

REPORT
ON
THE DUTCH RECORDS
IN THE
GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES AT COLOMBO.

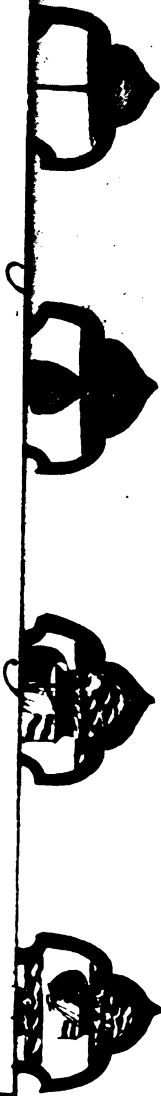
WITH APPENDICES.

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PREFACE.

THIS makes no pretension to be an exhaustive report on the Dutch Records contained in the Government Archives. Its chief aim has been to give a brief history of the records, and to convey some idea of their nature and contents by means of translations of extracts. These extracts had to be selected somewhat at random, in view of the great variety of matter to be dealt with and the limited scope of the report. I trust, however, that, although by no means fully descriptive of the large number of volumes comprised in the collection, they may at least be calculated to rouse an interest in these old manuscripts which they have a right to claim.

The Appendices at the end of the Report, which are translations of some important papers and documents bearing upon the history of the Dutch occupation of the Island, have been added with a view to throw further light on the matter contained in the records.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. H. C. P. BELL, Archæological Commissioner, for his courtesy in permitting me to include in an Appendix the English translation of the Dutch-Sinhalese Treaty of 1766, contributed by him in 1888 to the pages of the *Orientalist*. The Dutch office copy of this Treaty, which ought to have been in the Archives, is, I regret to say, missing.

R. G. ANTHONISZ.

Colombo, February 26, 1907.

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REPORT

ON

THE DUTCH RECORDS CONTAINED IN THE GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES AT COLOMBO.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

BY Article 4 of the Capitulation of Colombo of 15th February, 1796, the Dutch Governor van Angelbeek* agreed to "faithfully deliver over" to the British authorities "all Public Papers" belonging to the Government of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon. No list of the documents actually transferred is now extant, and it is therefore difficult to say, with any certainty, what these papers were. But there is among the records a very complete catalogue of all the books and papers in the Political Secretariat at Colombo in the year 1796. These may be presumed to have formed at least part

* Johan Gerrard van Angelbeek, the last Dutch Governor of Ceylon, succeeded his son-in-law, Governor Van de Graaf, on the 1st August, 1794. He had previously served in Ceylon as Political Secretary under Governor Falck, and, at the date of his nomination to the Governorship of Ceylon, was holding the post of Governor of the Coromandel Coast. He remained in Ceylon after the capitulation, and died in Colombo on the 2nd September, 1799. The following account of his funeral occurs in *Cordiner* (vol. I., p. 36): "The funeral procession of the Dutch Governor Van Angelbeek paraded through the streets of Colombo, by torch light, on the 3rd of September, 1799. It was attended by a party of mourners in black gowns, all the European gentlemen of the settlement, and a crowd of natives. The body was deposited in the family vault, by the side of that of his wife, whose skeleton was seen through a glass in the cover of the coffin. No burial service was used on the occasion; but when the necessary duty was performed a crier stood upon a tombstone, and proclaimed that nothing more remained to be done, and that the company might retire. Those gentlemen who felt inclined repaired to the house of the deceased, where a large party of ladies was assembled: and the rooms were crowded with a mixture of all nations, who spent the evening in drinking various liquors and smoking tobacco." It may be mentioned that there was nothing peculiar in the absence of the burial service on this occasion, because the ritual of the Dutch Reformed Church provided for no such service. It was only in comparatively recent times, after clergymen

of the collection taken over by the British authorities. Whether the undertaking in the article of the Capitulation referred to included also the transfer of the records of the provincial stations, Jaffna and Galle, and at the minor outstations, is not clear. The records of the "Commandements,"* or Province, of Galle are extant in a more or less fair rate of preservation; but the records of Jaffna and of the smaller stations have almost entirely disappeared. So also have the old Portuguese records, which, it is clear, the Dutch obtained possession of on their conquest of Colombo in 1656; although no provision on this head appears in the Treaty of Surrender.† Their disappearance from the Dutch Secretariat in the year 1700 is attributed by Valentyn (*Byzondere Zaaken*, p. 303) to the arbitrary act of Governor Gerrit de Heere, upon whose verbal orders they are said to have been burnt by the Private

