and on being duly questioned, they answered fairly reasonably. This school is in a very poor condition.

p. 426 (2). Hunupitiya and Toppu, 17th October.

According to the usual practice, both these schools were simultaneously inspected as all the Christians belong to them. The school children of both these schools, on being separately questioned, were able to answer only fairly here and there, but the people were not able to speak at all for the reason stated above, which was confessed again by one of their folk. Many more of them would have confessed, but they were 'tipped the wink' by others. A woman too would have recited her Ave Maria if she was not checked by others.

The churches of Hunupitiya and Toppu are in ruins. The Masters therefore hold no Church services, nor do they instruct the people. The Master at Hunupitiya does not care for the children.

At Toppu however there is an ola shed where the Master perhaps assembles together some children and therewith does his best, so that everything is allowed to run wild. The schoolmaster of Hunupitiya was absent on account of illness. His Assistant Master could not answer at all at his examination. Both Masters however draw salaries from the Honourable Company. The schoolmaster of Toppu had learnt the three Tamil Catechisms fairly reasonably, and he answered reasonably well at his examination.

We understood here that the Papists often came to Negombo, and worked at Negombo in the house of a certain Dutch lady, widow of a free-man, whose name we were unable to ascertain: they held services in a shed (maduwa). Their images and further ornaments were also housed there. There was one also in the house of the Pattangatyn, and one at Cronho (? Kurana) in the house of the Foreman of the Carpentry, and one also at the house of the Messenger of the Orphanage at Negombo.

A certain person named Antoni da Costa, who was the former school master of Hunupitiya, but, just because he was dismissed, does much damage (lit: evil) here, goes around instructing the people in their homes in the Papish religion, and draws away (i. e. seduces) many persons.

From everything that we have observed here, we have come to the conclusion, that most of the common folk who are so-called members of the Reformed religion are ignorant and staunch Roman Catholics. It is indeed a pity that native Christianity, which prior to this, under the oversight of the Predikants, had been an example of knowledge and zeal for other Churches in the country, has now declined to such a degree: above all other considerations, through lack of supervision, or rather the connivance of those, whose duty it mostly should be to be vigilant against these breaches of the placcaats, and who also introduce (i. e. encourage) other rascals (lit: snobs), as has hitherto happened.

p. 427 (1).

Pittipancara, 18th October.

The school children were found to be good. Those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians answered mostly all the questions and propositions that were put to them promptly, diligently and satisfactorily, as in any other school. The Master, Alexo Piris, and his Assistant Master Franciscus Fernando, knew the three Tamil Catechisms. The Master was a zealous and active (lit: vigilant) man, and was able to answer everything very precisely. The Assistant Master was also reasonably good. The school building is solid and firm, and has a tiled roof.

Dandagamuwa, 19th October.

The school children here had a sound knowledge. Among those who had been discharged from school

and the other Christians, the women answered best. The parents who presented their children for baptism were generally good. The Master, Marco de Silva, answered satisfactorily at his examination; but his provisional Assistant Master Alfonso Fonseca, who was appointed at the last inspection by the Rev. Mr. Goting, and was also examined, could not answer one word and could hardly read and write. The school building is in a reasonably good condition and the roof is thatched with straw.

**Pamunugama, 19th October.**

The school children were found to be as good as those in the above school. Those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians answered satisfactorily. The parents who presented their children for baptism also answered satisfactorily. The Master, Don Philipppo, knew the shorter Catechism and answered reasonably well at his examination. The school building is in a bad condition and it is thatched with straw.

**Weragampitiya Tamil School, 20th October.**

The school children were able to answer their Catechism questions well. Those who had been discharged from school too answered satisfactorily, but mostly the men folk, and likewise too the parents who presented their children for baptism. The Master George da Costa had learnt the three old Catechisms and answered promptly and ably at his examination: he was able to answer all the questions that were put to him intelligently. The school building was in a very bad condition and was thatched with straw.

**p. 427 (2). Welisara, 20th October.**

The school children were as good as the above. Those who had been discharged from school answered quite satisfactorily. The school master Don Carlo gave satisfaction in everything. The school building

was in a poor condition and was thatched with straw.

**Nagamuwa, 22nd October.**

The school children were able to answer the questions reasonably well. Those who had been discharged from school, and the other Christians, except just a very few of them, were found to be poorly instructed. The school master Bastiaan Fonceka, and the Assistant Master Don Marco, knew the shorter Catechism of the Rev. Mr. Ruel and a part of the larger Catechism. The Master did well at his examination, and the Assistant Master fared fairly well. They have no letters of appointment. The school building is old and dilapidated; and has a tiled roof.

Since this school has been sold by public auction, together with the Church graveyard and garden, to Bastiaan Dewaga of the Coast (of India), the owner has hindered (lit: forbidden or prevented) the inhabitants and the school children for the past 10 months from coming to the Church or the school, and has thus impeded the work. He will also not allow the inhabitants now to bury their dead in the churchyard, saying the the land has been purchased by him. The inhabitants however bury their dead by force. The Korala complained on behalf of the people about this sale and requested that the school, the Church, and the churchyard might continue to be as before, in order to avoid the greatest scandal among the heathens, that we have sold the resting-places of their friends and ancestors which were previously consecrated to God.

Since this sale took place the people here seldom come to Church. This school previously had the services of a cattaponnel (i.e. barge or ferryboat), which was supervised by one of the Company's paid natives, and which ferried across the people who had

to cross the river. This vessel (i. e. barge) has also been removed, to the great inconvenience of those who have been discharged from school and the school children, who are therefore unable to come over to the church or school from the other side (of the river). The people from Dedigama too seldom come to Church.

#### Kotalawala, 22nd October.

p. 428 (1). The people from Kotalawala also come to Nagamuwa for the inspection since there is no school at the place. For the past 3 years, on the warning of the Master that the school building was dilapidated, it has further broken down, and the woodwork and the tiles have been carried away. The Master has given no instruction all that time to the people and the school children, so that everything is running wild here. Except for the parents who presented their children for baptism, none of those who had been discharged from school or the school children belonging to this school attended, although they were notified as usual to do so. The Master, Don Antoni, knew only the shorter Catechism, but however fared reasonably well at his examination. He also draws a salary from the Hon. Company. We have estimated the numbers at this school according to the notes made at the time when the school was demolished.

#### Pannebakkery, 23rd October.

The school children here answered reasonably well. Those who had been discharged from school, especially the men-folk, satisfactorily answered nearly all the questions that were put to them as usual. Likewise too the parents who presented their children for baptism. The Master, and his Assistant Master Don Joan, knew the shorter Catechism and a part of the larger Catechism, and they, especially the Master, answered well at their examination.

The school building was in a reasonably good condition and had a tiled roof.

#### Kelaniya, 23rd October.

As the wood and tiles at the Pannebakkery have to be transported from there, the people also come here. Since no Church or school exists here any longer, the children run wild; apart from those who are registered as school children in the roll, there are about a hundred children here who are fit to attend school. Although they were duly notified in advance, no one however attended from this school at the inspection, except only the parents who presented their children for baptism. The school master, Louis Gomes, knew the two Catechisms and answered promptly and intelligently nearly all the questions and propositions that were put to him; he also draws a salary from the Hon. Company.

p. 428 (2). The Yogies have some time ago erected a little garden plot near the demolished Pagoda, which was granted by His Excellency the Governor, for the use of the school master when a school is established there in due course; but since the demolition of this school, three or four Yogies have come over there, and the Vidana of Kelaniya has, on his own authority, taken away from the present school master the aforementioned garden plot and given it over as their own possession to the said Yogies, who have also taken up their residence there and they now remain there to collect alms from the charity of the heathens who come there on pilgrimages to make their offerings and pay their devotion, which they also do with the performance of rites. During their offering, they also blaze out on conch shells. During the months of April, May and June there is a great gathering of people assembled here, so that this place with the Yogies living there is very damaging for these weak Christians.



Cotta, 24th October.

The school children answered quite well the questions from the Catechism. Those who had been discharged from school, and the other Christians, also gave satisfaction in their answers. The school master, Don Philip, and his Assistant Master Francisco Cobraak (sic), had learnt the shorter Catechism and a part of the larger Catechism. They gave full satisfaction in their answers to all the questions, especially the Assistant Master, who is an able man.

This school has a tiled roof, but is dilapidated and threatens to collapse on one side being very badly constructed (lit: propped up).

Wolvendaal, 25th October.

The school children were only fairly good. Among those who had been discharged from school, just a few only answered well here and there. The parents who presented their children for baptism too had little knowledge of religion, except one of them here and there. The schoolmaster Domingo Dias knew the shorter Catechism and some part of the larger Catechism here and there: he however showed a good understanding of most of the questions and propositions that were put to him. He conducts Church and school in the verandah of the house at Wolvendaal since there is no school there. He complained about the negligence and apathy of both the adults as well as the school children, maintaining that it was caused by the great ingress of the Papish religion among the inhabitants around there.

The means of acquiring a knowledge of the Christian Reformed religion in all the schools are very poor and meagre. For the Sinhalese schools there is nothing else but the Lord's Prayer, the

morning and evening prayers, the prayers before and after meals, the 12 articles of the Christian faith, the Ten Commandments, the larger and the shorter Catechisms of the late Rev. Mr. Rual which deal with the fundamentals of the Reformed religion and also the comfort of the sick.

p. 429 (I).

In the Tamil schools there are, besides the abovenamed prayers, articles of faith, the ten Commandments, three Catechisms, the first of which deals with the fundamentals of the Christian religion and the two others deal with the history of the Old and New Testaments, one book consisting of sermons regarding God, His creation, His Providence, etc. There are also Tamil psalms and spiritual hymns and the gospel of St. Matthew.

In all the Sinhalese schools on Sundays only the prayers of comfort for the sick are read by the Masters, the larger and shorter Catechisms are recited in the hearing of the adults by two capable school children who question and answer each other. Thereafter, those who have been discharged from school ('largados') are Catechised from the aforementioned Catechism and instructed by the Masters.

But in the Tamil schools the Masters read either a chapter from the Gospel of St Matthew or a sermon, especially on Feast (i. e. Communion) days, selecting a sermon specially suitable for the occasion. Those who are discharged from school are however not catechised here.

In our examination of those who had been discharged from school and the other Christians, we have used the aforesaid means, the reasons for which are mentioned in our comments but as a rule we have put the questions on the contents of the Catechisms to them in different words and in a particular order, and questioned them on several

other matters than those contained in the Catechisms, and always explained to them the proofs of the various propositions and their interpretations. We have also put several questions to them on general topics regarding God, the Spirit and the Conscience.

It would be impractical for us to give Your Excellency in writing (a list of) all the questions and propositions which were put by us at all the aforementioned schools and the answers to the same, for we consider it to be beyond our purview to mention everything without complete certainty. For Your Excellency's information, we have generally appended to this report a fair number of the questions and answers in their own words (i. e. verbatim) that were asked and answered at all the schools, except the Tamil schools at Negombo. At the examination that was conducted by us at the aforementioned schools, except at Beruwala and at Negombo, the inhabitants who attended were generally attentive and teachable and showed great eagerness and desire to answer, and openly expressed their satisfaction with our mode of procedure, thanked us for instructing them and for our friendly attitude and for having listened to them with patience

p. 429 (2).

The Masters of the various schools however complained, some more than the others, that so few of the inhabitants come to Church and send their children regularly to school.

At all these schools fines are no longer exacted, except at Negombo, where the Mudaliyar sees that the same are collected and, with the knowledge of the Dessava, hands over the amounts collected to the Diaconate.

The Mudaliyar there also issues licences to the inhabitants to marry, proclaims the marriage banns,

and where no objections are lodged, authorises the Master to have the marriage solemnised, which has hitherto not been practised in other schools.

We have had the Roll of Macebados (i. e. persons who live in unlawful wedlock) read at some schools, and examined the same in order to investigate and ascertain what could be done about these excesses (i. e. breaches). After having made sufficient investigations for our purpose, we have suspended our investigations for some time because we know very well that there was really no purpose in dealing with this type of people unless more stringent orders were issued by Your Excellency in this connection.

As regards the position of the native Christians at Mutwal in this City and those at Slave Island, we were unable to obtain any definite information as the schools are demolished, the tombos are lost, and the Masters have either died or gone away. On investigations made by us, we have only been able to ascertain that at Slave Island a native who has come over there from the Coast (of India) has been busy instructing the children of the Company's slaves there in the Roman Catholic religion to which he himself belongs. From the old letters which we found in his possession, and from which he instructs the children, we found that they consist of two Roman Catholic hymns of praise and one to the honour of the Virgin Mary and a Roman Catholic prayer book. The ingress of the Roman Catholic religion among the Parruas and Carreas in and around Colombo gives us reasons to fear that the Company's slaves too are not uncontaminated by this leaven, which we are all the more convinced of since we did not know that during the past 3 years some children of the Company's slaves, except about 4 or 5 persons in the Church here who were baptised according to the

old practice, because we have observed several little slave children in this island who have been baptised by the Papists or those who were adherents of the Papist religion.

*p. 430 (1)*, We have also annexed hereto for Your Excellency's information a short statement of the number of Christians in the aforementioned schools as registered in the Tombos maintained in each school, and also a statement showing what the school children in each school had learnt.

It has been our intention to give Your Excellency a true account and thereby comply with Your Excellency's respected order and good intention; and since we feel assured that we have endeavoured to do the former, we trust that we would have achieved the latter too.

We beg, with all due respect, to be: Your Excellency's obedient servants:

(Signed): G. de Oude, P. Synjeu and G. da Costa.

(In the margin): Colombo, 12th November 1704.

Certified by): G. J. Brouse, 1st clerk.

*Addressed to the Hon. Mr. Simons thereover* **TO:** The Right Honourable Mr. Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon with the dependencies thereof.  
Right Honourable Sir,

We submit below our comments regarding the outcome of our examination at this inspection, our decisions as a result of our findings, the defects, and the measures by which more benefits could be derived for Sinhalese Christianity.

Attention should be given to the following matters:

(1) We consider it to be necessary that a full investigation be made in regard to everything. For the actual state of affairs cannot be judged by questioning the children only, and the Masters over one

thing and another in the case of incompetence of the children.

(2). We restrict ourselves to matters which these persons were engaged in; for we observed that, if we went beyond that, we should be guilty of an injustice according to the recognised rule: "Ultra posse nemo obligatur". So we would make our report on their position according to our findings on what they could accomplish (i. e. on their abilities) considering the subject matter of their tuition and what we could expect therefrom.

*p 430 (2)* We considered it necessary to understand the methods of teaching which they (i. e. the native Christians) had previously enjoyed and what they now enjoy, through the Ministers and the school masters, in order to see what grounds of conviction of the Christian religion might have been laid thereby. Otherwise, it could well be, that through ignorance and imprudence, we would have expected such grounds of conviction which they neither naturally nor through the subject matter of their tuition or further instruction, could have been capable of.

(4). We have deemed it to be our duty to ascertain the degree of their comprehensibility and judgment to understand matters concerning (i. e. propositions in) natural theology, not so much in order to be able thereby to report on their position, but for our own information as well, so that we might be in a position thereby to be able to arrive at a decision for the future regarding their fitness or unfitness.

(5). We also decided to make a careful note, as far as possible, of all the defects of these persons which came to our notice, in regard to both their understanding and judgement, and the subject matter and methods of their tuition, as well as other deficiencies.

(6). And lastly, following automatically from the above, so that we might also study the means whereby these defects could be remedied and they may be further enlightened which too we have duly recorded.

These are the lines on which we have directed our investigations, in order to be able to present the actual position of the schools, by which means alone we hoped to be able to do so.

For which purpose, we firstly made the children who knew only the prayers recite the same. Thereafter we made those who knew the shorter and the larger Catechisms of the Rev. Mr. Ruel answer questions from the same. How ably each one was able to do so could be seen from the report annexed hereto.

Thereafter, we proceeded to examine those who had been discharged from school ('Largados') and the Church folk, over which we generally spent about 2 hours or more, examining first the men and then the women, on the larger Catechism of the aforesaid Mr. Ruel, but adhering to our own order and method of examining in all the churches, but so that, after completing our examination on the larger Catechism, we put a number of various other questions to them. When the questions on the Catechism were completed, we proceeded at every Church to examine them in propositions in Natural Theology the order and the number of which questions could be seen from the report annexed hereto, maintaining the same system uniformly in all the churches.

p. 431 (1).

Thereafter, we proceeded to examine those who presented their children for baptism on the doctrine of baptism, which every believing Christian who wished to have his child baptised should know, permitting the same to those who answered satisfactorily and rejecting, according to the old custom, those who could not answer satisfactorily.

Finally, we examined the Masters of each school, or, if two schools were near each other, they were examined together, maintaining the same order of procedure and questions which were followed in the case of those who had been discharged from school ('Largados'), which examination too generally lasted about 2 hours or longer.

Thereafter, we applied ourselves to discovering all the defects, either by deciding them on our own findings or out of the statements of the Masters, having ascertained which, we were in a position to be able to report what action should be taken thereanent according to our opinions.

So, as regards the examination, in order to avoid going into details, we shall only comment on those who had been discharged from school ('Largados') and the Masters, as Your Excellency could see from the report annexed hereto what the position is regarding the children. Regarding the former, except at the Tamil schools at Negombo, our questions on the larger Catechism of the Rev. Mr. Ruel were generally answered in our particular order of questioning and method of procedure in mostly all the other churches, and the questions on Natural Theology were also attentively and eagerly answered, as we always wish to discharge our responsibilities.

It is true that there is a noticeable difference between one Church and another, but this is so in all institutions and the same reasons apply everywhere.

It is also true that sometimes very simple questions are incorrectly answered, but we are of the opinion that one must make due allowance for the reasons why the questions were incorrectly answered; as well as for their ignorance of the respective questions.

The Masters were also found to be of different standards of efficiency, but most of them were fit for this office according to the work they had to do. Whenever they did what they can according to what is expected of them, they were, in our opinion, considered to be fit for their office; and so, according to our findings, we must testify that most of them were generally competent in their knowledge of the larger Catechism and in propositions in Natural Theology.

p. 431 (2).

The above considerations make us primarily come to the conclusion that Your Excellency, from the aforementioned circumstances, would agree with us that there are sufficient grounds of hope, and that the Reformed religion having progressed thus far, would, by further measures, zeal and diligence, make deeper impressions among this rightly-named tender Christian community, to the glory of God, the joy of God's Church, and the welfare of the State.

There is all the more reason for hope beyond doubt in this our conclusion, since these are people in whom nothing is easily quenched, as they are very attentive and have a good sense of judgment, which we have discovered in several of them even beyond our expectations. What is even more favourable for our conclusion is the fact that this nation is really a community who have in fact no knowledge at all of the heathen religion (which they could make use of), except that there are favourable and unfavourable times for people which they judge according to various occurrences and that the heavenly bodies control the lives of individuals. The different ways in which this operates they are quite unable to say, which superstitions even several persons of the Dutch Reformed Church faith are not entirely free from. Among these, exorcism (so called) 'Driving away the Devil from the bodies (lit: souls) of people into those of various wildbeasts, differences of caste (as

an aspect of religion), are all matters from which it would not be easy to lead them away and by which they are deceived: in fact, these were incidentally some of the answers given.

But we must not judge them too harshly in these matters, nor blame one person or the other, i. e. by accusing those who are connoisseurs of heathen antics, who may however be responsible for the same though there are no definite or certain proofs thereof; for we have to consider, that in the district of Colombo, there are persons belonging to the schools too who are no less responsible for the same, for we find that by far the greater number of them are heathens who do not belong to the school, and it is obvious therefore that they practice all superstitions of the heathens; but we must not 'paint the school-going persons with the same brush', although it could well be that there are several persons among them too.

p. 432 (1).

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact that they, in our opinion, fulfil the hope of further progress and improvement (concerning the matters mentioned regarding them which Your Excellency is generally partly aware of), we have in mind the following defects and deficiencies in several matters which would be useful for further progress:-

(1). We discovered that they had no adequate reasons for throwing away their heathen superstitions and doctrines, which we found to be the case in all churches, and which must be a necessary prerequisite among this race, for, not being cognizant of the falsehood of an accepted doctrine, their souls cling to it, hinder them from going over to the truth, takes away the desire for the same, makes them entertain this falsehood secretly and embarrass and cherish the same, as they are assured of the freedom to do so. The evidence of truth is the beginning of reformation: the counten-

ancing of falsehood causes it to decline, and only the truth can build it up.

(2). We have also noticed, that this Sinhalese race does not have sufficient knowledge regarding the fundamentals derivable from the light of Conscience to be induced by speculation in (i. e. reasoning on) the natural truths to bring them over to the Christian religion.

There is nothing that the soul cherishes more than the truth, an image of what they could regard as their guide (i. e. as their leading spirit), and which they do not wish to depart from, and, in common language, to displease, without persuasion. This is indeed a defect in which the Reformation experiences so much difficulty, since we here fail to consider, if not for which progress could a least have been much easier to achieve.

We believe that this was also the experience of our revered predecessors. To this could be attributed the special zeal and labour devoted thereto by the late Rev. Mr. Kat, as we have observed from the documents left over by His Reverence, who had collected so many documents regarding the heathen religion as no one perhaps had ever done, whereby he undoubtedly strove to achieve this object, which is the same as ours.

But a good intention was not always put into effect.

And thirdly, we are of the opinion that there are not adequate facilities in the schools in respect of the services that are available especially to the adults and those who are discharged from school, which would also be of much benefit to them, such as sermons on heathen errors and natural truths presented by the Christian religion, and also genuine theological matters and certain chapters of the Holy Scriptures in Sinhalese.

p. 432 (2).

We have likewise also observed that the aforesaid late Reverend Gentleman has given his attention to this too, as among his documents we also found various verses on the Holy Scriptures, but we are quite ignorant of the reasons why they were not made use of,

These are the hardships which we would place before your Excellency as obstacles, which must be entirely removed, and unless action is taken against them, we feel that our conscience should not remain silent, lest one considers the conviction of the Christian truths to be unnecessary and that the mind alone must make a Christian (Note: ? The context of this sentence is not quite clear), and that the forsakers of heathenism need not be taken over by others, nor compelled to join the Christian religion.

We must therefore ask each one individually to judge whether it is sufficient that these people have need of nothing else besides some prayers, a historical catechism, one on the fundamentals of religion (which contains no reference whatever to heathenism and its demolition or the natural truths which are presented to a Reformed Christian, which leads one, by the hand as it were, to his faith), and the prayers (or readings) for the comfort of the sick.

The Sinhaless churches have only these items and nothing more.

These deficiencies could, in our opinion, be remedied in the following manner, whereby we should have more hopes of success.

(1). By compiling a short catechism, containing a refutation of this Sinhalese heathenism, and at the same time also, an exposition of the fundamentals or truths of Reformed Christianity, and what is essential for everyone who wishes to come over to the Christian faith.

(2). By introducing some Predikants who are definitely and feelingly interested in such matters, in order that, on all Sundays, the Christian folk could listen to refutations of the heathen religion, and the fundamental grounds of the Christian religion could be expounded to them.

(3). Likewise too, in matters of genuine theology (as it is now practised at Jaffna and in the Tamil churches), by setting out in a few sermons the Catechism, which is learnt by the youth.

(4). In order to achieve this, we also consider that they must have the Holy Scriptures, several chapters of which are already available among the documents of the late Mr. Kat, which should be scrutinised without loss of time by competent Interpreters, to be carefully tested by them. In fact, they should also be informed of the "Fountain of good (i. e. Salvation", from which we must obtain our own salvation, which is the fundamental basis of the Christian faith.

p. 433 (1).

The first item would primarily be useful for the Ministers and those who could understand the same, who could make use of it for most of the children and for the Church folk on Sundays.

The second, third and fourth items would be of special use for the refutation of heathenism on Sundays, and for edifying the people's belief (i. e. faith) in Jesus, in such a manner as we have mentioned above.

In which connection, these orders could be followed:-

On Sunday mornings a chapter (from the Scriptures) should be preached on the foundations of heathenism and Christianity, and, after prayers are said, the children should be made to answer questions in the Catechism relating to these matters.

On the other Sunday, a sermon should be preached on the tenets of the Christian faith, followed by a Catechism on the foundations of religion, which is already taught at the Schools.

We are of the opinion that in this manner two objects would be achieved (which the circumstances require to be done): Heathenism would be demolished and Christianity would be built up.

There are yet some further matters which need attention, which would greatly facilitate the achievement of this object, which we shall add hereto as being essential.

(1). That the Papists be prohibited in every way from pursuing their religious activities either legally or illegally, no one being excepted, and that no schoolmasters be tolerated other than those who possess a letter of appointment, and, after prior examination, have been found to belong to the Reformed faith.

By this means, we could prevent the Papists that come over here from dragging away the subjects of the Honourable Company, and the servants of the Honourable Company particularly would not so easily trespass against our object, and cause damage to this good work in which the Honourable Company has incurred so much expense; the Ministers would gladly perform their duties; and since the Roman Catholic religion is not at all interested in the Honourable Company, this is also the means by which we could be assured of having good subjects of the same and further the interests of the Company.

We are aware of certain irregularities that arise therefrom. According to our religion, no one is entitled to baptise, other than legitimate (i. e. authorised) Ministers because the Roman Catholics authorise each and every one to do so, and we are therefore obliged to re-baptise them or to accept (lit: approve of) their baptism and experience many other difficulties.

p. 433 (2).

Secondly, that the placcaats regarding penalties and fines might be renewed, as it was the practice previously, in order to help in achieving this object and that all godlessness may be removed (i. e. averted) in the Honourable Company's territory.

The former is in the interests of order for the schools, and the latter would prevent unreasonable and godless cohabitation, which cannot be tolerated by a sensible administration, and which militates against its policy.

It is true that it was better that the parents compel their children to attend school and that they themselves therefore attended at school, but they have hitherto had to be led on like children by the authorities (i. e. the Government) as their fathers on account of the little inclination which these people possess. Regarding the responsibilities of a father in respect of his children, we consider that this too should not be neglected by the authorities (i. e. the Government). It is no constraint of conscience for those who have the intention of seeing that everything is conducted in good order (i. e. with good discipline). They should not blindly believe nor be compelled to endorse matters of faith which militate against their conscience. It is only by maintaining discipline over the attendance at school, which is the duty of the authorities, that they can be like fathers (to them.)

There is no doubt that as this generation arrives at more years of understanding, they will automatically have this desire.

And as regards the placcaats regarding the fines and penalties for Macebados (i. e. those living in unlawful wedlock), these are matters which call for even greater attention as they directly contravene Christian policy.

These placcaats should however be put into effect very discreetly. An allowance should be made for the status of the individuals. The Chiefs being under a greater obligation, should, in view of their position, be more responsible, each one according to his ability. For it would be unreasonable, to place these persons on the same footing as those who have nothing and lightly exempt the Chiefs, who should in fact be examples to the common folk, wherefore, it is also desirable that no Chiefs should be appointed over villages other than those who are of the Reformed faith. This would result in more benefit than one can imagine.

p. 434 (1) (3). The dilapidated schools should be rebuilt, as unless this is done, instruction would be in abeyance, everything would run wild to the shame of the Christians, their religion itself would be under suspicion, and the believers treated with disrespect.

Attention should all the more be given to this, because it is well known that heathenism is at its lowest ebb, and that these people having so little predominance over the Christian religion, are more at a loose end.

Therefore, the heathen temples should be demolished as they are opposed to our object and are contrary to the obligations of a Christian administration (i. e. Government) and would be greatly detrimental to it. In order to achieve this all sorts of idolatry should also be resisted, the Yakdessas (? devil drivers), berawayas (tom tom beaters), and the Neckadas (? Nikayas) should be apprehended by the Korals or Chiefs of the villages as being the off-scum of the people and be brought over to the Dessava for due punishment.

(5). Every Predikant should have (the services of) a good Kanakapulle, whom he should daily instruct during his circuit in the country, and who,



though ignorant at the start, would immediately understand the position, and so that the Kanakapulle would be able to understand him (i. e. the Predikant) well and interpret him correctly, otherwise serious abuses could take place. By this means, a Kanakapulle would be able to explain matters himself, which he would otherwise have been incapable of doing. It is not enough for one to have (the services of) Kanakapulles, but (the services of) capable men are needed, whose capabilities alone, in our opinion, could be depended upon.

(6). The inspection should also be conducted every three months without any interruption, as (the presence of) a Predikant in the country is most essential.

(7). The register of 'Largados' (i. e. those who had been discharged from school) must always be scrutinised and a careful record should be made of the absentees, without which the placcaats would be ineffective.

(8). A comprehensive examination should also be held, and one should not be satisfied merely with baptising and marrying people and making the children recite the Catechism; but is specially necessary to exert all one's powers to examine the 'Largados' and the Masters and instruct them, the former in the school, and the latter privately in order not to damage their status or make them despised by the congregation. The examination of the 'Largados' would inspire them more and make them more eager to pay attention to what they have learnt in school and even be in a position to be able to teach the same to their children. The examination of the Masters would help to take away their laziness, make them more diligent in their duties and more competent and successful (in their work).

p. 434 (2).

(9). A brief report should also be made to the Scholarchal Board on the result of the inspection regarding the state of every school in respect of instruction, with recommendations as to what is needed to be done, in order that action may be taken for improving them and that defects are not glossed over.

(10). That when the Masters attend monthly they be dealt with in two sections, one half of them (to be examined) by those who had done the inspection, and the other half by those who are due to do it, so that the Predikants would be able to know how capable each one is and take suitable action accordingly.

(11). When each person has to be examined, the examination should be done in the presence of two Predikants and a Scholarch, in order that each one's capability (i. e. fitness) may be assessed, and that no one may be appointed as a Master except those who are fit for work in the schools.

(12). And in order that there would be no hitch in the duty of the Predikants, these people will have to be met with all friendliness and modesty, avoiding all unreasonable harshness of official procedure, which would intimidate them and often be regarded as extravagance.

(13). It would also be of special importance (to remember) that from their (i. e. the school inspectors') conduct and bearing, these tender Christians could come to no other conclusion than that they have come to do their duty, and that this is their sole object. By this means, a reasonable good image would be created, such Ministers would leave behind a good impression and set an example themselves.

(14). As the Masters in times past were given a letter (lit: ola) of appointment and a certain code

of instructions to be observed by them in regard to their instruction, that this be done according to the former practice in order to make a report on the state of the schools and whatever else is required in this connection, and also to give a pertinent statement (i. e. list of the absentees, and those who have been born or died, in order to be able to know the names of those who could not come to school or do not attend at the Sunday service and those who have to be baptised, as without such information the implementation of the placcaats cannot be expected, much disorder would arise and much decline would ensue.

p. 435 (1). (15). They should also give careful thought to everything which militates against the salutary aim regarding these Sinhalese folk, such as heathen idolatry, ceremonies, and other contravening matters. by maintaining notes, and to report the same, as they should know best what obstacles there are and what hidden evils exist among them

To which we could add the salutary orders which have previously been issued and used with good success.

These then, Your Excellency, are our recommendations, in regard to these Sinhalese Christians. We are aware that all imposture (lit: deception) is detestable and abhorrent and deserve special punishment, which even their originator (lit: master) "draws wool over a person's eyes" or even thinks he can escape from; Wherefore, we always consider it to be our duty and our obligation to give expression to our opinions frankly. We are assured in our minds of our conclusions, and that we have good experience as guides (i. e. advisers) in regard to the defects and the measures that are necessary to counteract them.

We hope that we have truthfully fulfilled our Commission in presenting a stable method of teaching, which would be approved of by all impartial persons, and we cherish the hope that Your Excellency will be convinced that we have given our attention to the truth and we beg respectfully to be Your Excellency, Your Honour's obedient servants:

(Signed): G. de Oude, P. Synjeu and G. da Costa.

(In the Margin): Colombo. 12th November 1704.

(Certified by): J. Brouse, first clerk.

We have thus far seen generally and particularly what the position is in regard to the churches and schools in Ceylon; but, likewise, the Hon. Mr. Simons has devoted much care for the welfare of the same and given his personal earnest attention to restore their decline and also specially devoted his care everywhere wherever it was necessary for the exterior (i. e. country) churches and schools, to rebuild them at the earliest opportunity where they were dilapidated and done everything in his power for the advancement of religion and to render every assistance and help to the visiting Predikants through the (services of the) Hon. Dessava and other officials of the Government.

p. 435 (2). We shall for convenience reproduce the following report thereanent by the Dessava of Colombo, Mr. Bolscho's report on the Hon. Pieter Christiansz Bolscho, the schools and churches

Notes on an inspection by the Dessava Mr. Bolscho regarding the remoteness of the several villages, and his findings in regard to the several schools and churches.

Galkissa.

Hulftsdorp is situated at a distance of about two normal walking hours from Galkissa. There is

a reasonably fine Church here with a tiled roof which was built from 10 masoned (i. e. brick or stone) and 20 stone pillars from the heathen temple at Pepiliyana, with a wall of clay  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Rheinland feet in height. There is no garden at this Church. Near it there is also a resthouse, 14 feet in length and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, with a hall and 2 rooms.

#### Moratuwa.

The journey from Galkissa to Moratuwa is a full hour's walking distance, where too there is a Church built on 52 wooden pillars, with a tiled roof, with a wall of type (sic) earth scarcely  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height. There is also a house here, 58 feet in length and  $15\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, with a hall and 2 rooms and a verandah which serves as a dwelling house for the Predikant the Rev. Mr. Ruel, which was built in the year 1696 of brittle earth, and it is therefore quite dilapidated, and a part of the verandah too has collapsed.

This Church too has no garden, and it is 71 fathoms long and 38 fathoms broad, and is built on 41 wooden supports and has a tiled roof and a scanty wall around it  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height which is crumbling down in several places. There is also a resthouse here,  $54\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and 17 feet broad with a hall and 2 rooms and a verandah, which is situated at a distance of about 47 paces from the pass or river crossing from the Rayigam to the Salpiti Korale on a very pleasant spot.

Near this Church and this house, there are 52 cocunut trees belonging to the Hon. Company, which have been granted by a Dessava to a poor widow for keeping the Church and the house clean. After a journey of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours, one arrives at the school of this Church, which is 64 feet long and 26 feet broad and without a garden, on the right hand side of the

p. 436 (1). river crossing, which is built on 38 wooden pillars and has a tiled roof and a wall  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high around it.

#### Kalutara.

Payagala is an hour's journey from Kalutara. The school which is situated in the Kalutara Gravet is 71 feet long and 37 feet broad, and is built on 47 wooden pillars, with a wall  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet high and it has a tiled roof. The house here is 81 feet long and  $23\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad, with 3 rooms and a verandah (i.e. corridor)  $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet in breadth, which is however much dilapidated. There is a fortress here under the charge of an Ensign.

#### Payagala.

Beruwala is a 3 hours journey from Kalutara. The school of Payagala is 76 feet long and 30 feet broad, and is built on 43 wooden supports and has a tiled roof and an earthen wall around it  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. There is also a dilapidated resthouse here, 35 feet long and 10 feet broad. There is a Company's garden near this school, with 242 coconut trees, the produce of which is collected for the Hon. Company by the Adigar of Kalutara.

p. 436 (2). There are also elephants here with their overseers or, Gajanayakas.

#### Maggona.

The school of Maggona is 46 feet long and 27 feet broad and is built on 34 wooden supports and has a tiled roof and a wall of earth  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. Near it there is a garden with 140 coconut trees, the produce of which is collected by the Adigar as in the coconut garden of Payagala.

#### Beruwala.

These (i. e. the above two) schools are situated on the way between Kalutara and Beruwala.

At Beruwala there is also a school 67½ feet long and nearly 39 feet broad, built on 58 wooden supports with a tiled roof, and a scanty wall 4 feet high around it. There is also a resthouse near it, the inner dimensions of which are 61 feet in length and 18 feet in breadth, consisting of a hall and 2 rooms and a verandah 10½ feet broad. Near the school there is a garden with 1020 coconut trees, 140 of which are unproductive, the other trees produce 4000 coconuts annually:

There was a cinnamon warehouse here, 80 feet long and 22 feet high, and also one 127 feet long and 24 feet high.

The Moors living in this district are as follows:-

Total.	Chiefs & their helpers	Are canut counters	Priests.	Bar bers	Old lame & absen tees	In the Comp's service.
At Beruwala. 161	8	4	3	2	17	127
At Alutgama. 160	4	10	3	-	21	122
At Maggona. 49	4	1	-	-	10	34
At Kalutara. 26	2	3	-	-	8	13
In the Pasdum Korale. 14	2	3	-	-	3	6
410	20	21	6	2	59	302

Of these 302 have to work for the lord of the land (i.e. the Company), and among them there are 20 chiefs and their assistants, 21 arecanut counters, 6 priests, 2 barbers, and 59 old and lame persons and absentees.

#### Alutgama.

Alutgama is situated at a distance of a full hour's journey from Beruwala, and has a school situated

at 130 paces away from the river, which is built on 40 wooden supports: it is 71 feet long and 39 feet broad, with a wall 3½ feet high around it, and a tiled roof. There is also a resthouse here, 47 feet long and 14 feet deep (i. e. wide) built of type-earth, with a roof thatched with straw. On the side of the school there is a coconut garden with 1053 bearing trees, the proceeds of which are delivered to the Adigar of Kalutara for the Hon company.

There is a large yield of arecanuts here to which serious damage is caused by pigs.

The overseers of the elephants here go to their homes hardly once in six months.

Captain Bergman met the Dessava Pieter Christiansz Bolscho on the way at Galkissa on the 12th of July 1705.

#### Pittuwancara.

The school of Pittuwancara is 54 feet long and 30 feet broad, and built on stone pillars. Proceeding thence to Negombo from 7 o'clock in the morning till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we met Captain Bergman who was exercising the soldiers there at the time.

#### Negombo.

The Church here at Negombo was 71 feet long and 26 feet broad: it had a preaching-desk (i. e. lectern) and 2 seats (i. e. benches) for qualified officers and 3 for the common folk, who are not qualified, and the others have to fend for themselves.

The congregations of the schools at Welichena, Welegampitiya, Pamunugama, Dandugama, Putuwancara, Hunupitiya and Toppu assemble at these churches for the solemnization of their marriages.

In the front of this fortress there are also 2 schools, 136 feet long and 52 feet broad, built of

stone, one for the Tamil and one for the Dutch youth, and a room for the Dutch schoolmaster. Daily instruction is given at the former school, but not at the latter.

Besides this, there are also 5 houses built of stone belonging to the Company, one for the Ensign (i. e. Lieutenant), one for the Dessava, one for the Warehousekeeper, one which was formerly occupied by the Lieutenant but is now dilapidated and one for the 'krankbezoeker' and schoolmaster; and there is also a horse-stable built of stone. Outside the fortress, there is also a sentry-post for 12 soldiers, and a room for the Sergeant (of the sentry-guard), but this has now been transferred within the fortress and the sentry-post is vacant

#### Caymelle (Kammala).

Having departed from there via Tooputture to Caymelle, we came across, on the way, a Company's garden with 712 coconut trees, 494 of which were fruitbearing, which was granted in the year 1699 to the Dessava by the Lord of the Land (i. e. the Company) on the payment of various sums of money, from which he enjoys a sum of 30 or 40 rixdollars in arrack and butter at the annual appearance (i. e. levee) of the native Chiefs. The school at Toppu is very dilapidated, and this village was divided into pattuwas consisting of Tamil people.

Near it there is a tile manufactory ('Pannebakkery') of Tooputture by the pass or river-crossing from the Alutkuru Korale into the King's territory, which crossing built of 20,000 bricks was washed away during the floods.

The cinnamon warehouse of Caymelle is 192 feet long, 132 feet of which have been washed away by the floods although it is built 360 feet away from the river.

p. 437 (2).

At Dandugamuwa there is a school 45 feet long and 21½ feet broad, with a straw-thatched roof, built on 16 wooden supports, and also a house 48 feet long, consisting of 2 rooms and a hall.

The fishing rents (i. e. taxes) which these Negombo inhabitants have to pay (and which they applied to be relieved of) amounts to 835 rixdollars a year, namely 435 rixdollars for fish and 400 for arrack. Durahaga is situated at a distance of 3 full hours' journey from Negombo. Here there is a reasonably defensive pallisade (i. e. sentry-post) of four corners 56 feet long and 20 feet broad, with a sentry-guard, and also a hall and room 22 feet in length for the former Chief of the sentry-guard and a warehouse 20 feet in length, with a gunpowder magazine and armoury 14 feet long and 12 feet broad, with a tiled roof. There is also a house here, built for the Company by the Mudaliyar in the year 1699, 56 feet long and 10 feet broad, and divided into 3 sections and a caboose 35 feet long and 15 feet broad for the accommodation (i. e. lodging) of the Honourable Governor; and this Mudaliyar of Negombo was sent with the Company's presents as Ambassador to the King of Kandy, as a result of which this building was not completed.

From there we left for Mugurugampola in the Hapitigam Korale, a journey of 4 hours from here. This place had a sentry-post of 4 corners which was posted with lascarins from Negombo, but there are no remains of it now. There was also a putrid resthouse here.

#### A Part of the pattuwa.

Malwana. Bolscho. 23rd September 1705.

In the Hewagam Korale, the school at Nagamuwa (which is a three hour journey from Hulftsdorp) is 50 feet long and 33 feet broad, built on 34 wooden supports. Adjoining the school there are 60 coconut

and 6 jak trees, which were granted by Your Excellency to the Master until further orders when Your Excellency passed through Pugoda. After a journey of a quarter of an hour from Nagamuwa we crossed over the river into the Siyane Korale. Sailing along the river towards Ampattala, we saw the site where the school of Kotalawala had existed, wherefore a new school had to be built.

From Hanwella to Padukka it is a journey of 2 hours. The distance from Kandangelles to Anguratota is a journey of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours. At this place, there is a sentry-post (i. e. pallisade) of 4 corners (which was already erected by the Hon. Company at the very beginning. Here at Hanwella, there is a sentry-guard consisting of 1 Kangany and 6 lascarins, but the sentry-post is no longer there. Here there are also 4 coconut, 20 jak and 2 arecanut trees which belong to the Company, but the lascarins of Hanwella enjoy the produce therefrom; and at Kandangelles there is a sentry guard consisting of 1 Kangany and 10 lascarins, and in the pallisade (i. e. sentry-post) there are 42 coconut and 2 jak trees, the produce of which was granted to the Korala and the lascarins for the maintenance of the resthouse here, although the Dessava Mr. Schoi used to lease them out,

From Warakagoda to Moolkava is a journey of 6 hours. Here too there is a sentry-post of 2 points, which is now entirely abandoned.

Pelenda is situated at a distance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours' journey further on, and Agalawatta is a 5 hours' journey still further on. There used to be a good sentry-post here which was always maintained by the Portuguese and also by the Hon. Company, but has for several years now been abandoned.

Wellipenna in the Walalawiti Korale is a  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours' journey from Agalawatta, and at a distance of a half journey from the pass (i. e. river crossing) at Dodan-

goda, from where we sailed along the river up to Alutgama, which took  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours. In the afternoon we proceeded to Beruwala where we rested that night.

Diyagama is situated at a distance of 2 hours' journey from Kalutara in the Rayigam Korale; but sailing up this river took us  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles on account of the strong current.

Here there is a school, built on 32 supports, 43 feet long and 32 feet broad, and a house 38 feet long and 14 feet broad, consisting of 2 rooms and a hall, with a tiled roof.

The journey from there to Uduwara took us 2 hours, and there too there is a school, built on 32 wooden pillars, 54 feet long and 30 feet broad, around which there is a wall  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, and there is also a resthouse 35 feet long and 12 feet broad, with 3 rooms in it.

From there to Hirremie (?) is a  $5\frac{1}{2}$  hour journey. Here, on a beautiful elevated spot (which now for 2 feet more from the ground is decorated, with large blue ashlar, i. e. hewn stones, some of them with engravings and others smooth, etc, where it is said that the palace of the Queen Zilladibiho (?) once stood, built on the remaining 15 stone pilasters and stone door-frames, is a beautiful school, 48 feet long and 20 feet broad, with a tiled roof.

The resthouse was 30 feet long and 12 feet broad.

From here to the large village of Rayigama via Rammukkana is a journey of 20 hours. Here there is a school, 66 feet long and 36 feet broad, built on 44 wooden supports. From here to the pass (i. e. river crossing) of Bolgodatota is a half hour's journey from Rouwekenne (?Rammukkana); and from there we proceeded along the river up

to the pass (i. e. river crossing) of Hangilitota, where there is a school, 48 feet long and 28 feet broad. From here (we proceeded) to Wewela, a journey of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours, where there is a school, 50 feet long and 28 feet broad, built on 36 wooden supports.

p. 438 (2). From there (we proceeded) by canal to Bellantota and further inland to Kotte, a journey of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours, where there is a school, 78 feet long and 30 feet broad, built on 24 small stones and 12 large wooden pillars, with a wall  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, and a tiled roof. 23rd December. P. C. Bolscho.

As one of the most important measures, however, for preventing the decline of the churches and schools, the Seminaries which have been established here in Ceylon should be maintained. There is a Tamil Seminary at Jaffna and a Sinhalese Seminary at Colombo.

The following memoir of recommendations furnished much information regarding the former, i. e. the Tamil Seminary.

*observations regarding the Seminarians at Jaffna.* **Remarks regarding the students and the advancement of the Reformed Religion at Jaffna made in April 1704.**

(1). Two or three of the students who have offered their services to the Church should now be possibly used for the work of the churches & schools, until a definite designation is given to them, which could best be decided by the Honourable Governor;

(2). And with this designation they could be delegated to examine the schoolmasters monthly under the oversight of the Predikants.

(3). That they accompany the Predikants, when they do their land circuit assisted by a member of the Political Council as hitherto, to do their work in

the churches and schools there, consisting only in the reading of an old sermon, the prayers and listening to the prayers and questions in Catechism both of the adults as well as the youth, and further, as at a general inspection, the discharging of children from school and the solemnizing of baptisms and marriages according to the old practice.

(4). It would also be a good thing if they pay short visits to the churches and schools off and on, turn by turn, in order to see whether the orders of the Hon. Company in respect of Church matters are being properly observed and carried out there;

(5). And that they submit a monthly report on their activities to the Church Consistory;

(6). And that they then submit any proposals to the Church Consistory;

p. 439 (1). (7). That they spend the rest of their time in helping to promote the translation of the Old Testament, as that essential work has been in abeyance for some time now, because Dirk Otley de Jonge who was engaged on that work in January 1702, and both the translators who also served as Scribes have left the Seminary in February 1703, and as their services were badly needed the late Hon. Governor Gerrit de Heere has allowed them to continue to remain in the Seminary;

(8). And also that they prepare a little booklet in Tamil, wherein the heathen practices of these natives could be brought to light and clearly shown through powerful reasoning to be abominable and contrary to the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, and that it may be tastefully presented to be used as a handbook or housebook, which would be most effective if it could be set in verse like their historical booklets.

(9). The aforesaid young lads should also promise that they would not marry any women unless they

had first instructed them and had them make their confession of faith and communicate along with us at the Lord's Table.

(10). That the heathen meeting-places where they make their daily, weekly and annual offerings, and the heathen priests and yogies (all of whom, although they are hidden and not known to the Europeans, nevertheless take refuge and protection among the Brahmins who live here) who roam all over the land as mendicants and carry away much money from this land, might be banished.

(11). That they might be ordered and bound to reveal themselves, and also the great and small heathen shrines, the principal ones being under the churches of Navattkuli, Pandatirippu and Tondamanare, and others, about 2 or 3 of them in every village of each of the five Provinces.

(12). Likewise, the departure of an unbelievable number of the inhabitants with their wives and children every year in the month of February to Ramanacoil in the coast of Weradamiam where they offer up an incredible amount of money at those temples, should also be prohibited.

(13). Likewise too, the ceremonial bathing 4 or 5 times a year at Tellipulle, where they attend to be assured of the forgiveness of their sins after they had bathed themselves and made their offerings there.

p. 439 (2). (14). The Roman Catholic priests too, who come over here from Goa, Tutucorin and Madura and continue to remain here for some time, do much damage, especially in the Church of St. Joan situated below the City and at Pandatirippu.

(15). All these activities (and also several happenings at the Coast at Tiruwarur, Sidambaran and Kaasie, and incidentally they have no association or

intercourse with their neighbours) take place not without the knowledge of the principal Mudaliyars who have a hand in the same, and as such people and their activities hinder those of our Reformed religion and they continue, yea, the lastnamed folk treat it with contempt and wherever possible do much damage to it (i. e. the Reformed religion).

(16). If therefore in the principal places, as for instance at the Gates (i. e. on the establishments) of the other officials of the Hon. Company and also at the outposts, members of our Church could be employed, it would be a most useful and desirable matter for religion and the State.

(17). This is indeed (as one would say) the means of making most of the inhabitants Christians in a short period of time, and of reaping the fruits of the immense labour and expense hitherto invested.

(18). That the other students and pupils should continue to be instructed until they are discharged from the Seminary.

(19). That the Manager (lit. House Father), according to the regulations, sleeps in the Seminary at night and resides with the students, in order to prevent much indiscipline and excesses and especially to prevent any of them from going out at night and at unreasonable times.

(20). That the Manager should also instruct the pupils daily in psalm-singing, whose services could also then be used on Sundays as lesson-readers and preceptors (i. e. chanters).

(21). That, as regards the sluggards too and those who are unwilling to learn or obey, some sort of discipline might be enforced for their own good and in their best interests.

(22). It would also be good if the Rector is authorised to assemble the students in the evenings,



before or after meals, and make them read a chapter from the Word of God and give an exposition thereon, and if it was not possible for them to do so, that he does so himself, and then conclude with evening prayers

Although we have now for convenience presented these remarks on the position of these students, they will however be much better elucidated by the following further recommendations of the Rev. Mr. de Vriest:

p. 440 (1). **Notes & observations regarding the Tamil churches and the Seminary at Jaffna etc.**

It is an indisputable fact that it is necessary for anyone who, expecting the blessings of God, pursues an important and good work, that he not only has honourable intentions but also propounds honourable and befitting measures, and pursues his duty, carefully observing all the prevailing circumstances, places and persons, etc. Who then would not wish to believe that all this has been properly undertaken in the establishment of the aforementioned Tamil Seminary, from which good success is expected with God's blessings.

How punctually then the proposed measures should be pursued without deviating therefrom, on account of the very weighty and pressing circumstances could easily be comprehended.

Thus, the business of the Seminary can firstly be attended to, but certain events since the year 1692 which have been recorded by some persons should perhaps be also worth considering to be digested, in order to decide what we could expect from the Seminary and its students.

Philippus de Vriest, was appointed to Jaffna in the year aforesaid to supervise the Seminary there and

to assist in visiting the the churches and schools together with the late Rev. Mr. Mey, according to the previous plan of the Honourable Government (lit: Political Council), not doubting that he would thereby in a short period of time be fully competent etc, as will be seen from the extract of a letter of the Hon. Mr. Thomas van Rhee etc. dated the 28th of November 1692.

What difficulties Mr. de Vriest anticipated in that work, and what hardships he experienced therein at the start, and what warnings he was given against the same by several people and complained against by others that it (i. e. the appointment) should not be refused by him, would take a long time to relate. But he was certainly not deterred thereby, and undertook the said work in the fear of God;

And he embarked at first in the means for learning the Tamil language by attending as a pupil of the late Rev. Mr. de Mey, but he was never able to do more than half a page of script of Tamil letters, and that too a long time thereafter.

p. 440 (2).

He learnt and pondered over various circumstances according to the best of his ability and found-

(1). That though the children in the Seminary studied together, they would not however eat or sleep together or associate with each other as some of them were above the others being of a higher or better caste, though all of them were generally from good castes. And what is still worse, he understood that he should eat or drink with the Hollanders.

(2). Besides this, he was told that the Kanakapulles of the Gate, or Interpreters of the Hon. Commandeur, and also several other Interpreters of qualified officials, though they were baptised Christians,

were heathens in their hearts. Thereupon he took the liberty of expressing his views, saying that since they were still uncultured and rough (i. e. uncivilised) men, they must first endeavour to reform their ways and instill themselves with a desire for knowledge and understanding, so that they may gradually improve, as civil chastity (or respectability) is considered to be the first beginning of godliness, and so that it may not be said initially that it was of no use trying to instil godliness in them. One must also first make them fully understand the difference between good and evil, between being a heathen and a Christian, before presenting before them the profound tenets of our Christian, faith.