from Scotland and Ireland were brought out to minister to the Dutch congregations, that prayers at the graveside became a part of the ceremony on such occasions. The crier referred to was the *aanspreker*, a well-known figure at funeral ceremonies up to within fifty years ago. The formula repeated by him at the graveside was one of several he had to repeat at various stages of the ceremony. It was a stereotyped form, and ran as follows: "De heeren naast bestaanden, de draegers, en de andere heeren worden vriendelyk weder na de sterfhuis verzogt:" "The relations, the bearers, and the other gentlemen present are kindly invited to return to the funeral house." The wife of Governor van Angelbeek, Jacomina Lever, born at the Cape in 1732, daughter of Abraham Lever, died at Colombo on the 13th February, 1793. Her *wapenbord* is hung up in Wolfendal Church.

* The word "Commandements," from *Commandeur*, was intended to denote the jurisdiction of an officer holding this rank, which was just next to that of Governor. The jurisdiction of the *Commandeur* of Galle extended from the river of Bentota on the north to the extreme southern limits of the Dutch territory at the time.

† The Articles of Capitulation by the Portuguese, dated 11th May, 1656, extracted from *Baldeus' Description of Ceylon*, which first appeared in the old quarto edition of the Ceylon Ordinances, will be found inserted in the first volume of the Revised Edition of the Legislative Enactments. Another, somewhat condensed, version of this treaty, varying in some particulars, appears in *Saar's Account of Ceylon*, which has been translated from the German for the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. P. Freudenberg (*Journal, Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XI., p. 303). It is as follows: "When the Portuguese saw this they came on the 10th with a white flag and wanted to negotiate and surrender the town on the same day. The next day, 11th May, the following terms were concluded: (1) The Portuguese had to give nine months' pay for every one of our men, taking the number of all that had arrived, thus counting the dead as well as the living, and a month's pay was paid at ten florins. (2) They were to pay the value of all the ammunition which had been used against the town. (3) They were to leave all their slaves behind, or to re-purchase from us those they wanted to take with them. (4) Every man was to have the option of taking five years' service under the Hollanders. Those that wanted

Secretary and Dessave Van Toll.* These records are described as *Tombus* or registers of land revenue, which were of "priceless value" to the Dutch East India Company, as they showed what the villagers were obliged to yearly render to the lord of the land for the property which they possessed.† Further light is thrown on the incident related by Valentyn by certain documents now in the Archives. They go far, I think, to exonerate the Governor from any complicity in what must be considered as an act of the grossest vandalism. I am glad of the opportunity, although so late, of being able to offer some facts which, I think, ought to redeem the character of Governor de Heere from the obloquy cast upon it by older and later writers. Van Toll, shortly afterwards promoted Commandeur of Galle, was called upon by Governor Simons, in 1703, to answer to certain charges of misconduct during his tenure of office as Political Secretary. Among others was the

to go to a Portuguese port were to be taken there by our ships, and those that wanted to go to Holland were to be taken to Batavia. (5) All fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters that were married were to be taken in our ships wherever they wanted to go, as, for instance, to *Goa*, *S. Thoma*, *Cochin*, and other Portuguese Settlements, or even to Holland. *The unmarried daughters, however, were to remain, and to marry Hollanders.* (When that happened it caused great grief, mourning, and crying.) (6) As the Portuguese had to expect four ships from Goa with soldiers and provisions, it was arranged that if they arrived before the 20th of May they were to remain in the possession of the Portuguese: should they arrive after the 20th of May they were to belong to the Hollanders. (7) All and everything that belongs to the King of Portugal in the town of *Colombo*—horses, money, slaves, cattle, movables and immovables of all and every description—were to be handed over to the Hollanders, without anything being openly or clandestinely withheld. After this treaty had been ratified by both sides, we marched into the town on the 12th May. On the following, the 13th, the sick were brought in, I amongst them, and quartered in the monastery of *S. Augustine*." The somewhat harsh condition relating to the "unmarried daughters" is absent in the accepted authorized version, but that it was enforced and carried out is abundantly manifest. The early Church Registers contain numerous entries of such marriages as these, between the first Dutch settlers and Portuguese women.