The said Mr. de Vriest also took the liberty of asking whether there were no Church members among the Tamils, and was informed that there was no lack of them. Therefore, believing that they would have more influence in such a responsible office as that of an Interpreter of the Commandeur, Dessava and Predikants etc he was of the opinion that Interpreters should be chosen from the Church Members; that such persons could not only be employed with greater confidence, but that others too could be animated thereby, since these men have to be won over by friendliness and goodwill.

The said Mr. de Vriest was confirmed in the fact that if we had Kanakapulles who were Church members, they would not dare to so greatly despise, hate or persecute other persons who are Church members or seek to become Church members, and therefore too those of high castes would not illtreat and oppress those of lower castes and altogether despise them as they have professed to be Christians, though in fact not openly but for personal

p. 441 (1). reasons: for Mr. de Vriest had learnt by experience that this is just what the heathen Kanakapulles and Chiefs at Jaffna do and this was an obstacle, on account of which several persons do not dare to profess Christianity and still less to make confession of their faith.

This was openheartedly admitted at the time, but he was confirmed of the truth of it in the month of December that year (1692); for

When he had the honour of examining the students, and on that occasion heard that the late Honourable Commandeur Mr. Blom had asked the students after their examination if they would sit at meal with him and the other gentlemen who were present there, he immediately received the reply: "Honourable Commandeur, that is possible, but we are unable to do so", and however much we persuaded them, they maintained that they could not do so.

However, it appears that they were subsequently won over, so that they agreed to attend as guests (at the banquet) at the request of the Hon. Commandeur; and besides them, the other qualified officials and all the Predikants too who were invited attended the same with others who were asked on the 6th of January 1693. The students too attended, and the banquet thus took place.

When the food was placed on the table, the guests were requested to wash their hands, when Mr. Otley and the Rev. Mr. de Mey, again informed the Hon. Commandeur that a young man, who was the son of a Prince, had said that he could not join in the meals as his father (who had been a pupil of the late Rev. Mr. Baldaeus) had not been informed of it etc.; whereupon the Hon. Commandeur after having reasoned with him kindly for some length of time, said that if he

refused to join at meals, he would then have to leave the Seminary immediately, whereover the said young lad appeared to be glad instead of being alarmed about it, and left immediately. Then the others too began to protest that they too could not join at meals and persisted in the same although they were given several assurances that the said young lad would never more be admitted to the Seminary, and that they should not forsake their castes; but it was of no avail. The aforesaid Hon. Commandeur, being very upset thereby, began to threaten them, whereupon they were afraid, came in, washed their hands and sat at table, where there was much loud talking, which was again checked and quashed and the Hon. Commandeur and all the other gentlemen had much difficulty in getting them to eat, which they (i. e. the students) did not do except out of fear and terror of being caned, as the Hon. Cammandeur (of blessed memory) was exceptionally stern and severe. This banquet was concluded with much satisfaction and the pupils then had the liberty to go to their parents; but we do not definitely know what happened there, but strangely enough, they were said to have been purged (i. e. refined) thereby.

p. 441 (2).

There was much comment thereafter about this banquet, but there the opinions were diverse and not too complimentary. Whether Mr. de Vriest had now been perturbed over this matter and had expressed himself too frankly thereover, it was observed that he thereafter had practically no connection with the students except only when he was summoned for the annual examination.

But on the 30th of October 1694 Mr. de Vriest was completely excluded therefrom; for the students were then examined and also awarded prizes without his even being invited thereto or his having had even the slightest knowledge of the same except after the event had taken place. How-

ever, Mr. de Vriest was once again at last approached thereafter for his advice as to how the students should be managed, what books should be given to them, etc. To which he replied that as regards the first question, the measures and the plan proposed by the Honourable Commissary General, the late Mr. Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, should be pursued, but he also made some further remarks consequent on his experience of the Tamils, namely:

(1). That the students should continue to be instructed for some time in the preliminaries (i. e. rudiments) to see if they had understood them well and to convince them in regard to the heathen ways which they had previously learnt from their parents and Masters, and that they should thereafter be further taught and instructed gradually on what they were able to understand.

(2). That in regard to books, great care must be taken to see what books are given to them, and that in his (i. e. Mr. de Vriest's) opinion, they should have a brief outline of Theology, from which they might be well grounded in the Articles of Faith and the principal chapters of Theology, and also be drawn away from heathenism and Romish doctrines, the lastnamed of which has made special inroads among these natives who are weak Christians, and an incredible number of whom blindly follow them on account of their ostentatious ceremonies etc so that they therefore for this and more other reasons still need the nourishment of milk like children, and the minds of these youngsters could also with much persuasion be poisoned and burdened with false impressions, and consequently the Church becomes more and more contaminated with false doctrines and involved in schisms, which is always regrettable, and that therefore, all possible vigilance should be exercised to prevent the same by means of good precautions.

p. 442 (1).

These and similar suggestions were submitted by Mr. de Vriest. Others too expressed their opinions, and then matters seemed to have been earnestly taken in hand.

*Further Observations regarding the Seminary* The children in the Seminary learnt the catechetical compositions of Spiljardus and several other useful booklets.

The children in the Dutch school at Chavakachcheri too, and also those at Point Pedro, improved, but not those at Caih (?Kayts)

p. 442 (2). About 80 children attended four times a week at the house of Mr. de Vriest, who catechised them, the boys on Mondays and Thursdays and the girls on Tuesdays and Fridays. Several persons were baptised on Thursdays and Sundays at Nallur, Sto. Joan and at Chavakachcheri or at the visits (i.e. inspections). At the visits, both by the Rev. Mr. de Mey as well as by Mr. de Vriest, each of whom was accompanied by a Scholarch, a great number of persons were admitted as Church members on a definite oral confession of their faith, the sincerity of which only God alone can judge. These were all of them males, and there was not a single female among them.

In fact, it would well be doubted if any female among them could ever be induced to do so. It is a very relevant matter for consideration in this connection why the men and not their women become Church members.

The harvest here was plentiful, but the labourers were only two for the administration of 47 churches and as many schools, which were reckoned to consist of about 100,000 Christians, and were located in the Provinces as follows:-

Belligamme has 14 churches & schools. (These two places cannot be inspected)

The Islands have 7 churches & schools. (less than a period of one month continuously and (that can be done twice a year.

Timmoratchie has 3 churches & schools. (The inspection at these (three

Waddemoraatje "3 churches & schools. (places generally lasts (longer than

Patjelepalle has 4 churches & schools. (a month, and that too can (be done twice a year.

The Border of Wanny. ) both these (The inspection at these (places

At Mannar ) together, (generally lasts longer than a (month.

exclusive of the Dutch schools. (but is done only once (a year-see

have 14 churches & schools. (the re-enacted order (of 4th October 1697.

p. 442 (1) Besides the aforesaid duties, all the Masters and their Assistants of all the aforesaid churches have also to be examined every month, and also the bridegrooms and brides. And in order to adhere only to the intended object in this respect, we shall here skip over whatever further duties they have to perform in the Dutch churches.

Further attention was needed at the Seminary as quite a number of them there were now able to read, write and also converse reasonably well in Dutch.

All the Predikants, besides the Rev. Mr. de Mey, were summoned to attend a meeting of the Political Council and were there asked for their advice whether any of the Seminary pupils should now be instructed in Latin. Each one individually

expressed their opinion in the Council. The members of the Political Council too undoubtedly did the same, and it is worth reading the proposals made by Mr. Swaardekroon thereover, according to the instruction issued by the said Hon. Mr. van Rhee.

This letter of His Honour was written to the Hon. Mr. Thomas van Rhee etc. on the 17th of October 1695: but these instructions were not followed up.

The books, which were ordered out from Holland for the use of the students, were sent out, and they were handed out to them according to a certain document entitled "Suggestions, or recommendations, regarding useful Dutch books for the native youth in the Seminaries, etc."

Among these books, the Church history of Hornius was said to be a good book, but not useful for students, and may God grant that it would not ruin them and that they would not happen to use it to the detriment of the churches and our religion,

p. 443 (1).

The Brahmin named Timmersa with his very great following (who are still active although the Brahmin is dead) were found to be most detrimental in regard to the weak Tamil Christians, as the result of which all the diligent endeavours of the Predikants seemed to be quite fruitless or productive of little good results, according to a mild (Text: 'Largo') request presented to the Hon. Mr. Thomas van Rhee dated the 20th of July 1696. It contains amazing examples and proofs of (the nature of) the Tamil Jaffna Christians.

The heathens who had come over from the Coast as mendicants to roam all over the country and to sow their heathen ideas among the inhabitants of Jaffna, and who were previously immediately sent

back as soon as they were discovered, were now found to be very boldly roaming unhindered throughout the Provinces. A hundred or more persons, as soon as they left our Christian Church, were found to be sitting or standing around such a heathen person listening to him, and when they were observed there, they dispersed and went their way.

On conversing with and questioning any of them who were known (to us), they said that they found pleasure in listening to these heathens on account of the interesting and ancient historical narratives of the Veda which they expounded to them.

One should indeed have been aware of the fact that the churches which were otherwise established for the exercise of our Christian religion were now being made use of for teaching the youth the most abominable heathen books which were forbidden. Mr. de Vriest caught one such Master redhanded in the Church and immediately had him brought with the heathen books as a prisoner to the Castle, where the books were publicly burnt by the Kaffirs (i. e. Kaffir slaves), and the heathen Master was whipped and expelled.

The representation made by Mr. de Vriest, who anticipated that all these abominations could be exterminated by 4 soldiers and 8 lascarins, was never accepted, and no result could therefore have been achieved.

Certain orders previously issued for the welfare of the Dutch schools in the land were withdrawn, or rather negated by contrary orders.

It was observed that all the expenses incurred by the Hon. Company in the inspections (i. e. church and school visits) were fruitless. It was considered to

be an obligatory duty to expose the same in the reports, and consequently all the schools were destroyed.

p. 443 (2). The children to be catechised ran wild, and so was it also with those who had already been catechised.

Regarding the students in the Seminary too it was said that most or some of them had indulged themselves in excesses by going out of the Seminary at nights and indulging in fornication etc. and other vices.

It was found that they stole each others' clothes and committed other vile offences: all of which was then discreetly hushed up by the Rev. Mr. de Mey as far as it was possible.

In fact there also arose certain further difficulties between the State and the Church officials, which was by no means reputable but most damaging for the latter and also most detrimental for the Church.

The Predikants also originally had differences over the orders (i. e. instructions) at the monthly examination of the school masters.

They even went further, as is well known, in forming themselves into factions, which now, by the grace of God, have ceased to exist.

The Kanakapulles and Lascarins were taken away from them, and it is yet impossible to have these duties performed properly. The churches deteriorated to a very great extent and were nowhere supervised by the State. Thus, in places where the Predikants were not supported by the State, all labour was in vain.

All these circumstances tended to cause frustration in the diligence and zeal which was

previously devoted for the advancement of our religion.

The death of the late Mr. de Mey was also a great loss for the churches, and especially for the students of the Seminary.

These persons (i. e. the Rev. Messrs. de Mey & Otley apparently) came to them (i. e. the students), (who for a long time had no proper supervision), to restore them to proper order; for although it cannot be denied that they (i. e. the students) had exceptionally good memories, were clear sighted and were already fairly advanced through their efforts so that some of them had given much satisfaction in able expositions before several persons who had listened to them, it was nevertheless obvious that they had not yet forgotten what they had previously learnt during their vacation and on Tamil festival days when they were in the homes of their parents, for they were permitted to stay over for too long a period with their parents and their friends when they associated and joined with them, so that since Mr. Otley, who always moved about with them in the Seminary, by occasionally pouring out his heart, p. 444 (1). convinced them that he believed that most of them were still inwardly heathens, particularly one of them named Emanuel, who was regarded as chief among them, who, notwithstanding that he outwardly appeared and professed to be a Christian, was nevertheless reputed to be a heathen at heart, and therefore, along with the others, could not altogether be trusted.

If the Rev. Predikants and the Scholarchs had been made aware of the many happenings there, they would have been adequately convinced of the same.

What hopes can we then expect from these students, unless God breaks through their hearts and reclaims them!

If there were any of them whom one would have wished to use for preaching duties, one could not be assured that they would not indulge in debauchery and debase religion, and by associating themselves with their heathen caprices they could thereby more craftily be looked upon as a new type of Mohammedanism; for when they practise such godlessness, they would not lack followers, and such a pest would not be easily discovered and possibly not be brought to light before it was too late, and then, what a pity it would be for the Christian faith, and what profit would it be after all the expenses and labours of the Honourable Company!

What great care and caution and attention should we not then pay and exercise in regard to these persons!

Others, who were not found to be suitable for work as 'Krankbezookers' and would endeavour to take up worldly appointments, and are apparently fit to do so in view of their great and influential friends whom they, so to speak, have at Court and throughout the entire land, and on whose influence the Honourable Commandeurs always have already had much regard in the best interests of the Hon. Company; these could not be made use of with peace of mind for through their crafty ways (in which they greatly surpass the Hollanders) they have access to everything, and so, as they understand the Dutch language, they would be able to read the letters, know all the confidential matters of the Secretary, and would therefore be detrimental to the Hon. Company, while most of them are unreliable and in fact specially use their knowledge and craft to work against the interests of the Hon. Company.

It would therefore be certainly wise to be cautious about such persons before it is too late.

The advice of several friends at Jaffna should not therefore be regarded as being strange who say that the Seminary students should not be allowed to do preaching duties to begin with, but p. 444 (2). that the best of them should be made use of at the very most as 'krankbezookers', on the strict condition that they only read the Tamil sermons in the Churches, which are already available in the churches, and also that they teach only the young children, and even the adults in the prayers and catechisms which have now been used for many years at Jaffna, and that too under the oversight and supervision of a Predikant who would be the fittest person for the purpose if he understood the Tamil language, wherefore provision should always be made for the services of one who is experienced in the same to be available.

As regards the others who may not be competent to be used for Church duties, it is very difficult to say in what capacity they could be employed confidently, except that they could be appointed as Kanakapulles to assist the Predikants for in that capacity they cannot do much harm and much less scheming in the course of their duties.

This straight forward description of the students and the Jaffna Tamil inhabitants is not intended to imply that there are no good Christians, and that we cannot hope for any good among the natives in the course of time.

It must truthfully be admitted that among them there are those who already more than put to shame the Hollanders in their faith and Christian conduct, and an incredible number who would come flying over to our churches like doves to their cotes if they were not terrified by the illtreatment, buffetings and oppression which they are subjected to by the most important and influential Tamils who are all heathens at heart and continue to be so.

In order to verify the truth of the contents of this memoir and possibly obtain further knowledge of the circumstances, the qualified officials at Jaffna should be required to make their individual reports regarding the facts of these circumstances, as to what their opinions are concerning the Seminary students and the inhabitants, and if they express their opinions truthfully and conscientiously, it will be observed that few of them would differ in their opinions over the contents of this memoir or disagree with them.

**N. B.** These notes and comments are submitted in writing by the Rev. Predikant Philippus de Vriest, according to His Reverence's statement, for the orders of His Excellency the Governor General Mr. Willem van Outhoorn, to whom the original would have been sent.

Certified by: J. Huisman, Secretary.

*p. 445 (1).*

From information furnished by Mr. Dirk Otley, first schoolmaster, who was thereafter appointed by the Honourable Commissary General Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede as the first Warden of the Tamil Seminary, I find further that this Seminary was established on the 14th of December 1690 at Nallur, a village in Jaffna, with 26 students at the beginning, in such a manner that, besides the Master who instructed them there was a Warden in this Seminary, who (when the students were not busy in attending the instruction of the Rector, or between such periods of instruction) were entirely under the supervision of the Warden, who was responsible only to the Honourable Scholarchs in everything, and reported everything to them while doing so also to the Rector, and that His Reverence (i. e. the Rector) did not better himself at all about it, nor did he make any orders or criticisms in any of its matters,

This Warden looked after the maintenance of the students, for which he received 22½ rixdollars every month, and he supervised them by night and day; nevertheless, apart from these duties of his office, he was in every way subordinate to the Rev. Rector.

The first Rector who instructed these youngsters in the Seminary in the Dutch language and in the fundamentals of our religion was the Rev. Adrianus de Mey, who performed this duty most patiently, profitably and laudably from the year 1692 till the 28th of February 1699 (when His Reverence died) without any troubles or complaints all that time by His Reverence about the students or even between His Reverence and the Warden. During his lifetime it even happened that these students (with the exception of one of them who was therefore sent out of the school) had eaten and drunk at the table of the Honourable Commandeur Mr. Blom, and nothing further took place of what is mentioned in the report of the Rev. Mr. de Vriest.

*p. 445 (1).*

Soon after this gentleman (i. e. Mr. de Mey) died, the Seminary students made a request to the Honourable Members of the Council in the absence of the Honourable Commandeur Mr. Schenkenberg who was at the pearl fishery at the time) that the Rev. Mr. Roman, a peace-loving man (so they said) be appointed in His Reverence's place, but as this was a matter that was very difficult, awkward and embarrassing for the Rev. Mr. de Vriest, and in order to exculpate him in regard to his conduct the request seems to me to have been very hastily and presumptuously made by the students, and likewise too was the decision regarding the Rev. Mr. de Vriest. But they (i. e. the students) at first received the services of neither of them as their Rector.

*p. 445 (2).*



On the 31st of May 1636, after a certain examination, twelve of the most capable students were chosen on the recommendation of the Rector to be instructed in natural theology. These, being still students, were in fact exempted from (ordinary) school discipline, but not from their previous supervision by the Warden.

At this time His Reverence the Rector began to preach in Dutch and to catechise them in the noons on this subject instead of on the (contents of the) Catechism, which His Reverence otherwise dealt with before proceeding to this preaching duty.

In the meanwhile, after the death of Rev. Mr. de Mey, the responsibility was delegated by the Honourable Commandeur Mr. Schenkenberg entirely to Mr. Otley alone, who recommended the students to compare each others' notes, and in the meantime to proceed to the study of the 3rd and 4th books of Moses, and also to read a sermon at the Church services on Sundays, and to learn their propositions by heart now and again.

In the year 1700, the Rev Mr. Gerardus D'Oude was appointed as Rector over the students in the Seminary. He also performed this duty as a peace-loving man till the year, 1701, when, on the orders of the Supreme Government of the Indies he was succeeded by the Rev. Philippus de Vriest and left the Seminary for Jaffna to work there.

During the administration of the Rev. Mr. de Vriest at the Seminary many differences took place between His Reverence and Mr. Otley, arising mainly from the fact that His Reverence wanted to exercise absolute authority himself in everything, and thus even over the Warden more than on one occasion, and even in the presence of the Hon. Commandeur. He refused (i. e. obstructed) him (Mr. Otley) in everything as His Reverence clearly declared

that this man (i. e. Mr. Otley) was only responsible to the Honourable Commandeur and the Scholarchs and not to His Reverence. These differences were however later in fact settled by the Scholarchs, but had however erupted once again. Wherefore the Government constantly had much difficulties and much squabbling more over this gentleman than over the students on account of this, and all owing to the domineering attitude of His Reverence (so it was said): However, everything was always over some trifling matter. Whereupon the students too, who had already gone to attend the Lord's Supper had to be absolutely reconciled with this gentleman with the confession of their faith, and were only then admitted to the same (as they seemed to have been instigated by the Rector against the Warden and Mr. Otley).

p. 446 (1).

*Further report for the commencement and progress of the Seminary* What measures the Rev. Mr. Synjeu had then adopted in regard to the education and examination of some of these Tamil students may be seen both from his letter in this connection to the Hon. Mr. Simons as well as from the further measures taken by His Reverence, which are reproduced below in clarification of the same.

The letter reads as follows:

**To:** The Right Hon Mr. Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon with the dependencies. thereof.

Right Honorable Sir,

In accordance with the resolution of the Political Council on the 10th of January last for the further instruction by me, and if possible, for making them competent for preaching duties, I have accordingly, after observing their deficiencies (by examining them) both in regard to natural truths emanating from the presupposed enlight-

enment of the additional knowledge of the Christian religion, and also in regard to such matters pertaining to the demolition of heathenism, decided that this insight of their deficiencies affords me the necessary material for instruction and my object to work out a regular rule in order to achieve a satisfactory and desired result.

In order to achieve this, I proceeded first to make them understand and learn to explain these truths before I passed on to the Divinely revealed truths.

The order of subjects which I have followed can be seen from the attached statement which is followed by all the different aspects which are contained in each heading (or chapter).

My motives for this plan of instruction are evident in the outline of the subjects, and I could conveniently skip over them as they are quite discernible by anyone.

The object being to propagate the Christian religion and to reject the heathen religion as being futile, unreasonable and comfortless, it is thus impossible to achieve this, even to hope to do this, without automatically preparing with these preliminary fundamental truths and conveying them appropriately.

p. 446 (2).

The more so, as it is not possible to undertake anything more difficult without this, and much less impart the same, because these Christians, who lack this armour, would only try to avoid the issue which people would try to inflict on them, and the object would be frustrated, and this applies also in the case of the heathens. The latter would safely take shelter under the plea of their decisions and conclusions being hasty. The former, would be without the force of their armour and would not be adequately trained to use them to be able to reach the hearts of the

heathens and make them reject their religion and subordinate them to the true God and His precepts or obey Him. (Note by translator: The context of this clause and some of the succeeding clauses marked with an asterisk (\*) is not quite clear. The translations of these clauses are therefore subject to revision and correction).

(\*). So I decided, for good reasons, that the object namely: the conversion of the heathens, cannot be achieved in such circumstances, but could possibly be achieved by holding discussions between one section and the other on the significance of the Bible as God's Word.

It would have been fortunate for Christianity if more attention was given to these truths which those who love public worship ought to bring along with them before they embark on the threshold thereof.

(\*). The ludicrous Roman Catholic religion could never have found artists who could have got the better of them, let alone even been a match for them.

(\*). I have therefore instructed these students in what I considered to be requisite for this purpose. I am confident that the subjects on which I have instructed them would give no room whatsoever for any of the unreasonable pleas of heathenism, but would on the contrary support all Reformed doctrines.

(\*). They would have been further instructed in special matters regarding heathenism with a view to destroying it if not for the fact that the lack of knowledge regarding it had not yet been removed.

(\*). Wherefore, it was desirable for the refutation and undermining of the tenets of Sinhalese and Tamil heathenism and for their growth in the Christian faith that we should be strongly assured

not only of a mere condemnation of the tenets of heathenism (as we have already done) but of the inner and personal feelings not of the people in general (i. e. the common folk) but of those who consider themselves to be privileged to know the truths of the Christian doctrines, besides those who are still altogether complacent in their natural instincts.

I shall not dilate, further, because the weight of the circumstances necessitate further extension that what was necessary at present in this my object. The material and the purpose of my instruction since the 16th of January last will be obvious to Your Excellency in this report, and I can have no doubts that these students would now be found to have complied with the recommendations made in our Church report of the 8th of January this year in regard to them, which read thus, namely: (that they were not without hope of being able to acquire a sufficient degree of competence if they had the benefit of further good guidance and the requisite instruction). In order to prove this I would also request Your Excellency to order that an examination be conducted in order that I may be able to proceed with their further instruction in Revealed Theology.

My sole object is that my conscience may not be disturbed through neglect of my duty, that the fruits of my labour may be seen and my obligation in every way fulfilled, and that I may most gladly be, Right Honourable Sir, Your Excellency's obedient servant. (Signed): Petrus Synjeu. (In the margin) Colombo 23rd April 1705 (Certified by): J. Brouse, 1st clerk.

#### Order of instruction

1. Technical terms.
2. Definitions.
3. The nature (or characteristics) of a subject, in order to be able to understand the same fully.

4. Regarding the nature of a matter, which serves to assimilate all matters of the same kind.
5. What causes are to be attributed to:  
\* From which all matters were assimilated which appeared to have a cause or not,
6. The assimilation of all problems (or questions).
7. A definite order for proving anything.
8. That there is one God.
9. What God is,
10. On God's oneness.
11. On God's essential and voluntary works.
12. Namely: On God's eternal being.
13. On the need of God.
14. On His simplicity.
15. On His all-sufficiency.
16. On His independence.
17. On His infinity.
18. On His immutability.
19. On the God of life.
20. On His immortality.
21. On His freedom.
22. On His majesty.
23. On His knowledge.
24. On God's love.
25. On His blessedness.
26. On His justice.
27. On His holiness.
28. On His purity.
29. On His perfection.
- The works of conscience.**
30. On His orders of advice (i. e. laws).
31. On their eternity. (lit: everlasting nature).
32. On their immutability.
33. On their uniformity.
34. On their independence.
35. On God's omniscience.
36. On His work of punishment.
37. On His creation.
38. On His providence.

39. On His government.
40. On the image of God in man.
41. On God's laws, ordinances, etc.
42. On perversity, or depravity.  
(? condemnation).
43. On the union of the soul and body.
44. Definition of the works of the Spirit.
45. The immortality of the Soul or its annihilation.
46. Some sins.
47. The practice of virtue and its ways.
48. Meritoriousness.
49. The greatest good and evil.
50. The justice (i. e. fairness) of a matter
51. The truth of a matter.
52. General knowledge.
53. What arguments there are against heathenism.
54. Astrology (lit: prophesying through the stars).
55. On good and evil (i. e. lucky and unlucky) times.
56. On the destruction of the Soul,
57. Exorcism (lit: devil-banning).
58. Voluntary (lit: inward) and outward religion,
59. Image worship, worship of the stars and demons.
60. The beginning of purification and forgiveness  
of sins among the heathens.
61. Tokens (i. e. proofs) of a godly confession, etc.  
and several other matters contained here and  
there in the notes.

According to this order then the aforesaid four  
p. 448 (1). students from Jaffna were examined at Colombo  
Letter of the by the Rector Mr. Synjeu on the 19th of April  
Rev. Mr. 1705, notice of which was also given to Their  
Synjeu to the Excellencies at Batavia, and the opinions of that  
Hon. Mr. Church Consistory were also sought thereover, which  
Simons reg- was not quite in agreement with that of the Rector,  
arding the as His Reverence reported in a letter which he had  
four Tamil addressed in this connection, to the Honourable  
Seminarians Mr. Simons. We have weighed both opinions in  
who were exa- all the details, but we have considered it best not  
mined by him to add our opinions here, both in order to defend

the honour of the Rev. Rector and also in order  
to avoid the necessity of giving our further remarks  
on one thing and another; However, the decision  
of the Batavian Church Consistory was not alto-  
gether unreasonable in several aspects, and it was  
as well particularly that the Rector should not have  
instructed these students according to his special  
concepts but much better according to some other  
system, and especially according to the synopsis of  
Mr. Burmannus, and that he would do well to  
adopt that system in the future, which, it appears  
to me from a letter of His Reverence to his fellow-  
brethren dated the 15th of October 1706, has since  
been followed by His Reverence.

In the meantime, a discussion appears to have  
Second letter taken place between the Governor Mr. Simons and  
of the Rev. the Rev. Mr. Synjeu about the necessity for the  
Mr. Synjeu Rector of the Seminary to possess a knowledge of  
to the Hon. Sinhalese and Tamil, whereover the Rev. Mr. Synjeu  
Mr. Simons expressed his opinions in the following letter to  
over the His Excellency, and, according to his opinions  
question whe- showed that such knowledge was in no way essen-  
ther a Rector tial for a Rector. To. The Right Honourable Mr.  
of a Seminary Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor and Director of  
should learn the Island of Ceylon with the dependencies thereof.  
the Tamil Right Honourable Sir,  
or the Sinha-  
lese language.

In compliance with Your Honour's  
enquiry as to whether a Rector could satisfactorily  
perform his duties without a knowledge of the  
Sinhalese language at this place or without a know-  
ledge of the Tamil language at Jaffna, I respectfully  
submit the following to Your Honour:

Considering the object for which the Seminaries  
were established (namely: the conversion of the  
heathens). I am of the opinion that the essential  
duties of a Rector are the studying of  
truths according to a method that is suitable  
here, and a simple way of demonstrating the same;

p. 448 (2). and if a Rector does not possess this knowledge, the result would be a waste of labour and expenditure, for where the essentials of a matter are lacking, then they can also not be communicated to others (i.e. the goods cannot be delivered to others).

It would be necessary to mention in more detail the real nature of a Rector's duties. In my opinion, they consist in 3 things:

1. A clear examination of matters pertaining thereto
2. The method of expounding the same.
3. The order which should be followed.

In regard to the first, I consider that the matters which a Rector should deal with consist of the following:-

1. An explanation of terms where necessary, so that the students who do not understand the meaning of the writer would not be altogether baffled and be able to make the necessary discriminations, but would, however sparsely, still acquire the necessary knowledge.

2. A full exposition of what one could reasonably know concerning God and the creation; for if this is not done nor expounded by a Rector, but he only teaches his pupils scriptural truths, then the students would miss the most important conviction and not be in a position to persuade others and be altogether useless, since reason alone counts among the heathens.

3. A refutation of the familiar beliefs of heathenism. If this is not taken heed of, they would not possess the necessary armour and the confidence in their individual ability to defend themselves, but being baffled, they would find their position hopeless and disconsolate, and as a result be ready to surrender.

4. That having advanced to the study of Revealed Theology, one should not take everything for granted, that is, be hasty in quoting from the Holy Scriptures against heathenism, without conviction of its Divinity.

The knowledge of the Holy Scriptures can indeed be taken for granted among the Christians as they are aware of its Divinity; but it would be pathetic yea ridiculous, to proceed in this manner with the heathens. For if you say to a heathen "Believe in Christ: He is your Saviour", he would immediately reply: "I do not know Him: why should I believe in Him?". If you say to him "Believe in the Holy Word", his reply would be the same. If the Divinity of the Word is taken for granted, it would indeed be ridiculous.

p. 449 (1).

So I consider that a heathen must be persuaded to acknowledge the Divinity of the Scriptures by means of reasoning, and that too in respect of all parts of the Scriptures. So also in regard to the acceptability of all matters which are proposed to them. This is what the heathens need and therefore expect; and if this is not done, a Rector's work is of no avail in respect of results, and God's Word would be made derogatory. Its Divinity and the importance of their obligation must be inculcated in every detail in the students. Wherefore then it follows that one should be in a position,

- (5). To be able to refute the tenets of the heathen codes of law, and those of the Alkoran of the Turks and the Papal traditions (whereby a Rector could deal with three kinds of people here) both generally (in regard to the means of Salvation offered, i. e. presented, in them), as well as in regard to special matters of knowledge. If attention is not given to this, then it would be of no avail, and they themselves would remain inflexible in the same.

(6). Finally, a Rector must instruct his students in Positive Theology, without burdening them with unnecessary disputations which take place among Christians and are not at all necessary.

In fact, he should be very careful about this. He should however so deal with Positive Theology that they (i. e. the students) would nevertheless be acquainted with the grounds on which any arguments adduced could be refuted.

Having mentioned the subject matters, I shall now pass on to the manner in which they should be dealt with

(1). Since all verbosity is boring so the method should be brief, and, in the case of difficulties arising from obscurity, they should be clarified. Therefore, the students should be helped in understanding the theories as far as it is possible, and their memories should be refreshed as far as circumstances permit it, and their powers of understanding and judgement improved. I would say that through brevity and clarity, they (i. e. the students) could be made to observe things for themselves and be furnished with material for meditation.

p.449 (2). (2). The instruction should be done according to the general principles, so that one argument resolves all propositions of a similar nature. By this means one could curtail method and time longer than one could imagine if they curtail the same preeminently. Otherwise, instructing the students in Theology in dribblets would make the students listless and spiritless and this is the way in which they have been usually instructed, and it is not at all wise.

(3). So a Rector must also be able to resolve the theories backwards to the beginning and instruct his pupils in the same, and this, and the foregoing methods are the essence of solidity and stability of basic knowledge.

Having touched on the method of instruction, we shall now proceed to make some observations regarding the order which should be followed. In doing so, we would adhere to the same order that we have suggested in regard to the subjects to be dealt with. I consider this to be sufficient enough as a brief outline of the essentials of the duty of a Rector. No one could contradict the fact that these are the real and fundamental duties of a Rector. And I am personally convinced that this is the plan that it is necessary to adopt here, irrespective of whether he was a Sinhalese by birth in regard to being able to speak that language, or understands Tamil quite well, and that his labour would be productive of little fruit, and that we cannot expect to achieve that great object (the conversion of the heathens) if the said measures are not adopted.

Whether a Rector is fully competent to carry out all these duties even without a knowledge of the language of the country is a matter for Your Excellency's judgment. My answer is that he certainly could, even if a Rector did not know one word of Sinhalese or Tamil. And I say so for two reasons.

I adduce as the first reason that it depends on the mutual understanding between the Rector and his pupils. When a Rector makes himself understandable to his pupils, he is then fully in a position to be able to carry out his duties. That this is now so in the Seminary could be observed from the learning of the Dutch language as an established feature and an absolute requirement according to the special order.

I have already mentioned the order and practice, and the necessity can be seen from the following fact; namely, presuming that the students had not learnt Dutch, it would then immediately follow

p. 450 (1) that they (presuming that they were taught in Sinhalese or Tamil) would, on completing their studies perfectly, be enlightened by all the necessary commentators of the Old and New Testaments. There are works on Divine Theology and other aids for the study of the Holy Book and for understanding the same; the works of the authors of which we are specially supplied with now, and we could communicate with the students the works of Dutch commentators on almost the entire Bible as and whenever they need them, according to their powers of understanding.

Assuming that they know the Dutch language (which is more useful here than the Latin language in the Fatherland, yea, and much more appropriate for Political reasons), we have for the students here all that they need, and they have free access to all these aids.

The Dutch language only being then altogether a necessity according to the nature of the circumstances and the special order, and it being taught here, I therefore submit the following: namely, that, as the students understand Dutch, it is not at all essential that a Rector should learn the language of the country in order to be able to undertake his duty and perform it laudably.

My second reason is based on the experience of the subjects of my instruction themselves. The students of Jaffna who were entrusted to my care, who had been instructed in the Dutch language (according to their own testimony) confirmed me in my sentiments. In proof of this, I would refer to the recently-held examination in the presence of His Excellency and the other members who were present at the time, when they (i. e. the students) were able to converse in Dutch and fully understood me, which is also further evident from the sermon composed by the students, themselves, which are deposited

here with the Secretary. This is the position in regard to the Dutch language, and as regards the knowledge acquired by them, I consider that one example has to be mentioned who promises to attain the required perfection, as it was evident too at the examination. Wherefore, from my findings, I must confirm that, considering the nature of the findings of the circumstances, the Tamil heathens could be made competent for preaching duties, although the Rector may not understand the Tamil language, through the medium of the Dutch language, which it is incumbent on the Master to teach the students.

I shall then refer to two difficulties which I think could be adduced, which could be removed. The first is whether the students could learn the Dutch language sufficiently enough to be able to understand the Rector. The second, that a Rector who does not know the language of the country would not be capable of interpreting. The first difficulty has already been dealt with and depends on the teacher and if there are any words the meanings of which might still be not understood, the services of the Interpreters and Kanakapulles would be unavailable.

p. 450 (2).

As regards the second difficulty, this has really no bearing on his essential duties nor the all-sufficient aid, the Dutch language. Consequently, it could be regarded as being outside the scope of his duties, and be only adduced as an aid in the country for promoting the work of conversion there.

To stipulate fairly that this is a prerequisite for a Rector seems to me to be unreasonable and I would rather await the opinions of those who may have further insight.

\*

My opinion is then that this requirement is not necessary in a Rector, and that if he could

only do all that his duties demand of him, he would not lose his good name and respect through negligence, not to mention his being burdened with public preaching duties.

\* In fact, the duty of a Rector is nevertheless the same as that of the Rev. brother Predikants who do interpreting themselves. Wherefore I consider that this requirement is not necessary for their work, nor should it be stipulated as part of their duty.

This difficulty could easily be viewed in a different light considering that, as the students know the language of the country and acquire a knowledge of things (two things which must go together, lit: hand in hand, in all interpretations, without which combination no sound results could be expected and all the Kanakapulles would be incompetent for this task), they possess the necessary means of delivering the goods. Wherefore, a Rector could yet be of great service, both in respect of the interpretation of the Scriptures, as well as in respect of the Dutch language, by unfolding his own interpretation of both.

As Your Excellency has been pleased to refer to the recent most praiseworthy resolution of our Lords Superiors regarding the appointment of six Proponents for work in the Seminaria on the express stipulation that that they should first apply themselves to studying the language, there would be no obstacle whatsoever in doing without them, yea, even doing without all of them or at least with half the number.

As far as I am concerned, I think that the services of at least two full-time persons are necessary for the performance of the duties of Rector, and since the duty of a Rector is a most onerous one, he should be excused from interpreting.

and that, with the assistance of the Proponents, the Seminarium and the country could both be fully provided with the necessary personnel

p. 451 (1). I shall not comment on this further, and I hope that I have already not taken too much liberty; Wherefore, I trust that Your Excellency may be pleased to appreciate my good intention, which is this alone, namely, to obey and satisfy my conscience, and in regard to my opinion that no Rector could ever put forward a plea to be excused from interpreting is the language of the country, and that he and the Interpreters should between them try to notice each other's mistakes, which each of them should be free and obliged to do.

I shall summarise my opinions in order that they may be seen at a glance:

1. I think that a distinction should be made between the duty of the Rector and that of the interpreters.
2. As long as the Dutch language is being used in the Seminary, and the necessity (for it) remains unchanged, that a Rector, could competently perform the duties of his office in that language alone.
3. The, students, who have the advantage of association with the Rector, would have all their needs provided for.
4. Speaking in their mother tongue, they would be of help to their countrymen.
5. As they know the Dutch language, they possess the necessary qualifications to be made competent for preaching duties.
6. When they leave the Seminary they could find an open door for pursuing all other necessary



measures for their further edification in and knowledge of God's Word, and

7. Consequently, they would be able to participate in every way in the important object (the conversion of the heathen).

I hope that I have hereby satisfied Your Excellency's wishes, or I leave it to Your Excellency to decide whether I have done so: and I beg to be, Right Honourable Sir, Your Excellency's obedient servant. (Signed); Petrus Synjeu. (In the margin): Colombo, 18th June 1705.

*The Rev. Mr. Ruel's large Catechism is rejected* In former times too the highflown and almost unintelligible Catechism of the Rev. Mr. Ruel had been introduced, but in the course of time it was found to be as unhelpful as the one in the High Malay language introduced at Batavia and elsewhere; wherefore it was thought best to reject the comprehensive Catechism of Mr. Ruel here, and to revert to the one previously used which was intelligible.

*p. 451 (2). Brief account of matters studied by the Students.* **Brief description of the matters taught to and learnt by the students in the Seminary here from 22nd April 1706 up to the present day in the Dutch language.**

1. The difference of the letters and syllables in Dutch & Sinhalese, in which they chiefly had to be competent both in (respect of) conversation as well as in writing respectively.
2. A knowledge of the correct spelling of Dutch words and various proper nouns.
3. The reading of various types of print and writing in an ordinary running hand (i. e. manuscript).
4. The translation of the following words in both languages, namely:

1405	nouns (or substantives)
200	adjectives
307	verbs.
114	adverbs.
26	prepositions.
18	conjunctions.
7	interjections

---

2077 words in all

---

Which also includes 36 titles (or headings), the numbers and their numerical order, namely, the first, second, third, etc, the names of the months, days, etc, and also some portions of grammar, namely:

- (5) Giving reasons for the gender of independent adjectival names.
- (6) The declensions of the same.
- (7) The differentiation of persons.
- (8) The use of simple words such as: a, the, it, this, that, these, those, my, his, your, their, her, which, I, you, he etc., and their, declensions.
- (9) The joining up (lit: combination) of independent and adjectival namewords.
- (10) The conjugations of 'are' or 'is' and 'were'.
- (11) And some common speech (i. e. ordinary conversation).

Colombo, 21st July 1707.

In the year, 1706, three students of the Rev, Rector were again examined (in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Swem who had specially come over from Galle for the purpose) and also after all of them had previously been given the three texts: Romans 3,

p. 452 (1). vs. 24; 2 Peter 1, vs. 20 & 21; 1 Cor; 2, vs. 2. for their test, and at the request of His Reverence that they be sent to the examiner for their test.

After this examination had been put off for the 25th of October, they were examined on the 18th of October by His Reverence, with the object of informing the Honourable Governor Mr. Simons by (means of) a report as to whether they were also considered to be fit for promotion to the office of Proponent, without however their being made Proponents immediately thereafter.

The Rev. Messrs. Oude, Riemersma & Swem were commissioned to act as Judges of the same, and from the report submitted by them to the Hon. Governor and Council of Colombo on the 22nd of October, they were unanimously of the opinion that they were not at all satisfied that these students had done their propositions according to their expectations for such reasons as Their Reverences had added thereto at the time, which they also later positively adhered to in their further explanation (i. e. clarification) of the same on the requisition of the Honourable Governor.

The Rev. Rector, although he was not quite satisfied about this, asked Their Reverences for their further reasons, and Their Reverences replied that they considered that they were not obliged to do so, considering that these gentlemen (according to my opinion) had already expressed their reasons appropriately and clearly in this matter to the Government authorities (i. e. the Governor and Council). Wherefore, this gentlemen (i.e. the Rev. Mr. Ruel) had to leave it at that

The number of persons now employed for the work of the churches and schools and at the Seminary may be seen from the following list:

*Persons  
employed for  
the work of  
the Schools  
and the  
Seminary*

The following persons are employed for the work of the churches and schools and at the Seminary, and according to the order of His Excellency the Governor Mr: Gerrit de Heere in the year 1698, receive the following monthly remuneration, namely:

**For the work of the Churches & Schools.**

1. Adam Fransz, Portuguese 'voorlezer' (reader) who goes round instructing the congregation in their houses..... 6 rixdollars.

1. Pedro Pedran, teacher of doctrine who goes round instructing the congregation in their homes in the Castle ..... 2 1/5 rixdollars.

p.452 (2). 1. Christovo Waas, teacher who goes round instructing the congregation in their homes in the City..... 2 1/5 rixdollars.

16. schoolmasters at 1 1/5 rixdollars each, namely

1 in the Tamil School.

1 at Wolvendaal.

1 at Mutwal.

1 at Kotelawala.

1 at the Pannebakkery.

1 at Nagamuwa.

1 at Kelaniya.

1 at Cotta.

1 at Galkissa.

1 at Wewala.

1 at Moratuwa.

1 at Panadura.

1 at Rammukkana.

1 at Horana.

1 at Uduwara.

1 at Diyagama.

16 persons, drawing a total sum of 28 4/5th rixdollars.

7 schoolmasters at Kalutara, drawing 12/5th rixdollars each, namely:

- 1 at Wadduwa,
- 1 at the Kalutara River.
- 1 at Payagala.
- 1 at Maggona.
- 1 at Beruwala.
- 1 at Alutgama.
- 7 persons drawing a total sum of 94/5th-rixdollars.

26 persons for transport purposes, drawing a sum of 49 rixdollars.

19 Sinhalese Assistant Masters at 1 rixdollars each, namely:

- 1 at Wolvendaal.
- 1 in the Tamil school.
- 1 at Panadura.
- 1 at the Pannebakkery (Tile works).
- 1 at Kelaniya.
- 1 at Cotta.
- 2 at Galkissa.
- 1 at Moratuwa.
- 1 at Horana.
- 1 at Uduwara.
- 1 at the Kalutara River.
- 2 at Kalutara Gravets.
- 1 at Maggona.
- 1 at Beruwala.
- 2 at Aluthgama.
- 1 at Payagala.

19 persons, drawing a total sum of 19 rixdollars.

2 Writers (lit: scribes) for the work of the Secretary of the Court of Justice, the Rev. Predikants during their inspections of the country schools, and elsewhere whenever needed by the Company, namely:

1 Simon de Saram, Sinhalese, drawing remuneration of 4 rixdollars.

1 Domingo Dias, Tamil, drawing remuneration of 4 rixdollars.

p. 453 (1).

### At the Seminary

1 Dutch schoolmaster at 24 guilders and auxiliary subsistence . . 7½ rixdollars.

2 writers (scribes), mixties, namely:

1 Henrik Gerritsz (who draw besides their pay as soldiers):..... 3 rixdollars.

1 Jan Huylo ..... 2½ rixdollars.

2 Sinhalese writers (scribes) namely:

1 Michel Fernando, who draws.....3 rixdollars.

1 Paulo Dias, who draws.....3 1/5 rixdollars.

1 Sinhalese schoolmaster, who draws.....4 rixdollars.

1 dhoby, who draws.....4/5th rixdollars.

54 persons in all, who draw as remuneration a sum of .....100 1/5th rixdollars.

Colombo, 27th November 1704.

Certified by: C. V. Ronderwerken.

*Predikants  
who have  
served from  
1706 to 1722  
A. D.*

Having spoken at first about the Seminary (regarding which further mention will be made hereafter in its appropriate place, we now pass on once again, after this digression of this year 1704, to the year 1706, to show how the services of persons, be they Predikants or Proponents, were further employed for the work of these churches.

**In the year 1706:** The Proponents Willem Conyn, Joannes van Leesten and Adolf Cramer came out here. Of them, Mr. Cramer was appointed as Predikant at Jaffna in 1717 (Note obviously an error in printing for 1707), and the Rev. Mr. Conyn was appointed to Galle in the same year, where they still are The Rev. Mr. van Leesten too officiated, but died in the year 1714.

**In the year 1711:** The Rev. Joannes Buynling was appointed to Galle, and was still there in the year 1722.

**In the year 1712:** The Rev. Franciscus Engelbertus Le Boucq was sent to Ceylon and was stationed at Colombo and was there until the year 1717, when he left for Batavia

**In the year 1713:** The Rev. Gellius Geldesma left for Galle and was then stationed there, and he died there in the year 1717.

**In the year 1715:** The Rev. Jacobus de Jong was stationed at Colombo and he remained there until the year 1717, when His Reverence left for Negapatnam.

**In the year 1716:** The Rev. Mr. Conyn was appointed as Predikant of Galle and the Rev. Adolf Cramer continued to serve as Proponent at Jaffna until the year 1721; but the Rev. Mr. Conyn left for Colombo in the year 1717.

**In the year 1718:** The Rev. Messrs. Gerardus Potken and Sixtus a Buma came out here, the former of whom was stationed at Colombo and the latter at Galle, where they still were in the year 1722, but the former had served at Jaffna for some time

In this same, year, the Rev. Antonius Brummen was also sent out here and was stationed at Jaffna, and he died there in the year 1719. The

Rev. Messrs. Jacobus van Jever and Joannes Philippus Wetzelijs too were sent out here in this year, and both of them were stationed at Galle, and the former died there in the year 1719, and the latter was still there in the year 1722.

The Rev. Messrs. Wybrandus Scaevola and Moses Hermanni were also sent out here in the year 1718, both of whom were stationed at Colombo where the latter died in the year 1721, but the former was still there in the year 1722.

**In the year 1722:** The Rev. Messrs. Joannes Gulielmus Marinus and Wetzelijs Wibranda were sent out here and they were stationed at Galle, and in that same year the Rev. Messrs. Joan Bernard Noordbeek and Petrus Kalden were also sent out here.

**In the year 1733** The Rev. Messrs. Dirk Jan van der Tyd, Bartholomeus Tyke and Henricus Zaekens arrived here and were stationed at Colombo, and the Rev. Messrs. Kalden and Noordbeek were stationed at Galle.

The Rev. Messrs. Scaevola and Godefridus, Joannes Keyerman, who arrived here in the year 1722, were stationed at Jaffna, and the Rev. Mr. Cramer was stationed at Negombo in the year 1725.

After having thus far mentioned the stations and the periods of service of the Predikants at the several comptoirs of Ceylon, we must add to it further certain matters pertaining thereto.

*The State of the Ceylon Churches in 1691 A. D.* Regarding the state of the Ceylon churches, I find that it has been further recorded that in the year 1681 there were 34 country churches at Jaffna in which a sermon was read on Sundays by a Tamil schoolmaster.

Each Church also had a school and according to a register of Colombo of the 9th December 1684,

there were 24,753 souls there under the care of three Predikants, and among them were 4,933 children, and from March 1683 up to May 1684, 1,450 children and 150 adults were also baptised there.

p. 454 (1).

At Galle and Matara there was nearly a similar number of Christians and children; and in Jaffna (exclusive of Mannar) there were 141,456 Christians.

In the year 1688 the King of Kandy was at enmity and in negotiation for peace with the Honourable Company, but he continued to be at enmity over the erection of a pagoda or idolatrous temple in the lowcountry territory of the Honourable Company.

There were grave differences of opinion over this matter even among our own people, some of them being of the opinion that this concession should be granted to the King, but the Church Consistory of Colombo wrote a lengthy letter on this subject to the Lords Seventeen, indicating how not only the Portuguese and other Christian people had always disapproved of and exterminated all idolatrous shrines and temples, but how even the State authority (i. e. the Government) here had also forbidden the same by the recent placcaat of the year 1682.

*Request by Raja Sinha for a heathen temple in our territories referred to the Church Consistory of Colombo was refused. Establishment of the Tamil Seminary in 1690 A. D.*

This letter impressed the Lords Seventeen in the Fatherland so much that they, in the year 1619 (Note: obviously a printing error for 1719), congratulated the Church Consistory for their zeal and also condemned this work completely, being unwilling to allow this concession to this King.

Their Reverences were also thanked for this devoted zeal of theirs in a special way by the Honourable Commissary Mr. van Rheede in a letter by His Honour dated the 19th of July 1690.

Then the extermination of idolatry there was so strongly contemplated but the Land Regent Mr.

de Heere took an altogether different view. He was not willing to deal with them so severely as the placcaats had prescribed. I also find from a letter of the Church Consistory of Colombo to the Hon. Mr. van Rheede dated the 15th of August 1690 that His Honour intended at that time to establish a Tamil Seminary at Jaffna, with a view at the same time to turning out Proponents and Predikants among the Sinhalese there; but they also informed him that specially capable teachers who could be temporarily relieved of their preaching duties would be needed for this purpose, and that in the meantime the Rev. Mr. Speght had left for the Fatherland, the Rev. Mr. Kat was ill and already busy with so many other matters, that the Rev. Mr. Masius was old, the Rev. Mr. van der Bank still lacked experience, and the Rev. Mr. Roman was unwilling and in a poor state of health and already too old to undertake the work.

The establishment of such Seminaria was in fact formerly very strongly recommended by the Rev. Messrs. Walaeus, Voetius and Hoornbeek in order to advance the work of conversion in the Indies, and on the recommendation of the Rev. Mr. Walaeus, the Lords Seventeen had also already established a Seminary under the supervision of this gentleman for several years, but the Synod in the Fatherland very strongly opposed this as they considered that particular Church Consistories in the Indies should not be authorised (i.e. have the power) to ordain Predikants, which even the principal Classes in the Fatherland had never dared to undertake themselves.

p. 454 (2).

Nevertheless, the authorities in Ceylon, in their letter of the 26th January 1642 (Note: obviously a printer's error for 1692) had informed

the Fatherland that a Tamil and a Sinhalese Seminary had been established there in the year 1690.

On the 23rd of February 1693, the authorities in Colombo said that the Tamil Seminary gave great hopes and good results, but they were not yet in a position to say anything about the Sinhalese Seminary as they did not know how it was functioning.

Meanwhile, the Rev. Mr. Kat made preliminary arrangements for the same, and His Reverence had also had the remaining 14 chapters of the Acts of the Apostles translated into the Tamil and Sinhalese languages and given them over to the Rev. Mr. de Mey for revision.

His Reverence had also begun to compile a Dutch and Sinhalese dictionary and already completed half of that work, and was doing his best to complete the same.

A Catechism was also introduced at that time for the native Christians as they were poor in knowledge, in order to remedy that deficiency. The Rev. Mr. Ruel had, during his stay since his arrival there in the year 1692, endeavoured so much that His Reverence had already taught and preached in the Portuguese language

*Rev. Mr. de Mey* The Rev. Adriaan de Mey was also relieved of his preaching duties in order to undertake the supervision as Rector of the Tamil Seminary at Jaffna, which (so it appears to me) he had in 1692 A.D. already begun to do in the year 1692, as they had already reported this to the Fatherland in February 1693.

It was also intended in that year to appoint the Rev. Mr. Stumphius as Predikant at Trincomalee, but he died prior to his departure there.

On the 6th of January 1694 it appeared that the Rev. Mr. Kat was busy with the translation of the Old Testament into Tamil and Sinhalese.

The Rev. Mr. de Mey too made great endeavours to turn out competent pupils in the Seminary, where the students had made great progress in their study of the Dutch language and religion (as it was later confirmed on the 11th of January 1695).

And it was reported on the 22nd of November 1644 (**Note:** an obvious printing error for 1694) that the Rev. Mr. Kat too was busy with the translation of the New Testament into Tamil and Sinhalese, the proofs of which had already been sent to Batavia.