* Gerrit van Toll, afterwards Commandeur of Galle. The tombstone of his wife Johanna Margaritha Schilhoorn, who died in 1695, is at Wolfendal Church. He afterwards married in 1697 Catharina Constantia van Vliet.

† "Een van de voornaamste Zaken, door den Heer de Heere verwaarloost, was dat zyn Ed. (zoo de Geheimschryver *Van Tol*, aan den Heer *Simons* zeyde) mondeling aan den zelve *Van Tol*, Ao. 1700 belast had, om de Lyst der Tombo's, of Lands-geregtigheden (waar by bleek, wat de Inlander aan den Land-Heer jaarlyks betaalen moest, en dat een onschatbaar Juweel voor de E. Maatschappy was, hen door de Portugeesen nagelaten) te verbranden, een verlies, dat niet te waerdeeren, en waar van de reeden by niemand te begrypen was."—*Valentyn, Byzondere Zaaken*, p. 303.

charge of having made away with the Portuguese land registers and other ancient records belonging to the Secretariat. He defended himself with the plea that the records in question were "pieces and fragments"* saved from the ravages of white ants; that being thus of little value, Governor de Heere had given orders for burning them; and that this had accordingly been done. The statement was discredited by Governor Simons on the ground that, from the evidence led, it appeared Governor de Heere was seriously ill at the time he is said to have given the order, and that, far from considering them of little value, he had attached great importance to these papers when taking over the Government in 1697, describing them as "authentic and valuable secretarial papers."† The inquiry into the destruction of the Portuguese records, therefore, resulted in Van Toll being held solely responsible for the loss; because he, having had the custody and care of these papers, had allowed them, first, to suffer damage by neglect, and then, without apparent authority, had destroyed the evidence of his own laxity.

When and how a great part of the Dutch provincial and outstation records disappeared are questions which, I fear, it would be very difficult to answer now. Judging, however, from the careful preservation of the records at the Galle Kachcheri up to the date of their removal to Colombo in the year 1880,‡ there is every reason to suppose that each of the local kachcheris had, at first, the custody of records left behind by the Dutch. Jaffna, as the seat of a Commandeur, and next in importance to Colombo,§ must have possessed records, at

* "Stukken of stollen."

† "Want d'Edele Heer Gouverneur Gerrit de Heere Zal heeft in de beginne van't jaar 1697 alle dese vermiste, en soo men voorgeeft verbrande papieren, op't generaal transport voor geen stukken of stollen, maar voor *authentijque en nodige sekretariele papieren overgenomen.*" —*General Records*, vol. 1983.

‡ See page 10.

§ Of the two "commandements," Jaffnapatam and Galle, the former always took precedence, so that, whenever a sudden vacancy occurred in the Governorship of the Island, it was the Commandeur of Jaffnapatam usually, as the highest in rank after the Governor, who was called upon to temporarily administer the Government. This rule was in a few instances departed from for special reasons, as in the cases of Commandeur Arnold Mol in 1723, of Jan Paul Schagen in 1725, and Jan Maccara in 1736, who as Commandeurs of Galle had to take up the reins of Government on the sudden death of the Governor. And there was the case of Commandeur Gerrard Joan Vrelandt of Galle, who, from that post, permanently succeeded Stein van Golleneese as Governor of the Island. But these were exceptional cases, because it was the practice for the Commandeur of Galle to go on promotion to Jaffna, but never the contrary.

least quite as numerous and important as those of Galle, but not a scrap of any of these is now extant. I visited Jaffna in the beginning of the present year at the instance of the Government Agent, Mr. Lewis, with a view to examine and report upon such Dutch records as were to be found in the Kachcheri. The only documents I met with were a few files of village thombus* and a number of plans relating to them. My report on these was submitted to Government soon after my return. Mannar, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Calpentyne, Chilaw, and Negombo had each of them a *comptoir*,† or Government establishment, and must, therefore, have had their separate records. They do not appear to be now in existence.