On the 11th of January 1695 the authorities at Colombo wrote that the Rev. Mr. Kat was released from his office on account of his illhealth, but that he was nevertheless busy in getting out several useful works in the Sinhalese language and that his Dutch-Sinhalese and Sinhalese-Dutch dictionary was nearly completed.

In that year the Rev. Mr. de Vriest too had been released from his office and appointed as Joint-Superintendent of the Tamil Seminary, for which purpose His Reverence diligently learnt Tamil, for which he also retired further inland. The Rev. Mr. Ruel preached in Portuguese and also diligently learned Sinhalese.

At that time the Consistory of the Church at Colombo also administered the churches of Negombo, Tutucorin and Kalpitiya.

They wrote on the 17th of December 1692 that there were these, 14 Predikants at the time in

Ceylon, viz: The Rev. Messrs. Masius, Kat, de Mey, de Vriest, Simey, Roman, Ruel, Meerland, Coyterus, ven der Bank, Agotha, Hakoma, Kroonenburg and Specht.

*In 1697 A.D.* On the 1st of February 1697 the authorities at the Rev. Mr Colombo wrote that the Rev. Mr. Kat was 62 years old, but was nevertheless still busy compiling the busy compilig his Seminary. Dictionary

The Sinhalese Seminary existed previously, but in 1696 A.D. really first began to function in the year 1696, the Sinhalese Seminary where there were 15 students recruited from the most influential native families, who were instructed by a Dutch Master in the mornings and a Sinhalese Master in the noons.

For 2 or 3 years past the Deputies for Indian affairs at Amsterdam had had serious discussions with the Advocate of the Honourable Company Mr. Pieter van Das about this Seminary with a view to abolishing (lit: stopping or preventing) it; but this gentleman had assured Their Honours that they need have no fears whatsoever about it as it would automatically fall to the ground in less than 20 years' time.

The Rev. Mr. Ruel was relieved of his duties in the year 1695 for a period of 1½ years to enable him to learn Sinhalese, in which language His Reverence had already preached on two occasions.

*In 1698 the Rev. Mr. Ruel was appointed Rector of the Tamil Seminary* In the year 1698 His Reverence, who was in Colombo at the time, was appointed as Rector of this Seminary, and thus there was much hope of good both for the Seminary and for the Tamils. Round about this time serious differences arose between the old Rev. Mr. Kat and the Rev. Mr. Ruel over the Sinhalese language.

In the basis of this matter, the Rev. Mr. Ruel had pointed out many instances in which the Rev

*Differences between the Rev. Messrs Ruel and Kat.* Mr. Kat had erred (which he himself too admitted, but over which he (who otherwise was also very strangely upset), regardless of his advanced years and consideration for the fact that His Reverance (although he was greatly respected by native writers) had however really first raised the issue had treated him so harshly and roughly, wherefore his treatment of this old gentleman (who appeared to be somewhat jealous about his great talent in Sinhalese which he possessed) was very much disapproved of both at Batavia and also in the Fatherland in the demand of His Reverence from this old and industrious gentleman, who had acted in every way in good faith, though he had been at fault here and there, for the signing of a document which, anyone who read it, would have regarded as quite abhorrent and most unreasonable.

*The Rev. Mr. Ruel's further activities in 1699 A.D.* The Rev. Mr. Ruel was, according to a letter written by the authorities at Colombo dated the 23rd of January 1699, busy revising what the Rev. Mr. Kat had translated, while he himself was also occupied in translating some scripts for the Seminary.

*Death of the Rev. Mr. de Mey in 1699 after having made some pupils proficient in preaching.* In the meantime, to the great sorrow of many well-intentioned persons and to the great detriment of the Tamil Seminary, the active and zealous Rev. Mr. de Mey died on the 28th of February 1699 after he had served for 6 or 7 years as Rector of this Seminary, and just before his death had helped two students to progress so far in the year 1698 that they had expounded on two special texts in the presence of the Honourable Land Regent and several other gentlemen, and did so with great satisfaction, following whose footsteps yet two others subsequently were also in a position to give proofs of their competence; but as no relief was forthcoming of young and active Predikants, everything began to decline again in a short space of time, and the services of a capable Rector were once again needed.

*They lost Services of Six Predikants.*

This was followed then by differences between the Rev. Messrs. de Vriest, Roman and Croonenburg in that same year, on account of which Ceylon had lost the services of six Predikants in one year, namely; the Rev. Messrs. Meerland, Hakoma, de Mey, Coiterus, Roman and de Vriest, as three of them had died and three had left for Batavia.

The Rev. Mr. Voltelen was in fact sent out to Ceylon from the Fatherland, but he died on the voyage out on the ship 'Overnes'.

*p 456 (1). The Sinhalese Seminary had been abolished both by the Lords Seventeen and by their Excellencies at Batavia, whereby all the labour expended in this language both by the Rev. Messrs. Kat and Ruel and also by the number of students (who had already made such progress and shown proofs of excellent success) were blasted (lit: reduced to ashes).*

*The Rev. Mr. Ruel's further proofs of diligence*

The Rev. Mr. Ruel had also compiled a very fine Sinhalese Grammar with the intention of sending it over to the Lords Seventeen, which too was now rescinded as it was consequently unnecessary to have it printed. Besides this, His Reverence had also revised and improved the Catechism, was busy revising the aforementioned Dictionary, and had translated one portion of the Children's Bible (consisting of the Books of the Old Testament compiled by Professor Joannes Melchior), all of which His Reverence now intended to discontinue on the abolition of this Seminary.

*The Rev. Mr. Oude appointed Rector in 1700. The goes to Batavia.*

Meanwhile, in the year 1700, the Rev. Mr. de Oude was appointed as Rector of the Tamil Seminary in the place of the late Mr. de Mey; but the differences that arose between His Reverence and the Rev. Messrs. Roman and Kronsaburg was the cause of his departure for Batavia in the year 1699, which were settled on the 10th of June by

the Church Consistory there, who re-installed His Reverence and sent him out again to Jaffna as Rector (of the Tamil Seminary). So Mr. de Vriest, was appointed in place of the Rector Mr. de Oude in the year 1701, but the Rev. Messrs. Rakoms and Roman left from Batavia for the Fatherland, the former in the year 1699 and the latter in the year 1700.

**Note by translator:** According to the marginal title of this paragraph, there seems to be some confusion of names in the printed text of this para: The marginal title reads thus: The Rev. Mr. de Oude in the year 1700 and the Rev. Mr. de Vriest in the year 1701, were appointed as Rector of the Tamil Seminary, but he goes to Batavia. The Rev. Mr. de Vriest again Rector in 1701.

*Poor condition of the Tamil Seminary.*

After the death of the Rev. Mr. de Mey and the departure of the Rev. Mr. de Vriest to Batavia, information was received from Colombo on the 2nd of December 1699 that the Tamil Seminary had as a result relapsed into a very bad state through the death of the Rev. Mr. de Mey and the despatch of two or three others to Batavia, which was quite understandable since whereas there were 14 Predikants previously in Ceylon there were now only 4 or 5 according to a letter from Colombo dated the 3rd of December 1700.

*The Rev. Mr Ruel dies in 1701 and the great loss by his death*

The Rev. Mr. Ruel died in the year 1701, which was a very great loss to the Church in regard to the Sinhalese language, as he was the only one who preached in that language. The Rev. Messrs. Kat and Masius had retired. The Rev. Mr. van der Bank was still at Colombo, but the only one there, when the Rev. Mr. Coting thereafter arrived there. The Rev. Mr. Agota was at Galle, but he was very old. The Rev. Mr. Kroonenburg had left, but the



Rev. Mr. de Vriest was of very great help for the Seminary at Jaffna. Thus the earlier troubles were entirely and completely removed.

Before his death, the Rev. Mr. Ruel had also translated the Formularies for the Lord's Supper, Baptism and Marriage, and it is strange, that this  
*p. 456 (2).* was not attended to earlier as it was most essential.

After his death it was not possible to administer the Lord's Supper in the Sinhalese language to the Church members there except through the services of a Portuguese interpreter, and that too very inefficiently and quite unimpressively, which was a direct result of the poor regard that people have for learned and zealous men, as others, seeing how little regard is paid to their work as it has indeed been the case that how much ridicule they have to put up with, and how little encouragement they receive in their work, they are reluctant to undertake the task because they are held in less respect thereafter, that those who just mind their own business without undertaking the task of interpreting in foreign languages; But if such a scholarly person (who finally becomes frustrated thereby) happens to die or to depart elsewhere, then they feel very sorry and there is no means then of remedying such a loss in whatever difficulties one may be placed if the Dutch language had not been introduced at the beginning, and so this is still done.

*The Sinhalese Seminary is revived in 1704 A. D.* In the year 1704, the Sinhalese Seminary (in compliance with the decision made thereover by the Lords Seventeen in the Fatherland) was re-organised. Their Reverences in the Fatherland also had the Sinhalese Grammar printed in the year 1703, and decided to send six Proponents (though only three eventually left) to Ceylon in, order to meaningfully help in the progress of the work there.

At this time the churches at Negombo, Kalutara, Tutucorin and Kalpitiya still came under the jurisdiction of the Church of Colombo and had to be administered from there, which was indeed very difficult.

In the year 1704, there were 253 Church members and 98 schoolchildren at Colombo; and at the other places under its jurisdiction there were also 29 Church members and 54 school children. There were 30 churches in all, and there were 22,399 Christians belonging to Colombo, whereas for several years past there were 150,000 native Christians at Jaffna, who, for their comfort and edification had nothing more than some translated prayers, the Catechisms and the comfort of the sick, without any portion of God's Word or even any translations of the same or any printed sermons. For although the Rev. Mr. Kat had devoted much zeal in the translation of several useful books and in investigating into the religion of the heathens, and the Rev. Mr. Ruel had also done his best to do so, of what use could all this be when these works remained unprinted? It only helped to deter other industrious persons from ever undertaking any such work.

*p. 457 (1).*

*The Rev. Mr. Synjeu appointed Rector of the Seminary in 1705 A.D.* In the year 1705: the Rev. Petrus Synjeu was appointed Rector of the Sinhalese Seminary by the authorities at Colombo: he also, according to their letter dated the 7th of February 1707, preached the Seminary once in every 14 days.

There were also 22,219 Christians at or under the jurisdiction of Colombo at the time; and in 1706 the Proponents Messrs. Conyn, van Leesten and Cramer had also arrived there.

*His zeal in this work, 1709 A. D.* In the year 1709, the Rev. Mr. Synjeu had made such progress with some of the students that

they were able to competently instruct the natives in the fundamentals of religion. And the total number of native Christians here consisted of 26,278 persons.

In the year 1710: the Proponents learnt the country languages most assiduously, while several students, especially three of them, had edified their countrymen fervently by their preaching and catechising, by preaching on all Sundays to a separate congregation in the Tamil language.

At that time, 84 adults and 1838 children were baptised at Colombo.

The students too were examined in the presence of several persons in the Dutch language in grammar and syntax and in Theology and their further essential studies, and they were found to be very efficient and knowledgeable.

*Comments on the state of their Churches consequent thereon.* At Jaffna, where there were only the Rev. de Vriest and the Rev. Mr. Buyning, there were about 50 churches and about 115,000 Christians.

The Rev. Mr. Synjeu also instructed his pupils in the 'Outline' of the Rev. Mr. d'Outrein, and was shortly due to instruct them in van der Honart's "Ways of Truth".

Moreover, in a letter dated the 3rd of November 1711, it was further reported that the Proponent Mr. Conyn had translated into Sinhalese the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, and the authorities of Ceylon also requested to be informed whether they should not promote the Proponents to the office of Predikant. On the 9th of December 1712, the authorities at Colombo wrote that there were 35,271 Christians there and that 136 more had been added during that year.

The Rev. Mr. Conyn already preached in the country languages and in Sinhalese at Galle.

p. 457 (2).

In the year 1713, the Seminary students at Colombo were examined with much satisfaction on the "Ways of Truth" of the Rev. Mr. van den Honart and on Revealed Theology.

According to a letter dated the 6th of November 1713. the Rev. Messrs. Leesteen and Cramer had also made much progress in their study of the languages.

In the year 1714, the industrious Rev. Mr. Buyning alone was at Jaffna, although 3 or 4 Ministers were needed there. However, the Rev. Mr. Cramer helped him off and on, while he too had made fair progress in the study of the Tamil language.

The Rev. Mr. Agotha who was nearly 80 years of age too now began to be very weak under the burden of his work at Galle.

The Rev. Mr. van Leesten died at Matara in the year 1714.

The Rev. Mr. de Vriest was now at Colombo and according to the latest statistics there were 38,779 Christians there.

In the year 1718 it was reported from there that the Rev. Mr. Cramer had made great progress in the Tamil language.

In the year 1719: it appeared that the Rev. Mr. Conyn was appointed to Colombo in place of the Rev. M. de le Boucq who had left, and that the Churches and schools there had been blessed and made remarkable progress.

The Rev. Mr. Synjeu was zealously working at Colombo with the Seminary students, who had already

advanced to the study of Revealed Theology, although no examination was held owing to their being yet unfit for the same.

At Galle, the Rev. Mr. Geldesma had already died in the year 1717; and at Jaffna the feeble Rev. Mr. Buyning was assisted by the Proponent Adolf Cramer.

According to the report from Colombo dated the 17th of December 1717, the Rev. Mr. Synjeu had also satisfactorily examined 8 students of the Sinhalese Seminary on the principal points of the 17 chapters in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th books of 'The Ways of Truth' of Mr. Van den Honart in the year 1717, which added that since the last inspection of the district of Colombo, 2,414 persons were added to the earlier number of Christians, and that the total number was now round about 40,690 persons.

At Jaffna, the Rev. Mr. Buyning suffered so badly from weak eyesight that he was unable to preach, so that the Rev. Mr. Cramer had now acted for him, but that he was unable yet to say what progress had been made in his Tamil work and on the state of the churches there. The native Proponents here also did their best in preaching and catechising in order to edify their countrymen, but there were generally complaints here that the harvest truly was plentiful and that the labourers for the same were far too few.

p. 458 (1)

In the year 1720: it was found from the reports sent to Batavia and the Fatherland that the old Rev. Mr. Agotha, who was now 81 years old, still continued to serve at Galle, and that the Rev. Mr. Buyning continued to serve at Jaffna as before. The Rev. Mr. Synjeu was still busy at Colombo with the work of the Seminarians, and there were now 7 students and 7 scholars (i. e. pupils) in that Seminary, but the latter on account of their slow powers

of comprehension were unfit to undertake further studies, but were nevertheless useful for employment as schoolmasters.

The former 7 students were examined in Natural Theology and had now passed on to the study of Revealed Theology, using therefor the Synopsis of Burmanni in which they were fairly knowledgeable, but they were acquainted therein only in regard to the points against Heathens, Moors and Papists.

At Colombo there were now 40,765 Christians and in the whole of Ceylon, excluding Jaffna, there was a total number of 179,715 Christians.

In the year 1721: the authorities in the Indies reported from a letter dated the 3 November 1719 addressed to them from Jaffna, that the Rev. Messrs. Buyning, Scaevola, Potken and Hermanni were still there, and that the lastnamed person had been summoned from there to Colombo to replace the late Rev. Mr. Van Brummen.

There were 189,764 native Christians at Jaffna in that year, and the Tamil Seminary continued to function as before, to which 6 youths were again recently admitted; and the two native Proponents too were making headway with their work of instructing the Sinhalese and Tamils there in the fundamentals of our religion.

At Galle there were now (i. e. in 1721) the Rev. Messrs. a Buma & Wetzelijs and the Proponent Mr. Cramer who was transferred there to replace the late Rev. Mr. Van Jever. The total number of Christians there was 27,040.

Colombo had the services of the Rev. Messrs. de Oude, de Vriest, Conyn and Hermanni who was summoned there from Jaffna.

In this year (1721) there were 41,160 Christians there, as several persons had died of the plague.

The Sinhalese Seminary at Colombo had not made the same progress as before to the satisfaction of the Rev. Mr. Synjeu, which was mostly due to His Reverence's disability.

In the year 1722: nearly the same report was received from Jaffna regarding the state of the Church there, but from a letter from Colombo dated the 7th of November 1720 (signed by the Rev. Messrs. Potken and Synjeu and the Elder Mr. van Gent), it appeared that the results of the labours of the native Proponents were not so bad and according to their expectations could be yet better.

The following statistics were reported:-

The Tamil Christians numbered.....	189,388.	persons.
Of whom the baptised adults numbered ..	119,927	"
The baptised and already instructed numbered	28,488	"
The unbaptised infants numbered.....	31,439	"
The unbaptised boys numbered.....	2,799	"
The unbaptised girls numbered .....	1,493	"
The further native Christians numbered...	179,845	"

At Galle: there were 55,159 Christians, who were fairly advanced in knowledge according to the report regarding them at the last Church and school inspection by the Rev Mr. a Buma.

Colombo had then the services of the Rev. Messrs. de Vriest, Conyn and Potken, the lastnamed of whom was summoned there to replace the Rev. Moses Hermanni, who had died in March that year.

The Rev. Mr. de Oude too had died shortly before in that year, to the sorrow of many souls.

The Church here was found to be in a flourishing condition everywhere at the last inspection.

The total number of native Christians was 41,467 and they were very zealous, especially at Negombo where the Rev. Mr. Cramer was stationed for some time to learn Tamil.

The Seminary here at Colombo had made good progress and the students had greatly advanced in their studies both in the 'Outline' of Mr. D' Outrein and also in the Synopsis of Burmannus: but the general complaint here was over the great dearth of Predikants in so great a harvest, as they had lost 4 Predikants within a period of 2 years.

In the year 1723: news was received from the Ceylon authorities that in the year 1721 Colombo still had the services of the Rev. Messrs. de Vriest, the Rector Mr. Synjeu (who was really feeble but still full of zeal), Conyn and Marinus, but Mr. Wibranda had died on the voyage and the Rev. Mr. Wetzelijs was also summoned here from Galle, and earlier the Rev. Mr. Potken too.

The number of Christians here here was 41,467.

Jaffna continued to have the services of the Rev. Mr. Buyning (though he was still in the same state of health as before) and the Rev. Mr. Scaevola. The number of Christians there was 189,388.

At Galle, there was the Rev. Mr. a Buma and the Rev. Mr. Wetzelijs, but the latter was summoned to Colombo. There was also the Proponent Mr. Cramer, and all of them had to minister to over 55,159 Christians.

From a letter written from Colombo dated the 14th of November 1721, it was observed that the Rev. Messrs. de Vriest, Synjeu, Potken and Wetzelijs were still there, and that Mr. Synjeu had examined 7 students on the 10th of November on the questions of Borstius, and had registered their competence in reading and writing Dutch.

p. 459 (1).

The students were meanwhile most industrious in revising and learning to understand both the 'Outline' of Mr. D'Outrein and also the 'Synopsis' of Burmannus, with which they were already quite familiar.

Colombo had now also got three new churches. so that they now had 38 churches in all.

The congregations at Negombo were looked after (i. e. ministered to) in the Tamil language by the Rev. Mr. de Vriest and in the Sinhalese language by the Rev. Mr. Conyn, and the Rev. Mr. Cramer too ministered to the Dutch and Tamil congregations there and learnt the latter language most diligently. The Proponent Jan Ignatius too did much work there in preaching and catechising.

The new congregations in the Church and schools of Toppupetti, Pancare and Hunupitiya and at Cotta were looked after by the Rev. Mr. Conyn, and the number of Church members was now as follows:-

At Colombo.....	310	
In the Leper Asylum.....	15	
At Negombo .....	170	
„ Cotta & its suburbs.....	70	
„ Kalpitiya.....	12	
„ Tutucorin....	24	Total 621
„ Jaffna.....	309	
„ Galle & Matara .....	121	
„ Batticaloa .....	31	
„ Mannar .....	30	
„ Trincomalee .....	35	Total 526
Total number of Church Members...		<u>1147</u>

The total number of Christians at Colombo  
was 34,894.

The Rev. Mr. a Buma was at Galle and the Rev. Messrs. Marinus & Wibrandia were sent there from Batavia, but the latter died on the voyage.

There were 51,711 Christians and 110 Church members at Galle.

Jaffna still had the services of the Rev. Messrs. Buyning and Scaevola, and there were then 182,302 Christians and 273 Church members there.

So that: The Church of Colombo  
consisted of.....34,894 persons.  
The Church of Galle consisted of.....58,711 "  
The Church of Jaffna consisted of.....182,302 "  
Making a total of ..... 275,907

There was not much said in praise of the industriousness of the native Proponents, but 6 young men who were placed in the Seminary by the Land Regent Mr. Rumph gave very good proofs of their diligence and good comprehension.

The number of schools

was as follows:- Colombo ..... 38  
Galle..... 18  
Matara ..... 19 Total 75.

p. 459 (2).

According to the last news of Ceylon in the year 1725, the following persons were serving there at the time:-

At Colombo: the Rev. Messrs de Vriest, Synjeu (as Rector), Conyn, Potken, Joannes Philippus Wetzelius, and the Rev. Cornelis de Bucq who had recently arrived there.

At Galle: the Rev. Messrs a Buma, Doctor of Philosophy, Joannes Wilhelmus Marinus, and Petrus Kalden who had come there recently.

At Jaffna: The Rev. Messrs. Buyning, Wibrandus Scaevola, Godefridus Joannes Weyerman (who

had also arrived there recently), Joannes Bernardus Noordbeek and Adolf Cramer.

Besides these, the following had also come to Ceylon:-

In the year 1723, there were stationed at Colombo the Rev. Dirk Jan van der Tyd and the Rev. Bartholomeus Tyke, who were supplemented in the year 1724 by the Rev. Henricus Zaekens; and in the year 1725, the following persons died here; - namely:-

The Rev. Messrs de Vriest and le Bucq at Colombo and the Rev. Mr. a Buma at Galle.

I could here add still more particulars and also some rare events and Church proceedings, but it is not possible to mention everything

I could also add here what the Rev. Mr. Baldaeus says about the state of the Church in his time, but one can far better read it himself, except for the fact that the Church had not yet been fully advanced at that time.

If I may now make a brief comment on this subject generally and regarding so great a number of Predikants as can be seen from the following summary list, I find that among them there were very few who took trouble to learn the Tamil or Sinhalese languages and made use of them effectively.

In the Tamil language, the Rev. Mr. Baldaeus made a beginning in the same, but those who were outstanding in it were the Rev. Mr. de Ney, the Rev. Mr. de Vriest and the Proponent Mr. Cramer, and in the Sinhalese language, the Rev. Messrs. Kat, Ruel, Synjeu and Conyn.

This indeed clearly shows and proves that among such a small number of so very active men not all of them were even capable of learning languages, and that more respect (i. e. regard) should

therefore be paid to those who undertook this task and were competent to do so, than what has hitherto generally been accorded to them.

Besides this, it would easily be seen that in the case of those persons who really had a flair for such work and were devoted to their works, which they had produced with the sweat of their brows after such hard labour, as for instance the Rev. Mr. Kat and the Rev. Mr. Ruel, all their labour and all their works have in fact, even during their lifetime, to a great extent been rendered useless by the abolition of the Seminary; And although it was revived again, there was at the time once again a lack of learned men, although the active Mr. Synjeu had later specialised in his knowledge of the Sinhalese language.

p. 460 (1).

The testimony always given regarding these Christians generally, though they were many in number, is that they were very poor in knowledge; but how could it have been otherwise, especially considering how few learned Predikants there were during all that time, whereas, on the contrary, the services of at least four at one and the same time were continuously needed for each Seminary and the corresponding churches and that four others were needed as a reserve in case of the death or departure of the others, so that then there was not one too many. Thus, one could well see the reason why the results were not more satisfactory, namely: because there were too few labourers in the harvest (i. e. vineyard).

p. 460 (2).

And besides this, it will be seen that hitherto no works of interest in Sinhalese or Tamil have yet come to light although there were several excellent works made ready for publication, but it was expected that one or two learned Predikants alone should be able to edify so many hundred

thousands of persons and that the others would also eventually be converted, which was indeed impossible to accomplish.

If these men had now had the Bible translations and other essential books printed, it is quite certain that this would have been of extraordinary help to them and would have supported the work of the Predikants.

We would now conclude our comments on matters concerning the Ceylon churches, but we would also append below some lists of the Predikants who served there.

## LIST OF THE PREDIKANTS AT POINT DE GALLE

*Predikants of  
Galle*

*p. 460.*

Antonius Hornhovius	1642.
Joannes Sterthemius	1643 to 1645.
Antonius Hilarius	1645 to 1649.
Antonius Lenzius	1648 to 1650.
Henricus Bongaard	1648.
Franciscus Wyngaarden	1651 to 1660.
Dominicus Vinsemius	1652.
Petrus Kesselemrus	1655. (Died in 1655).
Philippus Baldaeus	1656 to 1657.
Joannes Ferreira a d' Almeyda.	1656 to 1658. Left in 1658 for Tutucorin and in 1663 from there for Batavia.
Joannes a Breyl.	1658. He was transferred to Mannar in 1658, remained there till 1661 and then left for Jaffna.
Bartholomeus Heynen	1664 to 1679.
Jacobus Burenus	1667 to 1676.
Jacobus Schee	1668.
Jacobus Corf	1668 to 1611 (obviously an error for 1711), when he died.
Nicolaus Agotha	1668 to 1718. But he was at Negombo from 1697. He died in 1718, aged 81 years.
Nicolaus Livius	1690 to 1691, when he died
Gerardus Hacoma	1692 to 1697.
Thomas van Simey	1667 to 1699. (Maybe an error for 1697-1699)
Regnerus Kroonenburg	1698 to 1700.
Arnoldus Swem	1702 to 1711.
Gellius Geldesma	1713 to 1717 When he died.

Willem Conyn	1716 to 1717.
Sixtus a Buma	1718 to 1725, when he died.
Jacobus van Jever	1718 to 1719, when he died.
Joannes Philippus Wetzeli	1718 to 1721.
Joannes Guilelmus Marinus	1722.
Wetzelius Wibranda	1722. Died on the voyage from Batavia to Ceylon.
Petrus Kalden	1723.

## LIST OF THE PREDIKANTS OF NEGOMBO

<i>Predikants of Negombo and Matara.</i>	Antonius Stamperius	1642.
	Franciscus Wyngaarden	1655. (For a short time).
	Theodorus Kloppenburg.	1676 Died in 1676.
	Marcus Masius.	1676. to 1691
	Joannes Coyterus	1681 to 1611 (Probably an error for 1691).
	Nicolaus Agotha	1697 to 1698.

## LIST OF THE PREDIKANTS OF MATARA.

Feico Weylsma	1685 to 1697, when he died.
Regnerus Kroonenburg	1692 to 1699.
Gerrardus Hacoma	1697 to 1698.

## LIST OF THE PREDIKANTS OF JAFFNA

<i>Predikants of Jaffna and Colombo</i>	Philippus Baldaeus	1658 to 1665.
	Joannes a Breyl	1661 to 1665.
	Bartholomeus Heynen	1664 to 1676. But he was here for a short time and went to Galle.
	Servatius Clavius	1667 to 1679.
	Adrianus de Mey	1678 to 1699. Died.

Joannes Fredericus Stumphius	1678 to 1680. Left for Batavia.
Jacobus op den Acker.	1678 to 1688.
Joannes Fredericus Stumphius	1681 to 1693, when he died.
Joannes Coyterus	1681 to 1686.
Feico Weilama	1685. For a short time and then at Matara.
Adrianus Backer	1585 to 1687.
Francois Chasse	1686 to 1694, when he died.
Conradus Kroonenburg	1686 to 1687, when he died.
Philippus de Vriest.	1692 to 1699.
Joannes Roman	1692 to 1699, when he left for Batavia
Joannes Coyterus	1699. Died in 1699.
Regnerus Kroonenburg	1696 to 1698.
Gerardus Hecoma	1698 to 1699.
Philippus de Vriest	1700 to 1713. (On his return) from Batavia
Joannes Roman	1700 to 1701. (On his return from Batavia). Died in 1701.
Gerardus de Oude	1700 to 1703.
Francois van de Sande	1702 to 1705, when he died.
Joannes Buyning	1711 to 1723. He is still there.
Antonius van Brummen	1718 to 1719, when he died
Wybrandus Scaevola	1718 to 1723. He is still there.
Joannes Bernardus Noordbeek	1723.
Adolphus Cramer	1723.

## LIST OF THE PREDIKANTS OF COLOMBO.

Ludovicus Bogaard	1663.
Gerardus Holkenburg	1660 to 1662, when he died



Joannes Nathanael Donker	1661. Died in 1661.
Henricus Wallius	1662.
Antonius Siferius	1662.
Gosuimus Slipperius	1662. Died in 1662.
Balthasar Obie de Meter	1663 to 1663 (?).
Jacobus Maxwel	1664 to 1668.
Joannes de Voogd	1667 to 1679.
Arnoldus Corschot	1667.
Jacob Corf	1668.
Laurens Hemling	1669 to 1675.
Simon Kat	1671 to 1704, when he died.
Hermanus Specht	1674 to 1691.
David Farny	1675
Lucas Bosch ab Os	1676 to 1676 (?)
Arnoldus Japyn	1682 to 1685, when he died
Henricus van Laren	1683 to 1685, when he died.
Isaac van der Bank	1687 to 1703.
Marcus Masius	1691 to 1706, when he died.
Joannes Ruel	1692 to 1701, when he died.
Rudolphus Meerland	1692 to 1699, when he died.
Hermanus Specht	1694 to 1699, when he died.
Thomas van Simey	1699 to 1700.
Philippus Goting	1700 to 1705.
Nicolaus Rimersma	1702 to 1711.
Gerardus de Oude	1703 to 1720, when he died.
Petrus Synjeu	1704 to 1723. He is still there.
Engelbertus Franciscus le Boucq.	1712 to 1717.
Philippus de Vriest	1712 to 1725, when he died.
Jacobus de Jong	1715 to 1717
Willem Conyn	1717 to 1723. He is still there.
Gerardus Potken	1718 to 1723. He is still there.

Moses Hermanni	1718 to 1720
Joannes Philippus	
Wetzelius	1721.
Joannes Bernardus	
Noordbeek	1722 to 1723. Arrived here in 1722.
Petrus Kalden	1722 to 1723. Arrived here in 1722.
Cornelis de Bucq	1725. Died in 1725.

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Having now carefully considered everything which we have written down both in regard to the more recent discovery of Ceylon and also the cities and territories here which have been conquered by the Netherlands, we must admit that whatever may be said of the Fathers (lit: Ancients) of Ceylon, or whatever they or even other people of Europe may say in this connection regarding the activities in the East, they are in no way comparable with the discoveries of the more gallant Batavians or with the conquests of territories and the victories which they have achieved there: Wherefore we consider that it is necessary to give them due credit for the same.

Wherewith we finally conclude this account of Ceylon in order to pass on to the description of (the Coast of) Malabar.

At the end of the volume there are wood-cut drawings of the following maps etc.

1. Plan of Point de Galle.
2. The City (Fort) of Galle.
3. The Fort of Mannar.
4. The House of the Governor at Colombo.
5. Plan of the garden behind the Governor's house at Colombo.
6. One part of the Governor's house at Colombo, from behind on the garden side.

7. Recreation room (lit: house) situated on the seaside in front of the hall (or verandah) of the Governor's house at Colombo.
8. Outhouse of the Governor, in front of which the trees which obstructed the view have been removed.
9. The outhouse from the posterior side.
10. Plan of Jaffna
11. A Sinhalese man and woman.
12. Plan of the Fort of Batticaloa.
13. Plan of Batticaloa from the seafront.
14. Ground plan of the Fort of Trincomalee with the Pagoda Hill there.
15. The elephant kraal in the year 1717 in the Alutkuru Korale in the village of Horagalla.
16. Ground plan of the Castle of Jaffna.
17. Jaffna's Cross Church ('Kruys Kerk).

## *The Portuguese Burghers and the Dutch Burghers of Sri Lanka.\**

Percy Colin-Thome

One of the great shifts in world power and economic strength took place between 1450 and 1700. Before that Western Europe had been of little consequence in the affairs of the world. In this era Portugal and Holland, two small European countries had an enormous impact on world history by virtue of the skills of their navigators, ship builders and gunners supported by their traders, administrators and clergy.

In September, 1500, an expedition under Pedralvares Cabral which had left Portugal the previous March arrived at Calicut. This was perhaps the first trading mission to come to India from the West. In November, 1502, Vasco de Gama appeared before Cochin. These incursions were the prelude to the presence of Portuguese armadas in the Malabar waters in the early 16th century which compelled the Moors engaged in the spice trade to create a new route for themselves between Ceylon and the Maldives. On hearing of this the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida decided to send his son Dom Lourenco to investigate the new route as well as to report on Ceylon and the Maldives, which were of such importance for their cinnamon and coir. Dom Lourenco was carried by currents and arrived in Galle in 1505. He sailed away after a brief stay there.

It was not until 1518 that the Portuguese established a foothold in the Island. Lopo Soares de' Albergaria arrived at Galle with a powerful fleet and a month later sailed for Colombo and landed there after overcoming a short resistance. A fort was built and Portuguese power was gradually consolidated and extended along the coastal areas.

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\* A revised version of a paper presented at a workshop on "The Cultural Minorities of Sri Lanka," organised by the International Centre for Ethnic Studies at Colombo, 13 October 1984.

The drive behind these risky journeys to the Far East in frail boats through perilous seas has been described by various writers. Ribeiro in his book "Ceilao", under the chapter entitled "In which the Riches of Ceilao are Described," said; (1)

"The king who allowed us to enter the Island was the King of Cotta, and as I have already stated he was styled Emperor. Almost all his territory which stretched from Chilao to two miles beyond the Temple of Tanavare were cinnamon jungles; these are so dense that a man cannot walk through them a stone's throw. In shape the leaves of the cinnamon resemble those of the plantane in that they have three ribs, and in texture the laurel; when crushed between the fingers their smell is as of the best cloves of Rochella.

Precious stones are also found in great abundance in the kingdoms of Ceitavaca, Dinavaca, Candia, Uva and Cotta, within a circumference of sixty seven leagues. Here all the valleys and mountains are full of them and they are obtained with little trouble; such as rubies, the finest that can be found anywhere within our discoveries, all in separate crystals; sapphires, topazes, (some of them of extraordinary size), cat's eyes, (some have been found worth 20,000 cruzados), garnets, beryls, jacinths, tourmalines, and various others of which they make no account, as they are the stones with which the river beds are furnished.

There is an abundance of cardamons in the Kingdom of Candia and they are of such a great size that six of the Cananor kind do not equal one of the Candian; throughout the Island there is plenty of Brazil wood, which is called **Sapan** in India where it fetches a high price. Every year there is exported from the Kingdom of Cotta up to a thousand **champanas** of areca: (a **champana** is like a sumaca of forty tons) for this article is in great demand over the whole of India. There is also a large number of elephants and much pepper both of which rank among the best in the East. The earth yields much iron and also two kinds of resin; the varieties of timber are so numerous

that the choice of them will cause confusion; and there are several other products which I shall for greater clearness describe each in its own place."

In addition to its riches the strategic value of Ceylon in relation to the Indian peninsula became known in Portuguese times. As early as 1614 a Portuguese Captain warned Philip III (II of Portugal) that Ceylon was "The key to all India." He concluded a long memorial on the subject with the prophetic words:

"If your Majesty loses Ceylon, we can say we have lost all India and its commerce - which may God prevent" (2)

In 1770, Abbe Reynal in the "History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies" wrote about Ceylon's excellent cinnamon and

"richest Pearl Fishery of the East; its ports were the best in India, and its geographical position surpassed all those extraordinary advantages.....It is the centre of the East, the passage which conducts to the most wealthy regions.....Numerous squadrons sent forth from its various harbours would have commanded the respect of all Asia, and their vessels cruising in the neighbouring seas would easily have intercepted the navigation of other powers" (3).

Indeed, even after Ceylon was actually lost, the memory was so distressing to the Portuguese that Frei Fernao de Queiroz began his history of the Island by saying:

"Of all the great and lamentable losses and ruins of the Portuguese State in the East Indies, the greatest and most painful.....was the Island of Ceylon, because of the fruitful and most rich and in every respect most happy kingdom which was thereby lost, the enormous expense incurred.....and the bloodshed and the lives it cost the Portuguese nation: of all which came to naught by our mismanagement....." (4).

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India (1509-1515) the Portuguese followed a policy of assimilation by promoting marriages between the Portuguese and Indian woman. The troops married women of good caste, who, moreover had first been baptized. Unlike the Dutch and the British who were mainly birds of passage the Portuguese intended to settle permanently in the colonies. The localities where the Portuguese were permitted to trade were looked upon by them from the first as destined to become colonies of their "most Christian King." Where they landed they meant to stay. They brought no women with them in their crowded flimsy craft in which they struggled past the Cape of Storms afterwards named the Cape of Good Hope until they anchored off Indian, Ceylonese and Sumatran ports. A high death rate from malaria, dysentery and other tropical diseases were other hazards which discouraged women from venturing with their men to the East. It was inevitable, therefore, that the Portuguese took unto themselves wives from the places where they settled. In Ceylon, the Portuguese Burghers are the descendants of the intermarriages between the Portuguese and the Sinhalese and Tamils in the Coastal areas. They were known as **Tupases** or **Mestizos**. From the Dutch and the Oratorian documents it seems clear that the **Tupases** were those who could claim a Portuguese ancestor while the **Mestizos** were those directly born from a European father and a native mother (5).

The fortunes of this community prospered so long as Portuguese power prevailed in the Island. They were attached to the courts of justices, merchants and administration. The Portuguese retained the old Sinhalese administrative organization which prevailed in **disavasyas** and **korales** modified and altered to suit the needs of the conquerors (6). In addition to the territorial divisions under officials whose functions were political or military, there were other departments concerned with the collection of revenues or utilization of labour services, which employed the **Tupases**. However, most of the higher offices were held by Portuguese. All the inhabitants were enlisted into militia companies, some being exclusively Portuguese, others were heterogeneous companies consisting of descendants of Portuguese-native marriages, Sinhalese, Tamil, Kaffirs besides the Portuguese themselves.

With the capitulation of Colombo to the Dutch on the 10th of May, 1656, the fortunes of the Portuguese community plummeted. The trade rivalry and the fanatical religious quarrel between the Portuguese and the Dutch were transported from Europe to the tropics and inflicted on a defenceless people. The Dutch Calvinists matched the fanaticism of the Roman Catholics with their own brand of fanaticism. Under the Batavian Code of 1642.

"No other religion will be exercised, much less taught or propagated either secretly or publicly, than the Reformed Christian Religion as it is taught in the public churches of the Netherlands."

The punishment for violating this law was confiscation of property and according to circumstances "put in chains, expelled from the country or receive a punishment involving limb or life." The severity of these laws were however directed not so much against other religions as against Catholicism, the reason for this opposition being largely political (7).

A large number of Catholic churches and schools were taken over by the Reformed Church, while in the sphere of trade, shopkeeping and other employments Protestants were given preference to others. Abandoned by the Portuguese the descendants of the Portuguese-Sinhalese/Tamil marriages who remained fervent Roman Catholics were victims of the Dutch persecution. At the same time they were despised by the Sinhalese who associated them with the catalogue of atrocities of the **conquistadores**, to whom the service of God and memmon was inextricably interwoven.

The descendants of the Portuguese-Sinhalese/Tamil marriages were reduced to a state of penury from the middle of the 17th century, a situation from which the majority of this community has never completely recovered, up to the present day. Until the end of the last century many members of this community were concentrated in the larger towns but today most of them are resident in Batticaloa. Small settlements of Portuguese Burghers still exist in Trincomalee, Akkraipattu, Wahacotte, Mannar and Puttalam (8). They are called **Parankiyar**

in Tamil and **Parangi** in Sinhalese derived from **Feringhee** a word used to designate native born Portuguese of the enclaves of Goa etc. No census has been taken of the Portuguese Burghers as a separate entity. It is difficult therefore to speculate with any degree of certainty what their numbers are, perhaps only a few thousands. According to F. R. Ragel, President of the Burgher Union, Batticaloa, there are about 2000 Burgher families today (1984) in Batticaloa (9). According to Dennis B, McGilvray who did extensive research in Eurasian ethnicity in Sri Lanka in the early 80s a strict division between the Dutch and Portuguese Burghers was impossible to sustain; traces of Dutch and Portuguese identities were totally mixed and intertwined in all the Burghers he knew (10). In the course of his fieldwork in Batticaloa he discovered that the number of patrilineal Burgher surnames of clearly Dutch origin (e.g. Wittebron, Ootschoorn, Hendrick, Toussaint, Ockersz) is far greater today than the number of Portuguese names (e.g. Rosairo, Andrade) (11). In Akkraipattu almost one third of the Burgher marriages involved a Tamil or Sinhalese partner. In Batticaloa although a much larger Burgher marriage pool exists yet there is a constant admixture of Tamil and Sinhalese blood. Today the Burghers of Batticaloa lay no particular stress upon the Dutch versus Portuguese elements of their heritage, and the surrounding population seems quite indifferent to this distinction. "They are simply Burghers who have reached a viable if at times awkward accommodation with local society" (12).

This community, to the present day remains devoutly Roman Catholic which underlines Dr. S. Arasaratnam's comment;

"The Dutch were not replacing a decadent and inactive church, as they had replaced a declining political power. On the contrary, they saw that the Catholic Church was a living entity and had penetrated the life of the country with great intensity in certain parts of the country" (13).

Even today many Catholic priests and nuns in Batticaloa are Portuguese Burghers. The Vicar General today is the Very Rev. Fr. Norbert Ockersz:-

"Rev. Fathers Theophilus Ragel, Joseph de Koning, George Wambeek are missionaries deployed in the various parishes. There are also many Jesuit priests from among the members of the community. Rev. Fr. Rex Ockersz, Rev. Fr. Winston Rosairo are shining examples of not only devoted priests of God, but also intelligent young men engaged in technical work. In addition to these priests, there are quite a number of nuns in the various congregations working both in the diocese and outside it. Orders of the Franciscans, the Apostolic Carmel, Sisters of the Poor have sprinklings of these members of the community working in convents, schools and homes for the elders" (14).

A century after the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon their language was spoken throughout the Island. In 1602 when the Dutch Admiral Joris van Spilbergen visited Ceylon it is recorded that King Wimala Dharma Suriya's Maha Mudaliyar, Emmanuel Dias, spoke Portuguese "Zeer costerlijk" (very well). Both the King and the Queen as a result of close contact with Europeans also knew the Portuguese language. The farewell banquet to the Admiral was prepared in the manner of Christians and enlivened with music and other playing. Spilbergen was also dined and wined (on local wine made from Ceylon grapes) and received by the Queen and her children in the Queen's private chambers where, dressed for the occasion in European clothing, she conversed in fluent Portuguese with her guest (15).

After the capture of Colombo and Jaffna from the Portuguese in 1656-8 many of the Dutchmen married the Indo-Portuguese women who stayed (voluntarily or otherwise) in the Island (16). This helped to perpetuate the Portuguese language both during Dutch rule and even during the British occupation until the end of the 19th century. A Portuguese patois continued to be spoken by the Burghers and also by many Sinhalese families during this period. According to F. H. de Vos at the end of the last century there were Portuguese interpreters and Portuguese speaking jurors in the Courts of Justice (17). Today, even though the majority of the Burghers cannot read or write Portuguese The Batticaloa Burgher Union conducts all its meetings in the spoken Indo-Portuguese language. Minutes are kept in this language and

prayers are recited in this language. There is a book prepared by the Union which contains all the necessary prayers, and these prayers are recited at funerals (18).

The "chicotis" which formed a special feature in Portuguese merry making in Ceylon, contained good examples of the patois. They consisted of extemporaneous verses and repartees also in verse, something like the harvest songs of Portugal. The dance "par excellence" of the Portuguese in Ceylon was the "caffrinha" to which the "chicotis" formed a necessary adjunct to the accompaniment of the bandarinha, viaule, violin and tambourine. One of the best known Caffrinhas was a song entitled "Cingalee Nona" where a Mechanic youth pleads with a Sinhalese lady for the hand of her daughter:

"Cingalee Nona! Cingalee Nona!

En kera kasa,

Porta ninkere, orta ninkere,

Figa namas da

Figa namas da, none,

Figa namas da."

"Sinhalese lady! Sinhalese lady!,

I wish to marry,

Your house I want not, your lands I want not

Only your daughter give,

Only your daughter give lady,

Only your daughter give."

(The tune resembles "Yaman Sello")

Couples standing opposite each other dance towards each other in rhythmic steps and exchange old fashioned courtesies. Grotesque attitudes and agile movements mark the lively tunes of the Caffrinha while the slow measures of the chicotis call for stately and dignified steps (19). The patois, the music and the dances with modern accretions are still preserved by the Portuguese Burghers in Batticaloa.

An importation of exquisite beauty by the Portuguese was their traditional carols which were sung every Christmas by choirs accompanied by violins, cymbals and bass drum. The beautiful

Portuguese Carol which used to be sung by the Portuguese Burghers in Galle until the last Great War was an example:

"Louvai nos per Deos  
Este grande dia,  
Ja nasce Senhor  
Per Virgem Maria."

The Portuguese invasion of Ceylon has had a long term impact in many areas. There are over a million Roman Catholics in Sri Lanka today. The Sinhala language has absorbed many Portuguese words and many inhabitants of this country still have Portuguese names. Galle lace still preserves the delicate designs and techniques introduced by the Portuguese. There is a revival of interest in the Portuguese jacket trimmed with lace. The hat and waist coat still worn by Kandyan Chiefs on ceremonial occasions retain their Portuguese influence. The Portuguese soon after their arrival became captives of rice and curry which they enriched with secrets of their own cuisine resulting in such delectable dishes as "pol buth" and "toddy roast." Delicious sweets made from Portuguese recipes are still made, such as **Bolo de Coco** (coconut cake), **Bol Fiado** (laminated cake), **Boroa** (semolina biscuits), **Foguete** (pumpkin preserve in pastry rolls) and **Pente Frito** (plantain fritters). The Portuguese have also left their influence in the design of churches, residences and furniture.

The smallness of this minority deprives them of any significant role in politics. Their only hope is to articulate their political demands through the mainstream of political parties in this country. As they have no political influence there is a tendency to neglect and ignore the welfare of this community. They are master craftsmen in their traditional occupations of tailoring, shoe making, tinkering, printing and carpentry. Many of them are expert blacksmiths, gunsmiths and mechanics called **ambachtslieden** by the Dutch, **mechanics** by the British (19). Very few of them have joined the professions, the affluent merchant and landowning classes. Several, however, are employed in the middle levels of the public service and as teachers. A few are Managers of branches of the Bank. Few

have been elevated to the higher rungs of the public service. While English remained the medium of instruction many Portuguese Burghers in Batticaloa held white collar jobs. This Community has given to the town some of its best public servants, teachers, priests, administrators and bank assistants. The Community has played an active role in local politics. Mr. F. R. Ragel has been a member of the Urban Council since 1963 and was Deputy Mayor in 1970. Mr. E. T. Barthelot was also a member of the Urban Council for a number of years.

The plight of the Portuguese Burghers has been aggravated by the abolition of the English stream in schools as their children find it difficult to compete with Sinhalese and Tamil children in their mother tongue. Only a few have advanced to higher education and obtained government jobs. Some drop out of school early as they cannot cope with the work while others are compelled to leave school early to help their fathers in their crafts. Often the income of the parent is insufficient to maintain a family. It is heartening, however, to realise that in Batticaloa the Portuguese Burghers have formed a Union which caters to their social, religious and educational needs. They are a law abiding community and live in peace and harmony with all other communities.

The Dutch connection with Ceylon commenced in 1602 when Admiral Joris van Spilbergen arrived with two ships off Batticaloa to trade in cinnamon and pepper (20). There were two other visits by the Dutchmen Sebald de Weerd (1602) and Marcellus de Boschouwer (1612) but the invasion of Ceylon started in earnest in 1638 when Admiral Adam Westerwold arrived with a fleet off Batticaloa and captured the Portuguese fort there with the tacit approval of Emperor Raja Sinha II who was desperately seeking the friendship of the Dutch as a counterpoise to the Portuguese. The Portuguese were ousted from Trincomalee, Negombo and Galle in 1640. Negombo was recaptured by the Portuguese later in 1640, but in 1644 the Dutch expelled them from Negombo once again. Kalutara was captured in 1655. Colombo capitulated to the Dutch in 1656 and with the capture of Jaffna in 1658 Portuguese rule in the



Island ended. By the time the struggle ended with the expulsion of the Portuguese the V. O. C. had become the controlling power in the coastal districts, and the Emperor of Kandy was eventually deprived of an outlet to the sea. The feelings of the inhabitants in the coastal regions of Ceylon subjected to Dutch rule after the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1658, were epitomized, as Robert Knox noted, in the Sinhalese proverb concerning a man who makes a bad exchange: "I have given pepper and got ginger" (21).

The attitude of the directors of the Dutch East and West Indies Companies vacillated between assimilation and apartheid on the question of emigration (22). Originally the chartered companies were not organized to foster female emigration. There were many who argued that white women seldom became acclimatized in the tropics. The acute discomforts and risks of shipboard life on long voyages in treacherous seas was another deterrent. On the other hand it was believed that the only hope of founding stable and loyal communities in the colonies was to foster intermarriage with the indigenous women, always provided that these latter were converted to Christianity. However, because of the real or alleged shortcomings and inferior quality of the free-burghers who were allowed to settle in the colonies after their contract of service with the V.O.C. had expired several high officials periodically advocated the emigration of married couples or families from the Netherlands, as the only means of establishing a reliable settled Dutch community in the East. The Heeren XVII tried to recruit suitable families for emigration to the East, but the response was negligible (23).

The Heeren XVII later, for a time, gave active support to Johan Maetsuyker's modest scheme for Dutch colonization at Batavia and in Ceylon. Maetsuyker, at an early age of his colonial career, was a professed admirer of the Portuguese system of promoting colonization by encouraging white men to marry Asian or Eurasian women and settle down in the East. "The children of these mixed marriages, he averred, were better acclimatized than those born of pure European parentage, and, after the second or third generation, they

differed little if at all from pure Netherlanders in complexion. He admitted that many of these half-caste offsprings at present were apt to turn out rather badly; but this he ascribed to their lax upbringing in households where slavery was the general rule, and not to inherent racial defect. The remedy for this state of affairs, he added, lay in the provision of good schools and in proper supervision by the parents. Maetsuyker maintained that with the suitable encouragement by the Company's high officials—which so far had been conspicuously lacking the free-burghers (*vrijburgers*) could establish themselves as cobblers, tailors, smiths, armourers, jewellers, carpenters, masons and surgeons. He even claimed that they could compete with the Chinese in agricultural pursuits. He further alleged that the Company's senior officials were the worst enemies of the free-burghers, since they favoured their Chinese and Asian competitors on account of the 'squeeze' and bribes which they received from the latter (24).

Maetsuyker endeavoured to put his colonization theory into practice during his governorship of Ceylon (1646–50) but it had a limited success. There were only sixty-eight married free-burghers in the Island when he relinquished office in February 1650. After the capture of Colombo and Jaffna from the Portuguese in 1656–8, about 200 Dutchmen married some of the Indo-Portuguese women who stayed (voluntarily or otherwise) in the Island. In the early Reformed Church registers in Ceylon which go back more than two and a half centuries the following names: Cabral, de Costa, de Fonseka, Dias, Pieris, Rodrigo, de Silva, de Silvester, de Zouza etc. belonging to mixed Portuguese and Sinhalese families occur in these entries of marriage with Dutchmen (25). This is also evident in many of the genealogies of Dutch Burgher families published in the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.

The conqueror of Jaffna, Rijkloff van Goens, who subsequently governed coastal Ceylon for many years, was another enthusiastic advocate of Dutch colonization. In default of white wives for the free-burghers, he was prepared to tolerate intermarriage with Sinhalese, Tamil and Eurasian women. But

he stipulated that the daughters of such unions should be married to Netherlanders, 'so that our race may degenerate as little as possible.' However, van Goens' predecessor Governor van Kittensteyn was a strong opponent of miscegenation believing as all European colonizers did that a Christian European was, *ipso facto*, superior to the members of any other race-Christian converts not excepted in practice, whatever they might be in theory (26).