Another series of records of a most valuable character which has unaccountably disappeared, is the set of the "Legislative Acts of the Dutch Government of the Island of Ceylon," to which an index in English appears at the end of the 1st volume of the old quarto edition of the Ceylon Ordinances, published in 1833. The Acts are represented as having been contained in eight volumes. That these volumes were available for reference to the compilers of the index is, I think, perfectly clear; but no trace of them can now be discovered anywhere. I have had inquiries made at the Supreme Court Registry, at the Attorney-General's Office, and at the Law Library without any success. As the loss of these Acts seemed to me to be a matter of serious importance, I took upon myself to address the State Archivist of the Netherlands to ascertain whether copies of them were preserved at the Ryks-archief at the Hague, where, I understood, there is a large collection of records relating to Ceylon. The reply was that, although copies of the Resolutions of the Governor and Council of Ceylon were extant, none of the Legislative Acts were preserved.

It is only as regards the Matara thombus or land registers that we have something like positive evidence of the time and manner of their destruction. In his general letter to the Directors of the East India Company at Leadenhall Street, in October, 1799, Governor North, speaking of the land tribunals under the Dutch in Ceylon, and referring particularly to the Thombu Commission of Matara, states that the Register

* For an explanation of this word, *vide infra*, chapter IV.

† This is the French form of the word which occurs at the same time with the Dutch equivalent *kantoor*. A distinction is however observed in their application. *Comptoir* is used, as here, to denote a complete local establishment of the Government, and is understood to include all the various departments or offices under a responsible chief. *Kantoor*, on the other hand, signifies a counting-house or office devoted to some particular branch of the service, as, for instance, *Negotie kantoor*, trade office; *Zoldy kantoor*, pay office, &c.

of Property there " was burned by the last Dutch Dessave not long before our occupation of the Island." Mr. J. A. Farrel,* Collector of Tangalla, apparently refers to the same incident, when, in his report for 1821, he attributes the " want of public documents to ascertain the former possessors," " to the malicious destruction of all records of that description belonging to the Matura and Tangalle Districts by a servant of the Dutch Company while we were in treaty for the Island."† It is round the Matara registers of land that public interest chiefly centred in recent years, and it is upon inquiries raised in connection with them that the present measures for ensuring the preservation, arrangement, and special custody of the Dutch records were adopted.

Before proceeding to deal with the records themselves, I will first briefly describe the organization under which the Government was administered by the Dutch in Ceylon; as it seems to me that a little light thrown upon this subject will make clear many matters relating to the records touched upon in this report, which would otherwise be more or less unintelligible. Ceylon, described by Valentyn as " at the same time one of the greatest islands in the East Indies, and also one of the principal and foremost Governments which the Honourable Company had founded there, and which she maintained with the might of her arms,"‡ was subject to the supreme authority of the Government of India established at Batavia. Its Governor, styled in full " Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon and its Dependencies, including the *costa d'*

* This gentleman was tried before the Supreme Court on the 18th November, 1819, on the charge of murdering a native, and was acquitted.

† The last Dutch Dissave of Matara was Pieter Willem Ferdinand Adriaan van Schuler of Utrecht, who, as well as his wife Wilhelmina Catharina Leembruggen, were the victims of a sad tragedy which occurred at Galle in the last year of the eighteenth century; they were both assassinated in their bed by a domestic slave, who had secreted himself in the sleeping chamber for the purpose, and who used his master's own sword, which was hanging on the wall by the bed, for the perpetration of the deed. This he plunged deep into his victim's breast; and the lady, on being roused from sleep by hearing the death groan of her husband, was stabbed in the abdomen as she seized the assassin to prevent his making his escape. The husband expired immediately, but the wife lingered long enough to be able to identify the miscreant and to secure his conviction and execution. An English version of this incident, but defective in some of the names and particulars, appears in Welsh's " Military Reminiscences," vol. I., p. 26.

‡ " Gelyk Ceylon een van de grootste Eylanden van Oost-Indien is, alzoo is het ook een van de Voornaamste en Eerste Landvoogdyen, die de E. Maatschappy aldaar heeft, en door de magt van haare Wapenen bezit." — Valentyn, *Beschryving v. h. Eyland Ceylon*, p. 13.