The word **Burgher** is derived from the Dutch word **burger** which means a citizen of a burgh, borough or town. Article 9 of the Articles of Capitulation by the Portuguese to the Dutch concluded on the 11th of May, 1656, refers to the **Portugeseche Burgeren** (27). The expression which was first used in this country by the Dutch referred to a civil status. "There were two different classes of Hollanders in Ceylon during Dutch times. One was the Dutch Company's servants who were like Government officials today, and served under the Company and received their salary from the V. O. C. coffers. Even the Dutch padres at the time were in this category. The other type was the 'freelancer' who came out on their own perhaps for private business and trade in Ceylon. Most of them had shops and ran such establishments as bakeries, inns, taverns, etc. They were called by the term 'Burghers' or 'Free Burghers' (vrijburger) as distinct from the Company's servants who received official acts of appointment from the V. O. C. in respect of the posts they held respectively" (28). A retired Company Servant if he remained in Ceylon joined the class of Burghers. The Company's Servants and the Burghers together formed socially the **Hollandsche Natie** or Dutch community (29). (The word "lansi" is derived from the Dutch word "Hollandsche".)

Originally, therefore, the term **Burgher** or **Free-Burgher** had nothing to do with race, but had only a civic significance being applied to those Dutch citizens (**Burghers**) who not being officials, were granted certificates of **Burghership** entitling them to reside in the towns and to enjoy certain civic rights. Such certificates came later to be issued also to those who were not Dutch, e. g. even to liberated slaves (30). The

principal obligation accompanying burghership was enlistment in the reserve militia, or **Burgerij**, a duty which was eventually imposed on "all persons whatsoever who are not in the actual service of the Company but are Christians and also wear European dress" (31). The category of **free-Burghers** became increasingly diverse in the later years of Dutch rule. For example, a certificate of Burghership was bestowed in 1759 upon a man named 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 (32). Further evidence of this is found in the effusive Address presented to Sir Alexander Johnston by the Dutch Inhabitants and Burghers of Colombo" in 1817 to which are appended a number of conspicuously Portuguese names (33).

For a few years after the Dutch Capitulation to the British in 1796 some of the official lists and documents referred to "Dutch inhabitants and Burghers," for instance, Article 15 of the Articles of Capitulation of 15th February, 1796, but this distinction became anomalous as the rule of the Dutch East Indian Company had ceased and the distinction gradually disappeared.

One of the earliest references to **Dutch Burghers** in an official document in British times was made by Lord Liverpool, Secretary of State, in his instructions, dated 30 September, 1810, to Governor Maitland directing him to interpret "Europeans" in article 30 of the Charter to include "Burghers" as it was in accordance with "the wish of His Majesty's Government to conciliate by every means the Dutch Burghers in Ceylon" (34). The expression "Dutch Burgher," therefore, originated in British and not in Dutch times.

An authoritative definition of the term **Burgher**, which was generally accepted by the community, was given by Sir Richard Ottley, Chief Justice, to the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission in 1830:

"The name Burgher belongs to the descendents of the Dutch and Portuguese and other Europeans born in

Ceylon; the right to this distinction must be decided by the country from which the father or paternal ancestors came. To whatever the number of generations through which the family had passed in this island, if the male ancestor were Dutch, Portuguese, or other Europeans, whoever may have been the female parents, **if the parents were married**, the offspring would be Burghers. If the parents were not married, the country of the mother would decide the question. If the right to be denominated Burgher be once lost by the legitimate father being a Cingalese or other Indian, it cannot be recovered" (35).

Mr. Justice Marshall stated to the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission that where the questions of legitimacy or race arose as with "that heterogeneous mixture called the Portuguese" whose descendants generally belonged to the lower strata of Eurasian society and were assimilated to the "native" population these questions were settled (like the question of residence within the jurisdiction of the court) as preliminary questions of fact, by oral or other evidence (36).

Phrases such as "descendants of Europeans" and "European descendants" were sometimes used to describe Burghers. Colebrooke in his Report upon the Administration of the Government of Ceylon, 1831, refers to "the burghers or descendants of Europeans" (37); and the Memorial, dated 1st October 1851, by "European descendants" to Governor Anderson, suggesting the name of a prominent Burgher, R. F. Morgan, to a seat in the Legislative Council was described by Digby as signed by "members of the Burgher community" (38). In 1871 the British dropped the reference to "European descendants". Section 3 of the Village Communities Ordinance No. 26 of 1871 provided that "Natives" shall mean "those resident in the country other than persons commonly known as Europeans, or persons commonly known as Burghers."

The vagueness of the phrase "persons commonly known as Burghers," whether deliberate or not, permitted it to cover not only those who came within the description of Burghers given by Ottley in 1830 but also all Eurasians. In 1901 the

Superintendent of Census grouped the Burghers and Eurasians together for the purpose of Census. This was resented by the Burghers who wished to preserve their Dutch heritage. Eurasians were the progeny of British and Ceylonese unions in the last century.

Another development at the end of the 19th century which agitated the upper class Burghers who insisted on their Dutch descent was the growing demand for reform of the Legislative Council. There was a demand that territorial representation should replace communal representation and that election should be substituted for nomination.

John Ferguson, the influential owner-editor of *The Ceylon Observer* in his book *Ceylon in 1893*, advocated an increase in the number of unofficial representatives in the Legislative Council with some of them to be elected on the basis of a restricted franchise. He received little support from the public figures of the day. "The Sinhalese are our great difficulty," he complained. "(S. C.) Obeyesekere objects to elections and James Pieris (as District Judge in embryo) has not replied at all..... They would not trust power to their countrymen....." (39). Similarly, the upper class Dutch Burgher elite feared that in an election they would be outvoted by the Portuguese Burghers and leading members of the Dutch Burgher community memorialized that the franchise for the election of the Burgher member be confined to themselves, but without success (40). The British had never upheld an official distinction between Dutch and Portuguese Burghers and the presence of a Portuguese component in the Burgher constituency posed a threat to the Dutch Burgher status quo. According to Arunachalam (41) an indignant Burgher gentlemen observed that "It was not an uncommon experience for every nondescript who affects a pair of trousers and cannot by any right be classed under any particular category to call himself a 'Burgher' and to take refuge under that very convenient term" (42).

The Dutch Burgher Union was formed in 1908 to counter this trend and to unite the scattered members of the community in maintaining the traditions of their race. The drive

for establishing the Union came mainly from R. G. Anthonisz a teacher who later was appointed the first Government Archivist as he was an expert in mediaeval Dutch.

Earlier in May 1899 R. G. Anthonisz and a few Burghers formed a literary and cultural society called **Het Hollandsch Gezelschap van Ceylon** - The Dutch Fellowship of Ceylon, but it lasted only a few years.

One of the main objects of the Dutch Burgher Union was to see the Dutch descendants of Ceylon recognized as a distinct racial unit, with an origin, history and character of its own. It was felt that the term Burgher, under which they were included, and which at first belonged to them exclusively, had ceased in common use to have this restricted application. Membership in the Union is open to all Dutch descendants "of full age and respectable standing." The term "Dutch descendants" under Article 3 of the Constitution of the Dutch Burgher Union "shall include the descendants in the male line of all those of European nationality who were in the service or under the rule of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon and the children of such descendants in the female line by marriage with Europeans." The primary object of the Union is "to promote the moral, intellectual, and social well-being of the Dutch descendants in Ceylon" (Art. 2).

The movement to form the Dutch Burgher Union met with considerable opposition at the outset not only from sections of the Burgher Community but also from the Press and members of other communities. An inaugural meeting was held on the 12th December 1907 at Lindsay Memorial Hall, Bambalapitiya to discuss the formation of a Burgher Association. It was presided over by Sir Hector van Cuylenburg, M. L. C., who was the owner and proprietor of **The Ceylon Independent**, which was regarded as a Burgher newspaper although it was called the **Peoples Paper**. Although the promoters of the meeting claimed that the formation of the Burgher Association was non-political Sir Hector in the course of his speech criticised the Government for its iniquitous salary scheme. The **Times of Ceylon** on the following day took him to task for introducing political questions at this inaugural meeting.

The **Ceylon Morning Leader** owned exclusively by a group of Sinhalese Merchants and ably edited by Armand de Souza, published some witty limericks provoked by Sir Hector's speech, under the pseudonym "I. C. D. Funnyside". It was generally believed that the author of the limericks was none other than Armand de Souza himself.

"The chief of the People's paper  
Has recently cut a caper  
Says he "I've a touch  
Of blood that is Dutch  
My 'native' is turned into vapour."

"I'm neither a Sinhalese  
Nor even a Goiya-nese  
The native Press  
Is the "Leader," I guess-  
We are nothing but Dutch, if you please (43).

The **Ceylon Morning Leader** cautioned the Union against isolationism and in an article entitled **Anti Dutch Burgher Association**, published on the 14th January 1908, stated "if Lorenz were living he would not be eligible as a member of the Union, for he is not Dutch; neither would Dornhorst, if he were here, neither are the Greniers, Bevens, Schneiders - and the many families whose names have always been the most honoured in the Burgher ranks". The promoters of the Dutch Burgher Union were obviously troubled by this difficulty and so they extended membership in the Union to include not only those of Dutch descent but also to "descendants in the male line of all those of European nationality who were in the service or under the rule of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon, and the children of such descendants in the female line by marriage with Europeans" (Art. 3).

The Legislative Council was reformed by the Legislative Council Ordinance No. 13 of 1910. The right to elect members was conceded to the Europeans, the Burghers and the Educated Ceylonese. The new Legislative Council of eleven officials and ten unofficials came into existence in 1912. The Legislative Council Ordinance No. 13 of 1910, section

3 (a) in effect adopted the definition of the term "Burgher" in Article 3 of the Constitution of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon as persons qualified to be "registered as voters to elect a member from the Burgher electorate." Section 3 (b) however widened the class to include those who "Are of legitimate birth, and are descended in the female line from any such descendant as aforesaid, and are able to read, write and speak the English language." This definition was repeated in the Ceylon (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1920 clause 28 and in the Ceylon (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1923 article 31.

On the whole the reforms helped to perpetuate the divisions in society. Though the Educated Ceylonese electorate brought together the English educated classes among the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims, the grant of separate electorates to the Europeans and Burghers had the unfortunate result of encouraging those communities to consider themselves as separate entities rather than as citizens of Ceylon (44). President R. G. Anthonisz' tenth anniversary address to the members to the Dutch Burgher Union warned them about various forces that threatened the community and not the least by some modern advocates of the 'fusion of races' (45). At a Special General Meeting of the D. B. U. held on the 18th August, 1939, Article 6 (b) of the Constitution was amended by a majority vote. In future any Dutch Burgher woman member who married a man unqualified for membership of the D. B. U. ceased to be a member (46). This rule was rescinded at a Special General Meeting of the D. B. U. held on the 20th November 1981. Over the years, however, the D. B. U. has been "perennially troubled by charges of elitism from the outside and of cliquism from within" (47).

The history of the Burghers since the Dutch capitulation to the British in 1796 has been like the swing of the pendulum one of growth and decline. Under the Articles of Capitulation in 1796 the British undertook to respect the laws and customs of the country and held out that no fresh taxes and duties would be imposed provided proper provision was made for the defraying of expenses of internal government. Trade would be free and the inhabitants would be permitted to trade with the British territories on a most favoured - nation footing. "The

officers of the Dutch Government would be left in full and free possession of their employment until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known." Many of those assurances were not honoured (48).

One of the earliest unpopular measures was the introduction of a tax on coconut trees of "one Silver fanam" per tree per annum by Robert Andrews, who had been appointed by the Madras Government as Resident and Superintendent of Revenue in Ceylon. The tax was both unjust and impolitic as the value of the trees varied greatly according to their situation and the tax was sometimes greater than the produce. The local inhabitants including the Dutch Community were adversely affected by this tax which caused a great deal of unrest. A memorial was presented by the last Dutch Governor Johan Gerard van Angelbeek and other Dutch residents to the Government at Madras and the Tax was accordingly abolished by resolution of the Committee on the 2nd of September, 1797 (49).

A report sent by the first British Governor Lord North, in 1800, to Lord Dundas, Secretary of State, stated that;

"the Dutch inhabitants are inimical, being almost to a man ruined by our occupation of Ceylon" and that

"their personal as well as the national connection between them and the mother country and the remaining Dutch settlements... require their exculsion from Government employments" so as

"to render us independent of the Dutch and to destroy their influence in the country" (50).

Many of the Dutch inhabitants emigrated to Batavia after the Capitulation in 1796, their passages in cartel ships being paid for by the British until 1806. However, the majority of the Dutch inhabitants remained in Ceylon in the hope that in the final settlement after the war the Island would be restored to the Dutch. But when the settlement took place in 1815 such an expectation was not realised. Many were also forced to remain because they could not sell their landed property for suitable prices, the range of possible buyers being limited owing to;

"His Majesty's command prohibiting the purchase of houses and tenements by Europeans without the four gravets of Colombo,"

such prohibition having been found

"very prejudicial to the servants of the late Dutch Government who have houses in Jaffnapatnam, Trincomalee and Galle which cannot be sold to natives without great loss .....many families are compelled to remain in Ceylon for the fear of losing a considerable part of their property by removal" (51).

Many such families had to depend on poor relief provided by the British and had to take to minor trades and avocations to supplement their income. The human aspect of the problem touched the Secretary of State, who observed that,

"the circumstances of the Dutch and other inhabitants considered as Europeans.....make it requisite to act in a manner consistent with both the principles of justice and humanity and with those of sound policy and of security to our dominions in the Island" (52).

Rev. James Cordiner who was in Ceylon at this time made the observation that,

"The Dutch inhabitants of Ceylon are about nine hundred in number, and, except a few families, are reduced to circumstances of great indigence: but by rigid and meritorious economy and some of the lesser labours of industry, they maintain an appearance in the eyes of the world, sometimes affluent and gay, always decent and respectable.

They are chiefly composed of officers (prisoners of war) with their families and widows and daughters of deceased civil and military servants of the Dutch East India Company. The greater part of them are proprietors of houses, which they let with considerable advantage to the English inhabitants. If a poor family should only possess one good house they retire into a smaller house or less convenient one, which they receive by relinquishing a more comfortable dwelling" (35).

At about the same time (1803) Captain Robert Percival published an uncomplimentary description of the Burghers:

"The chief trait of the original Dutch character, which these (Burghers) in Ceylon retain, is their fondness for gin and tobacco: in other respects they adopt the customs and listless habits of the country" (54).

It took the Dutch inhabitants who were unable to leave for Holland or Batavia a decade or two to adjust to British rule. Some were induced to accept employment under the British. A few of the former "Company's servants" were appointed to magistracies, others were employed in the revenue service, a few received commissions in the local military regiments then formed. Several took up commercial pursuits, and not a few retired into private life on the small income left to them. A few rose to high office. For instance, Gualterus Schneider, who was a subaltern in the Dutch Engineers, became Surveyor-General of Ceylon; Johan Gerard Krickenbeek and Cornelis Arnoldus Prins, **boekhouders** (accountants) in the Dutch Company's service, acted at different times in the office of the King's Advocate Fiscal, which corresponds to the Attorney General today. Jacob Nicolaas Mooyart entered the Civil Service and retired as Acting Auditor-General. J. G. Hillebrand became a Judge of the Supreme Court (55).

The British Government did not take an active interest in education until after the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms in the 1830s. Education prior to that was in the hands of Missionary schools which imparted a smattering of education to local youth sufficient for qualifying as clerks. As a result the Clerical Service was almost exclusively manned for several decades by Dutch Burghers, who in posts of trust and responsibility, as secretaries of the principal courts, as head clerks of revenue departments, land surveyors, customs officers and school masters diligently performed their duties.

It was only in 1834 that higher education was taken in hand by the Government and the Governor Sir Robert Horton founded the Colombo Academy at San Sebastian under the

Principalship of Rev. Joseph Marsh in 1835 with twenty pupils. It was formally opened by Horton on the 25th October, 1836. Rev. Dr. Barcroft Boake succeeded Marsh and remained Principal of the Academy from 1842 - 69. Under Boake's regime the scope and usefulness of the institution was considerably improved. The subjects taught followed the pattern of education in England at this time with emphasis on the classics, mathematics and General English literature. Distinguished names associated with the early days of the Academy were R. F. Morgan, James Stewart, James d'Alwis, Edward Frederick Kelaart, Frederick Nell, Charles Ambrose Lorenz, John Boyle Siebel, J. H. Eaton, Edwin Koch, Pieter Daniel Anthonisz, James Loos, J. L. K. van Dort and many others. In the 1840s the Academy was a kind of microcosm of the larger social world of Ceylon a decade or two later with Lorenz at the centre of everything. The impetus which the new higher education gave the Dutch Burghers who mastered English quicker than the other communities is echoed in the words of Sir Emerson Tennent, Colonial Secretary, who said in 1860 of the Dutch Burghers:

"They have risen to eminence at the Bar, and occupied the highest positions on the Bench. They are largely engaged in mercantile pursuits, and as writers and clerks they fill places of trust in every administrative establishment, from the Department of the Colonial Secretary to the humblest Police Court. It is not possible to speak too highly of the services of this meritorious body of men, by whom the whole machinery of Government is put into action. They may fairly be described in the language of Sir Robert Peel as the 'brazen wheels' of the executive which keep the golden hands in motion" (56).

Charles Ambrose Lorenz was a charismatic figure who made an enormous contribution to the political, social and cultural progress of this country in the last century. Born at Matara on the 8th July, 1829, he was the youngest of nine children of Johann Freiderich Lorenz (a German) and Anna Petronella Smith (a Burgher). He joined the Academy in 1842 (at the age of 13) and had a brilliant career at school and in 1846 he shared the coveted Turnour Prize with Frederick Nell.

Lorenz' literary talent manifested itself early in life. He was one of the promoters of **Young Ceylon** (1850-1852), then the leading literary journal in Ceylon, completely managed by Ceylonese, with Frederick Nell as Editor. It was the first publication to agitate for social reforms for the people of Ceylon. According to E. W. Perera the word "Ceylonese" was coined by Lorenz and became a favourite expression of his. Later when he became Editor of the first Ceylonese Newspaper **The Ceylon Examiner** (1859-1871) it became the policy of this paper to refer to the people of this country as "Ceylonese" and not as Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim or Burgher. Until his death in 1871 Lorenz wielded the powerful influence of his pen in support of social reforms for the Ceylonese and in opposition to injustice.

Lorenz was enrolled as a Proctor in 1849 and later became an advocate. In 1855 he was enrolled as a Barrister - at Law of Lincoln's Inn. Lorenz was a scholar who translated Van der Keesel's **Theses Selectae Juris Hollandici et Zelandici** being a commentary on the **Dictata ad Grotii Introductionem**. He published this work in 1855. In 1856 he translated Van der Linden's Treatise on **Namptissement**. Then came his valuable series of Law Reports, which caused him to be called the "Father of Ceylon Law Reporting". His first **Law Reports** covered the period 1856 to 1859. He continued to edit these reports until 1870, shortly before his death. In 1860 he published his **Notes on Civil Practice under the Roman Dutch Law**. While living at "Gatherum," Maradana, in the late 1850s he held weekly classes for the study of Voet. In the course of time he became leader of the unofficial Bar and was known as the "Morning Star of Hulftsdorp."

Lorenz was nominated Burgher Member of the Legislative Council after the incumbent, Richard Morgan, was appointed District Judge of Colombo in July 1856. He pursued this additional public and political role with both zest and distinction until the famous "walk-out" of the Unofficial Members in 1864.

George Wall (an Englishman), James Alwis (scholar, lawyer and Councillor) and Lorenz were among those who stood

shoulder to shoulder in the years 1864-68 in opposition to the Imperial Government's unilateral decision to have the whole of the military expenses within the island - expenses which were in fact part of the imperial order in the Indian Ocean - foisted upon the local government. This struggle resulted in the memorable walkout of all the unofficials in the Legislative Council on the 15th of November 1964. Writing later James Alwis had this to say about those years:

"It was always a pleasure to me, nay, a privilege to have been associated with the Burgher Leaders. They never failed their Sinhala and Tamil countrymen with whom they made common cause, in fighting for and advancing the interests of the country in all matters. Their public spirit and independence were unmatched. They showed admirable sense and a feeling of patriotism as they claimed Ceylon as their Motherland. This struck me somewhat forcibly" (57).

In this era, from about the middle of the last century till its end Burghers dominated the legal and medical professions. The higher echelons of the Civil Service were reserved for Britishers until the 1930s. Among the eminent Burgher lawyers besides Lorenz were R. F. Morgan, James Stewart, Charles Stewart, Frederick Nell, Louis Nell, John Boyle Siebel, J. H. Eaton and C. L. Ferdinands. James Stewart, born on the 24th March 1821 was appointed Deputy Queen's Advocate in October 1843. In December 1849 he was appointed Acting Queen's Advocate - a post he held until he died at the age of 30 on the 18th November 1851 (58). Sir Richard Francis Morgan had a meteoric career. In 1851 he was appointed Burgher Member of the Legislative Council. In 1855 he became District Judge of Colombo and in the same year he was appointed puisne justice. In 1863 he became the first Ceylonese to be appointed Queen's Advocate, a post he held until 1874. In the latter year he was appointed Acting Chief Justice and was knighted shortly afterwards. He was offered the permanent post of Chief Justice by Governor Sir William Gregory but declined the offer on the score of ill health. He died on the 27th January 1876 at the age of 54 (59).

Some of the eminent doctors of the last century were Dr. James Loos, M. D. (St. Andrews), M. R. C. P. (Edin) who was a pioneer of medical education in Ceylon and the first Principal of the Medical College established in 1870 by the Government. He edited the Medical section of the "Ceylon Miscellany". He was succeeded as Principal in 1875 by Dr. E. L. Koch, M. D., F. C. S. L., C. M. (Aberdeen), who was the leading surgeon at the time. The Memorial Clock Tower in the Medical College grounds commemorates Dr. Koch who died in Colombo in December 1877 at the early age of forty years. Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten M. D. (St. And.) M. R. C. P. (Lon.) L. S. A. (Lon.) L. R. C. S., L. M. (Edin); Fellow of the Chemical, Medical and Obstetric Societies, London, succeeded Dr. Koch as Principal of the Medical College in 1877. He edited the "Ceylon Medico - Chirurgical Journal" 1865-67. Dr. Peter Daniel Anthonisz, C. M. G., M. D., F. R. C. S., (Edin.), M. R. C. S., M. R. C. P. (Lon.), Colonial Surgeon, Ceylon Medical Department; Burgher Member of the Legislative Council, 1886 - 1895, President of the Ceylon Branch of the British Medical Association in 1887, was another leading surgeon at the time. Ovariectomy was first performed by him in Ceylon (60). The clock-tower in the Fort, Galle, was erected by public subscription during his lifetime. The marble tablet at the base of the clock-tower bears the inscription:-

"This tower was erected by Public Subscription to the perpetual memory of Peter Daniel Anthonisz (born at Galle) in testimony of his skill and benevolence in relieving human suffering."

The costly clock was the sole gift of Mudaliyar Samson de Abrew Rajapakse of Kosgoda, a grateful and devoted patient.

Dr. E. F. Kelaart, M. D. (Edin), M. R. C. S. (London) F. L. S., F. G. S. who died in 1860 was one of the most brilliant zoologists in this country with an international reputation. His *Prodromus Faunae Zeylanicae* (1852) is a notable contribution to the Zoology of Sri Lanka. Other notable contributions by him were:-



**Flora Calpensis.** — on the Botany of Gibraltar  
Report on the National History of the Pearl Oyster  
in Ceylon, 1857

## Notes on the Geology of Ceylon, 1849 - 50

List of Mammalia of Ceylon, 1849 - 50.

Catalogue of Ceylon Birds, 1853.

### Synopsis of Ceylon Reptiles, 1855.

Description of New and Little known Species of Ceylon  
Nudibranchiate Molluscs and Zoophytes - 1856 - 58. (61)

J. L. K. Van Dort was one of the most brilliant artists in the last century. His pictures and sketches which appeared in **Muniandi** (The Ceylon Punch) and in the Christmas Supplements and Illustrated Supplements of **The Ceylon Examiner** and other local Newspapers are not likely to be forgotten. He had the rare gift of capturing vivid movement as his sketches of Kandyan dancers, Caffrinha dancers, the Races and the Governor's entourage galloping to Galle Face illustrate. He was also a valued contributor to several English illustrated papers notably the **Graphic**. His oil panels which presented scenes of Ceylon were exhibited at the Chicago Exhibition and some of his pictures were also shown at the Great Paris Exhibition.

Executive and Legislative Councils were established in 1833 following the Colebrooke - Cameron Reforms.

Governor Sir Robert Wilmot Horton nominated J. G. Hillebrand in 1835 as the first Burgher Member of the Legislative Council. Hillebrand was succeeded by a long line of Burgher representatives in Council who were either lawyers or doctors:-

J. G. Hillebrand (1835)

J. F. Giffening (1837)

J. J. Staples (1840)

James Nicholas Mooyart

James Stewart (1849 – 51)

R. F. Morgan (1851)

C. A. Lorenz (1856)

J. H. Eaton (1862)

James Martensz (1865)

C. L. Ferdinands (1872)

James van Langenberg Snr. (1876)

Sir Samuel Grenier (1886)

Dr. P. D. Anthonisz (1886).

H. L. Wendt (1895)

F. C. Loos (1900)

James van Langenberg Jr., K. C. (1912)

Francis Beven (1910 acting)

Dr. W. G. van Dort (1911 acting)

Sir Hector van Cuylenberg (1912)

Charles van der Wall (1916)

Sir Stewart Schneider, K. C. (1917)

Allan Drieberg K. C. (1921)

N. J. Martin (1921)

T. F. Garvin K. C. (1921 acting)

Arthur Alvis (1921)

H. A. Loos (1924)

C. E. de Vos (1924)

F. H. B. Koch (1924)

O. L. de Kretser, Snr. (1924)

G. A. H. Wille (1924)

Dr. V. van Langenberg (1924)

Dr. V. R. Schokman (1931)

Under the Soulbury Constitution (1946) the Burgher representatives appointed as Senators were Sir Eric Jansz, L. L. Hunter, F. C. W. van Geyzel, R. S. V. Poulier and E. C. T. La Brooy. Burgher members appointed to the House of Representatives were E. F. N. Gratiaen Q. C., Rosslyn Koch, J. A. Martensz, Dr. V. R. Schokman, Dr. E. C. Brohier, R. S. V. Poulier, T. V. K. Carron and Vernon Jonklaas, Q. C. When The Constitution of Sri Lanka (1972) abolished the category of appointed members an unbroken line of Burgher representation in the Legislative Councils and Parliament since 1835 was severed. Mr. P. B. G. Keuneman is the only Burgher to be elected at a General Election to a seat in the House of Representatives since the first Parliament was established in 1947. He represented Colombo Central from 1947 - 1977 (62).

In 1865 an ordinance was passed to establish Municipal Councils in the chief towns of Ceylon. The Governor at the

time was Sir Hercules Robinson and it was his object to give the chief citizens of the towns the power and the funds to improve the sanitation in the towns and to check epidemics. Another of Robinson's objects was to afford the citizens of the towns a training in exercising a measure of political power. As a result of this ordinance Municipal Councils were established in Colombo and Kandy in 1866 and in Galle in 1867. The Colombo Council was given 10 elected and 9 nominated members, and the Kandy and Galle Councils 5 elected and 4 nominated members each. A Civil Servant was appointed as full-time Chairman of the Colombo Council, while the Government Agents of the Central and Southern Provinces presided over the Kandy and Galle Councils as a part of their duties (63).

Burghers who were elected to the first Council in Colombo which had its first meeting on the 16th January, 1866, were:—(64)

C. A. Lorenz (Cottanchina)	1866 - 70
F. C. Loos (Marandahn)	1866 - 72
Dr. J. W. Van Geyzel (Pettah)	1866 - 70
C. L. Ferdinands (Colpetty)	1866 - 73

Other Burgher members elected to the Municipal Council Colombo, between 1866 - 1964 were:—

C. A. Krickenbeck	1868 - 69
A. Andree	1869 - 73
W. W. Beling	1870 - 71
Dr. James Loos	1870 - 90
Major E. G. Tranchell	1871 - 76
Sir R. F. Morgan	1871 - 76
Samuel Grenier	1874 - 78
J. W. Vanderstraaten	1874 - 79
A. D. Joseph	1874 - 79
Sir Hector Van Cuylenburg	1878 - 83;
	1887 - 93
Hon. Dr. P. D. Anthonisz	1878 - 78
G. W. Stork	1880 - 81
C. W. Ferdinands	1885 - 87
J. S. Drieberg	1888 - 91

Arthur Alvis	1889-90; 1893-1902; 1906-22
R. H. Morgan	1890 - 1902
J. S. Collet	1921 - 33
W. E. V. de Rooy	1922 - 31
A. H. Morgan	1925 - 29
Dr. V. Van Langenberg	1927 - 30
Dr. L. A. Prins	1931 - 32
H. H. Bartholomeusz	1931
F. J. Soertsz	1931-1936
H. K. de Kretser	1932 - 36
Dr. H. E. Leembruggen	1932
Dr. V. R. Schokman	1937 - 40
J. R. Toussaint	1940 - 43

Dr. V. R. Schokman was Mayor of the Municipal Council, Colombo, from January 1938 to December 1939. J. H. Eaton was a distinguished member of the Municipal Council of Kandy, and C. E. de Vos a valued member of the Municipal Council, Galle. Local self-government made great strides with the establishment of Urban Councils and Village Committees. Burgher leaders played a significant role in these bodies which were the seedbeds of political development in Ceylon and many national leaders obtained their early training through them.

A remarkable Burgher born in the last century was Alfred Edward Buultjens (1865-1916). He had a brilliant career at St. Thomas' College, Mutwal, and won a Ceylon Government Scholarship in 1883 and went to England. He graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1877. In Cambridge his studies for the history tripos included a course in political economy under the renowned economist Professor Alfred Marshall (65). He became interested in trade unions and visited industrial districts in England. This was an era of severe economic depression, unemployment, and political turbulence in England when militant trade unionism, Socialist ideas and Marxism were gaining ground (66).

Buultjens renounced Christianity while in Cambridge and became a Buddhist in 1888 after his return to Ceylon. The authorities of his old school scandalized at his conversion had his name erased from the school's panel of honour (67).

On his return to Ceylon Buultjens played a vital role in two important movements, the cause of Buddhist education, and the introduction of trade unionism. In 1889, at the age of twentyfour, he became the Principal of the Pettah Buddhist Boys School (later Ananda College), and remained in this post for eleven years. From 1890 to 1903, as the General Manager of Buddhist Schools, he helped establish Buddhist Schools in all parts of the Island. For several years he edited **The Buddhist** a militantly anti-Christian weekly (68) which attacked the missionary objectives of conversion.

Buultjens, like many 19th century radicals, was also interested in women's emancipation. In the 1890s he was active in the Women's Education Society and helped to establish Buddhist girls schools which imparted a modern education (69).

In addition to his Buddhist work, Buultjens, on his return from England began to study the working conditions of labour in Colombo. The printers strike in Colombo in 1893 was the outcome of the propaganda in favour of trade unions that had been carried on by Buultjens and Dr. P. M. Lisboa Pinto. The main grievances of the printers included low pay and bad working and living conditions. The first revolt of printers took place in September 1893 when a strike of sixty printers occurred at British-owned H. W. Cave & Co., the largest firm of printers and book-sellers in Colombo. At a public meeting held a day after the strike a trade union of printers was formed with Pinto as President and Buultjens as Secretary. Seven of the twelve committee members were Burghers (70).

A. E. Buultjens was one of the most distinguished scholars of his time. Among his many accomplishments he knew mediæval Dutch and Pali. He translated extracts from Francois Valentijn's **The Description of Ceylon**, (71) and Admiral Joris van Spilbergen's **The Dutch in Ceylon** (72). He contributed several learned articles to the **Orientalist** and the **Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society** (Colombo Branch) including **The Dutch East India Company and the Peace of Amiens** (73). He also edited **Extracts from the Wellesley Manuscripts** (74) and translated portions of the Buddhist classic **Visuddhi Magga** from Pali.

Anagarika Dharmapala, Walisinha Harischandra and A. E. Buultjens were the leading figures of the Buddhist revival at the beginning of this century and were the champions of working class agitation.

The teaching profession had many dedicated Burgher teachers such as L. E. Blaze', A. E. Buultjens, W. Mack, Cyril Jansz, A. C. Edwards, E. H. van der Wall, J. W. Buultjens, R. A. Krickenbeck, L. G. Vollenhoven, R. C. Edwards, Noel Phoebus, Cedric Oorloff, B. R. Blaze' and many others. The legal profession continued to produce eminent Burgher lawyers of the calibre of Frederick Dornhorst K. C., Sir Stewart Schneider K. C., Sir Thomas Forrest Garvin K. C., A. E. Keuneman K. C., E. F. N. Gratiaen K. C. and others. All these lawyers except Dornhorst were later elevated to the Supreme Court bench. Others appointed to the Supreme Court since 1900 are H. L. Wendt Joseph Grenier, K. C., Allan Driberg K. C., L. M. Martensz, F. H. B. Koch, O. L. de Kretser Snr., V. L. St. Clair Swan, M. C. Sansoni, O. L. de Kretser Jr. and P. Colin-Thomé'. Mr. M. C. Sansoni was appointed Chief Justice in 1964. There were four Burgher Attorneys General, Sir John Samuel Grenier in 1886, James van Langenberg K. C. in 1912, E. F. N. Gratiaen Q. C. in 1956 and Douglas St. Clive Budd Jansze, Q. C. in 1959. Herman Loos, J. R. Weinman Waldo Sansoni, S. J. C. Schokman, Henry Wendt, A. E. Buultjens and Eric La Brooy have been distinguished District Judges.

Noel Ernst, Sir Eric Jansz, Eric Christoffelsz, L. L. Hunter R. Y. Daniel, R. S. V. Poulier, W. J. A. Van Langenberg, Douglas Misso, M. L. D. Caspersz, Reggie Arnold, Neville Jansz, Ellis Grenier, C. Ludekens, Donald Speldewinde, Raine Wright, Anton McHeyzer, Ivor Ferdinands, David Loos and others reached the higher echelons of the Civil Service. The medical profession was enriched by the services of Dr. Andreas Nell, M. R. C. S. who was not only a skilled eye surgeon but also one of the most learned antiquarians and historians of this country. Dr. Lucian de Silva M. D., an eminent gynaecologist was a scholar and litterateur. Dr. R. L. Spittel, F. R. C. S. was a brilliant surgeon and author of several classics on the Ceylon jungles. Dr. Garvin Mack M. D. (Lond.) and Dr. John

Blaze' M. D. (Lond.) were Senior Physicians at the General Hospital, Dr. Noel Spittel, F. R. C. S., Dr. Noel Bartholomeusz F. R. C. S., Dr. Drogo Austin, F. R. C. S., Dr. Clifford Misso, F. R. C. S., Aubrey Jansz, F. R. C. S., Dr. Darrel Weinman F. R. C. S. and Dr. Hentry Eaton, F. R. C. S. (first Ceylonese to win the Hallet Prize) have been leading surgeons in the country.

Prof. A. C. E. Koch, B. Sc (Oxon.), L. M. S. (Cey.), F. R. C. S. (Eng.), F. R. G. S. had a brilliant career in the Medical College. He was the first Ceylonese to be appointed Professor of Physiology and Pharmacology at the University of Ceylon. He was General Editor of the **Ceylon Journal of Science** and Co-Editor of the **Ceylon Medical Journal**. Some of his publications were:-

1. (with Jayawardena S. F.) "Effects of *Torenia Asiatica* on the Blood sugar in Diabetes Mellitus" (75).
2. (with Cullumbine, H.) "Changes in Plasma and Tissue Fluid Volume following exercise" (76).
3. (with Douglas C. G.) "Carbohydrate metabolism and muscular exercise" (77).
4. "Some Modern trends in Physiology and Biochemistry" (78)
5. "Blood Groups of Ceylonese with special reference to the Rh. Factor" (79).
6. "Blood Groups and disease" (80).

Prof. E. F. C. Ludowyk graduated with First Class Honours in English in 1925. He won a Government Scholarship in 1929 to Cambridge where he obtained First Class Honours in the English Tripos and also won the coveted Oldham Shakespeare Prize. He was appointed Professor of English at the University College in 1936 and Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1940. He was not only a brilliant teacher who revolutionized the teaching of English in Sri Lanka he was also a remarkable producer of plays. He wrote several books including **Marginal Comments** (Colombo, 1945), **The Footprint of the Buddha**

(Allen and Unwin, 1956) **Understanding Shakespeare** (Cambridge Univ. Press 1962), **The Story of Ceylon** (Faber, 1962), and **The Modern History of Ceylon** (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966). He also edited six Shakespeare plays for the Cambridge University Press. After Prof. Ludowyk retired in 1956 he was succeeded by Prof. H. A. Passe', B. A., Ph. d. (Lond.).

Prof. E. O. E. Pereira graduated with First Class Honours in the London B. Sc. Examination. He won a Government Scholarship to Cambridge University in 1928 and obtained a First Class in the Mechanical Science Tripos in 1931. He served in the P. W. D. from 1932-1947. In 1947 he was appointed Professor of Civil Engineering at the University of Ceylon. In 1952 he became Dean of the Faculty of Engineering and was appointed Vice-Chancellor 1969-1971. In 1971 he became Chairman of C. I. S. I. R. and in 1973 he was appointed Chairman of the National Council.

Sir Francis Soertsz, K. C., B. A. (Lond.) after he retired as Acting Chief Justice in 1948 was appointed Professor of Law at the University of Ceylon. He was not only a brilliant lawyer he was a Classical scholar. U. D. R. Capersz B. Sc. (Lond.) was Senior Lecturer in Mathematics at the University of Ceylon. He was also a gifted musician. Justin Labrooy B. A. (Lond.) was Senior Lecturer in History. Rev. Lucian Jansz, M. A. (Cantab) taught French and German at the University. W. Ludekens was a lecturer in Chemistry. Dr. Ian Vanden Driesen was a Lecturer in Economics. Denis Bartholomeusz, Senior Lecturer in English at Monash University, Melbourne is the author of **Macbeth and the Players** and **'Winter's Tale' in Performance**. Michael Ondaatje author of **Running in the Family**, is a well known Poet in Canada and as won prizes for his poetry. He is a lecturer in English at York University, Toronto, Canada. He is the author of *Coming Through Slaughter, Elimination Dance, I am learning to do: Poems 1962-1970, There's a trick with a knife, The Dainty Monsters, The Man with Seven Toes, Collected Works of Billy the Kid and Rat Jelly* Lorenz Ludovici is well known in England for his biography *Fleming, Discoverer of Penicillin*. Dr. Ralph Buultjens, Professor of Comparative

Religions at Maryknoll Graduate School, has won the Toynbee Prize for his book *Rebuilding the Temple: Tradition and Change in Modern Asia*. He is also author of *Traditional Faiths and Asian Development*, *The Decline of Democracy* (1978), *China after Mao: Death of a Revolution* (1979) and *Secret of Karl Marx: History, Philosophy and Marxism*. He is President of The World Association of Buddhists.

Some expatriates of the second generation who have distinguished themselves are Professor Brian Van Arkadie and Dr. Howard Nicholas who are economists, attached to the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. Noeleen Heyzer works in the Asian Pacific Development Division in the United Nations and is presently posted in Malaysia. Mavis Scharenguiel teaches Political Science at the University of Malaysia.

In the field of Art, Music and drama Burghers have made their contribution. George Keyt of international fame, George Claesson, Geoffery Beling, Christie Beling, George and Terry de Neise, Aubrey Collette, Jan Cooke, Barbara Sansoni have enriched the world of painting. Lionel Wendt, Elmer de Haan, Irene Sansoni, Denzil Ludowyk, Douglas Ferdinand, Lois Mack, Eileen Prins and Jean White were gifted musicians. Prof. E. F. C. Ludowyk has made an impact on the theatre in Sri Lanka which is incalculable. Arthur van Langenberg, Herbert Keuneman and Denis Bartholomeusz were creative and gifted producers of plays. Bonnie Beling, Erica Labrooy, Johan Leembruggen, Ellis Grenier, Jan Modder, Henry Ernst, Merle and Rosemary van Langenberg, Rene Caldera and Michelle Leembruggen have given memorable performances on the stage.

Dr. R. L. Brohier, an antiquarian and scholar, is best known for his magnum opus on *The Ancient Irrigation Works in Ceylon*. He has also contributed numerous learned articles in the Journals of the D. B. U. and the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society, and written books on folk lore in Sri Lanka and the Dutch connection. The contribution to scholarship and historical research by the Government Archivists R. G. Anthonisz, E. Reimers, J. H. O. Paulusz and S. A. W. Mottau is well known. They have done much to reveal the contribution of

the Dutch to the history and culture of Ceylon by their translations of some of the unique complete record of transactions connected with the Dutch administration of their territories in this Island from 1640 to the end of the 18th century, consisting of over 7000 manuscript volumes and files.

Burghers have also played their part in the free Press of Ceylon. Reference has already been made to **The Ceylon Examiner** (1859-1900) and the part played by Lorenz, Louis Nell, Leopold Ludovici, Francis Beven and J. T. Blaze' who at various times were Editors of **The Ceylon Examiner**. **The Ceylon Examiner** exemplified the British dislike of autocratic and bureaucratic methods of interference with the conduct of the Press. A hired or inspired press runs counter to national instincts. **The Ceylon Independent** was started on the 4th of July 1888 by Hector Van Cuylenberg and William Maitland. It was the first penny newspaper to be published in Ceylon and was an immediate success. It flourished until about 1937. Hilaire Jansz (1930s) and Jan Modder (1950s) became Editors of the **Observer**. Donovan Moldrich (1970) was for a time Editor of the **Sunday Times**. This is only a condensed list of Burgher achievement. The prowess of Burghers on the field of sport over the years is common knowledge.

Burghers who have made a mark in different fields include Dr. A. W. R. Joachim, Director of Agriculture; H. K. de Kretser, Director of Public works; Cyril Holmes, Conservator of Forests; Cecil Speldewinde, Commissioner of Income Tax; A. L. Loos, Commissioner of Excise; Major Aubrey Weinman, Director Zoological Gardens; M. L. D. Caspersz, Principal Collector of Customs, C. J. E. Anthonisz, General Manager, Bank of Ceylon; Brig. General B. R. Heyn was Army Commander and captained Sri Lanka at cricket; Rear Admiral Victor Hunter was Commander of the Navy. Several Burghers have held the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police, namely, Durand Altendorff, W. Ludovici, Willem Leembruggen, David Pate, Cecil Wambeek, I. D. M. Van Twest, T. H. Kelaart, C. R. Arndt and J. A. L. Rosemalecocq.

Towards the end of the last century the spread of higher education and the gradual growth and rise of national aspir-

ations in the other communities lessened the influence which this small middle class community had in official circles, but the Burghers continued to maintain their identity and to fill a not unimportant place in the Island in the first half of this century. Academe, the professions, the public service, the mercantile sector and journalism, continued to attract the Burghers. A few took to planting and to private business. A large number of Burghers continued to be employed in the clerical service, the police, customs, railway, excise and the armed forces. Many Burgher women joined the teaching and nursing professions. Some took to dress making and others became stenographers and typists. A few became doctors, e. g. Dr. Winifred Nell, L. M. S., (1889) Dr. Miss A. de Boer, L. R. C. P. & S. (Edin. & Glas.) 1899, Dr. Miss E. Davidson, (81) Dr. Miss Schokman, L. M. S., Dr. Sylvin Ethel Ebert, L. M. S. (Ceylon), L. R. C. P. & S. (Edin.), L. R. F. P. & S. (Glas.) Dr. Claribel Francis van Dort, L. M. S., L. R. C. P. & S., (Edin.) Dr. Dolly Hay, L. M. S. Dr. Norah Joseph, L. M. S., Dr. Yvette Brohier, M. B. B. S., Dr. Corinne Jackson, M. B. B. S., and Dr. Aigine Sansoni M. B. B. S. Burgher woman in the last century set the style for emancipation by being the first to take to education and employment and to the medical profession. Eminent Sri Lankans whose mothers were Burghers are Tissa Devendra, Bradman Weerakoon, Dr. Christopher Pinto and many others.

There have been some notable Burgher dissenters. Charles Ambrose Lorenz in his early twenties was one of the promoters of **Young Ceylon** (1850-1852) which was the first publication in Ceylon to agitate for social reform. He continued this agitation while serving as a journalist in **The Observer** during the troublous period of the so-called "Rebellion" in 1848. Lorenz identified himself with the opposition and rendered eminent service in representing the unconstitutional proceedings of the Government and in securing an inquiry into them and into affairs generally of the Island, by the Imperial Government (82). As Editor of *The Ceylon Examiner* (1859-1871) he wielded the powerful influence of his pen in support of social reforms for the Ceylonese and in opposition to injustice. As Burgher member of the Legislative Council (1856-1864)

he was one of the leaders of the opposition to the Imperial Governments' unilateral decision to have the whole of the military expenditure foisted on the local government which led to the "walk-out" of the Unofficial Members in 1864.

A. E. Buultjens, Prof. E. F. C. Ludowyk, Dr. Ian Vanden Driesen and others also fall into the category of dissenters. A. E. Buultjens who scandalized his old school by becoming a convert to Buddhism played a vital role in the cause of Buddhist education in the Buddhist revival at the turn of this century. He also played a prominent role in forming the first trade union in this country.

Pieter Keuneman, M. A. (Cantab) was the son of A. E. Keuneman, K. C. a former Puisne Justice. He had a distinguished career at Royal College and read English at Cambridge in the mid thirties. He joined the Communist Party in England and he became President of the Cambridge Union Society. On his return to Ceylon he soon became an able journalist and was appointed Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon. He is the only Burgher to be elected a Member of Parliament. Today he is President of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and is also Editor of the fortnightly "Forward". He has dedicated his life to the service of the working class.

Prof. E. F. C. Ludowyk was an active supporter of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Trotskyite). Dr. Ian Vanden Driesen was a Lecturer in Economics at the Peradeniya University. Both Ludowyk and Vanden Driesen had strong socialist sympathies and their lectures and writings did much to arouse sympathy for the weak and downtrodden.

Certain trends in the 1950s and 1960s spread a sense of insecurity in the Burgher Community and they decided in large numbers to emigrate to Australia. The rise of communalism and the growth of attitudes hostile to Christianity and Western modes of life and thought, created conditions which the Burghers felt were inimical to the welfare of their children. The feeling of uneasiness came to a head when the **Sinhala Only Bill** was passed in 1956 (83). This bill created a major crisis in the country affecting all the minorities, especially the Burghers

who had adopted English as their mother tongue for nearly one hundred and fifty years.

There has been a significant decline in the fortunes of the Burghers since the passing of the **Sinhala Only Bill**. Burgher youth have not as yet adjusted to the drastic change of being educated in the Sinhala stream in schools. It was easy for the Burghers in the last century to adjust from Dutch (an Anglo-Germanic language) to English. Both languages had common roots and to a large extent a common vocabulary. Today, as yet Burgher children find it difficult to compete with Sinhalese and Tamils in their mother tongues. This will take time. Today one rarely sees a Burgher name in lists of successful candidates in examinations conducted by the Universities, Medical College and the Law College. The condition of the majority of Burghers today is one of hardship and poverty similar to their condition at the beginning of the last century under the British. They are a small community and today they have no political organisation of their own.

At the turn of this century, however, when it became evident that ethnic representation in the Legislative Council would soon become a matter of democratic choice with officially demarcated communal electorates a section of the Dutch Burgher community memorialized the Government to restrict the Burgher electorate to themselves. This was rejected by the British. This was the first serious attempt at forming a political organisation by the Dutch Burghers who sensed that their political and economic privileges would be steadily eroded by democratic reforms.

Another attempt to form a **Burgher Political Association** was made on the 25th February 1938 (84). An inaugural meeting was held at the Chamber of Commerce Hall. Dr. V. R. Schokman presided and speakers were made by members of the D. B. U. and other Burgher Associations, namely, Dr. Andreas Nell, Rev. O. J. C. Beven, A. L. de Witt, Col. A.C.B. Jonklaas, and Dr. R. L. Spittel. Nothing tangible resulted from this initial attempt.

On the 29th September, 1956 discussions were started at Milagiriya School Hall between the D. B. U., the Burgher Association, the Burgher Education Fund and the Burgher Recreation Club to create an umbrella organization for all Burghers in the country. J. R. V. Ferdinands was one of the main conveners. The result of this meeting on the 23rd February 1957 was the formation of a Burgher Welfare Organization (85). In 1966 the question was publicly debated in the D. B. U. of loosening the rigid genealogical requirements in the light of changed conditions (86). There is a growing sympathy for this move. Today the D. B. U. and the Burgher Association have co-ordinated their social welfare work for the benefit of the mounting indigent members of the community, without being hampered any more by ponderous genealogies. This is the main function of those two associations today. Hard times have withered away the upper class elitist notions of the D. B. U. and relations between Burghers of all kinds have become friendlier. In 1984 the number of full members of the D. B. U. was 170. In 1985 it was 203. In 1906 it was 268. At no time has it exceeded 500.

The Burghers reserved ethnic electorate was dissolved by the establishment of universal adult franchise in the Donoughmore Reforms of 1931. The Burghers were granted special nominated representation in the parliament of newly independent Ceylon, but they quickly felt their vulnerability as neo-Europeans out of sympathy with local culture and institutions and as supporters of vested interests in an era of Sri Lankan nationalism.

The number of Burghers grouped with Eurasians by the Department of Census and Statistics has always been small (0.7 per cent of the population in 1901; 0.6 per cent in 1946). In 1971 the members became miniscule—45,000 or 0.35 per cent. In 1981 numbers had reduced to 38,000 or 0.26 per cent of the population. The causes of this fall in numbers can be attributed mainly to emigration to Australia and to assimilation with other communities which has increased in the last two or three decades.

The paucity of numbers has prevented the Burghers from organising into an effective political force. The only way they can articulate their political demands and air their grievances is through the mainstream of established political parties. The only way the Burghers can get back into the mainstream of life in Sri Lanka is by mastering Sinhala, while at the same time retaining a mastery of English.

After the British took over from the Dutch in 1796 there was a great deal of bitterness among the Burghers who lost their political and economic privileges. The recollection of their past spurred them to become a self respecting and influential force in society again: a position they achieved in the last century by their discipline, integrity and hard work. The institution that played a prominent role in moulding the values of the community and in providing the framework of cohesiveness for the community was the Presbyterian Church. The Missionary schools and the Colombo Academy also played an important role in shaping the character of the Burghers. English literature and the Classics were a powerful moral and refining influence. Many of the teachers who came from abroad were outstanding men both in learning and in the lives they lived. They made an indelible impact on Burgher youth by their learning and example.

The Burghers as a middle class community were mainly concentrated in the towns. In the last century many lived in Matara, Galle, Colombo, Jaffna, Batticaloa, Kandy and Negombo. Today, most of them live in Colombo and its environs. They have always been oriented to Western culture and English is their mother tongue. In religion they are mainly Presbyterian. Some have joined other Christian denominations. A few have become Buddhists and Hindus.

The Burgher community had over the years integrated its ethnic identity with a larger Sri Lankan national identity even though there has been an attempt by a few misguided persons to outcast them. There are common cultural interests binding all communities in the Island and a common desire for the general welfare and destiny of Sri Lanka. Relations with other

communities have been harmonious. The individual Burgher is a law abiding, peaceful citizen. What Digby said of Sir Richard Morgan (87) may be said of the community as a whole:

"a binder together of diverse races, having the blood of both the 'stranger within the gates' and the 'son of the soil' in his veins, and able to 'put himself in the place' of each - that essential requisite of a peacemaker".



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## THE SURRENDER

I surrender myself to that voice which exiles itself from daylight  
 The departure from the place of a multitude of footsteps  
 The weary celebration of triumph over shadows,  
 The congregated maintenance like pillars  
     supporting the crumbling arches of the world,  
 The abandoning of necks to the bondage of visible intention,  
 The tethering points of the daylight.

**George Keyt.**  
*(from Image in Absence, 1937)*  
 reprinted in **George Keyt,**  
*A Felicitation Volume,*  
*Published by the George Keyt*  
*Felicitaton Committee 1977,*  
*Pg. 104*

Among the things that are visible  
 She is tentative like the rising moon,  
 Beholding is to behold herself,  
 She sees the reflection of as effigy.  
 And the mirror smiles when she smiles  
 And the gestures are repeated before her.  
 She cries wildly to be silently cried at,  
 And she asks, "But where am I among the  
                   things that are visible?"

**George keyt.**  
*(from Darkness Disrobed 1936)*  
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*A Felicitation Volume, Published*  
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# Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon

"Eendracht maakt Macht"

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