insiado,"* was invariably a member of the Council of India, of which the Governor-General was President. His nomination, made in India, was confirmed by the Directors of the East India Company at home. The seat of the Government was at Colombo, where the Governor resided and the Political Council of Ceylon had its sittings. For the purposes of civil government the Dutch territorial possessions in the Island were divided into the *Dissavony* of Colombo and the *Commandements* of Jaffna and Galle. The jurisdiction of the *Dissave*† of Colombo corresponded very nearly to that of the Government Agent of the Province. His offices and residence were at Hulfsdorp. The Commandeurs of the two provincial seats, Jaffna and Galle, were Lieutenant-Governors whose rank was just next to that of the Governor of the Island. They had both civil and military authority in their provinces. The sub-stations, Mannar, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Negombo, Kalutara, and Calpentyn, subject to one or other of the Commandements, was each under an *Oppelhoofd*, or chief resident, while Matara was designated a *Dissavony* with the senior member of the Galle Council as its local chief. The servants of the Company were divided into five classes, viz., Political, Military, Naval, Artizan, and Ecclesiastical. The Political Service corresponded to the Civil Service of the present day, and consisted of various grades and ranks. The organization being on a strictly commercial basis, these grades were denoted by mercantile designations, as follows : *Opperkoopman* or Upper Merchant, with a salary of from 80 to 100 guilders a month ; *Koopman* or Merchant, with from 60 to 70 guilders a month ; *Onderkoopman* or Under Merchant, with from 40 to 50 guilders ; *Boekhouder* or Bookkeeper, with 30 guilders ; Assistant, with 26 guilders ; Junior Assistant, with 16 to 20 guilders ; and *Aanquekeling*, or *Zoldaat*, *by de pen*, corresponding to apprentice or writer, with 9 to 10 guilders. The Governor's salary was 200 guilders with a table allowance of 20 rixdollars. A table allowance was also drawn by each of the grades already named, except the last, as follows :

* The ancient southern limits of the "Teuver's Country" (Madura), called by the Portuguese *costa d'insiado*. "De Zuidelyke oude Limiten van des Teuvers Land, by de Portugesen Costa D'Inciado genaamd."—*Valentyn, Byzondere Zaaken*, p. 235. Mr. Donald Ferguson has pointed out that the correct phrase would be *costa da enaeada*. "coast of the bay."

† *Dissavony* means the jurisdiction of a *Dissave*. This latter term was a Sinhalese word for the Governor of a province, which the Dutch adopted for convenience, when, early in their occupation of the maritime coast, they replaced some of the native *dessaves*, as for instance at Matara, by officials of their own.

an *Opperkoopman* 12 rix-dollars, a *Koopman* or *Onderkoopman* 8 rix-dollars, and a *Boekhouder* or *Assistent* 4 rix-dollars. Besides the table money, monthly allowances of liquor, spices, oil, wood, rice, vinegar, candles, &c., were made to each officer according to grade.

The Military Service was divided into eight classes, viz. : Major with 120 guilders per month ; Captain with 80 guilders ; Captain-Lieutenant with 60 guilders ; Lieutenant with 50 guilders ; Ensign with 40 guilders ; Sergeant with 20 guilders ; Corporal with 14 guilders ; and Private with 9 guilders. In the Artillery, *Canonier* and *Bombardier* or *Cadet* corresponded, respectively, to Corporal and Sergeant in the infantry, with equal pay. The military officers had the same table money and allowances as civil servants drawing equal salaries.

The grades in the Naval Service were very similar : *Capitein der zee* corresponded to Captain and *Lieutenant der zee* to Lieutenant. The lowest rank here was *mattroos*, with the same pay as a private in the army. The *Equipagemeester*, or Master Attendant, was the head of the Marine Department on land, and he had a large retinue of *bootshieden*, boatmen, *zeilmakers*, sail-makers, *baanmasters*, rope-makers, &c., employed in the service.

In the Artizan Service, called the *Ambachtshieden*, there were several departments with a duly qualified officer over each ; as, for instance, the *Baas der Scheeps en Huis Timmerhieden* (Master of the Ships' and House Carpenters), who held the rank of *Koopman* or Merchant, and whose position corresponded very probably to that of Director of Public Works ; the *Baas der Wapenkamer*, Master of the Armoury ; the *Baas der Smeden*, Master of the Smiths ; the *Baas der Metselaars*, Master of the Masons ; and the *Baas der Pannebakkery*, Master of the Brick and Tile Works. These posts and those of the *meesterknechten*, or foremen, were usually held by men with a European training.

In the Ecclesiastical Service there were two grades, viz., the *Predikanten*, or ordained preachers, and the *Krankbezoekers* and *Ziekentroosters*, whose duty it was to visit and comfort the sick and perform other minor ecclesiastical offices. The *Predikanten* of the highest class ranked with Upper Merchants and enjoyed the same privileges as to emoluments, &c. Associated with the Ecclesiastical Department were the *Scholarchen* or School Board and the Diaconate. These had, severally, the control and management of the schools and seminaries and of the Orphan Chamber and Poor House.

The supreme authority in the Island was vested in the Governor and the Political Council of Ceylon, which consisted of ten of the highest officers of the Government. These were the *Hoofd Administrateur* or Chief Administrator, the

Dissave, the Principal Military Officer, the First Warehouse-keeper, the Pay Officer,* the Trade Supervisor,† the Fiscal, and the Political Secretary. The Commandeurs of Jaffna and Galle were also *ex-officio* members, and, whenever present in Colombo, had precedence over all the resident members.

The offices for the transaction of civil business were the Secretariat, over which the Political Secretary, an officer of the rank of *Koopman* or Merchant, presided ; the *Negotie Kantoor* or Trade Office, presided over by the *Negotie Boekhouder*, who was also a *Koopman* ; the *Visitie Kantoor* or Audit Office, presided over by the *Visitateur* ; the *Zoldy Kantoor* or Pay Office by the *Zoldy Boekhouder* ; and the several warehouses in charge of the First Warehousekeeper. The assistants in these offices were styled Sworn Clerks, and were of various grades, from Under Merchant downwards. Other special designations were those of *Winkelier* or Storekeeper, *Dispencier* or Dispenser, &c.

Of the judicial tribunals, the highest court of the land was the *Raad Van Justitie* at Colombo, which exercised both an original and an appellate jurisdiction. Its original jurisdiction in civil matters was confined to all suits between Europeans and European descendants, where the subject-matter of the suit exceeded 120 rix-dollars in amount, and also in suits against natives residing in the Fort of Colombo and in any place within Kayman's Gate where the same amount was involved. It also exercised an exclusive jurisdiction in criminal matters. The president of this court was the *Hoofd Administrateur*, and the members were chosen from those of the Political Council. The court next in order was the *Landraad*, which exercised a jurisdiction over natives in all disputes relating to land, and in matters of contract and debt where the amount involved exceeded 120 rix-dollars. The *Dissave* of Colombo was the president of this court, and the members were the Fiscal, one or two Under Merchants and Bookkeepers, the First Maha Mudaliyar, the Attapattu Mudaliyar, and the Keeper of the Thombus. After this came the *Civiel Raad* or *Hof Van Kleine Gerechts Zaaken*, that is, Court of Small Causes, which dealt with all matters of contract and debt not exceeding 120 rix-dollars. This court exercised jurisdiction over Europeans as well as natives. At Jaffna and Galle the judicial tribunals were modelled after those at Colombo. The *Raad van Justitie* was presided over by the *Commandeur*, while over the *Landraad* the *Dissave* presided at Jaffna, and the *Opziender* or Superintendent of the korale

* *Zoldy Boekhouder*.

† *Negotie Boekhouder*.

at Galle. An appeal lay from the *Raad van Justitie* at Jaffna and Galle and from the minor tribunals to the *Raad van Justitie* at Colombo in all matters, civil as well as criminal; while a further appeal was permitted from this court to the *Raad van Justitie* at Batavia in cases where the subject in dispute exceeded 300 rix-dollars, or where the accused in a criminal prosecution was above the rank of an assistant or sergeant. In the smaller stations, such as Matara, Trincomalee, Manaar, &c., there was no *Raad van Justitie*, and the *Landraad*, from which an appeal lay to the *Raad van Justitie* at Galle or Jaffna, exercised jurisdiction over Europeans as well as natives.

The Dutch records now contained in the Government Archives consist of: (1) the General Records of the Government; (2) the Proceedings of the Political Council of Ceylon; (3) the *Thombus* or Land Registers of Colombo and Galle; (4) the Records of the Galle Commandements; and (5) the School *Thombus*. These each form a distinct series of records, and do not appear to have been originally kept together in one place. The two first items, viz., the General Records and the Proceedings of Council, had been preserved for many years in the Government Record Office at Colombo; but from the fact that they form two distinct series and are separately numbered, it is evident that they had come from separate custody. The Council Proceedings had probably been kept in the Office of Records attached to the Chief Secretary's Office from the commencement of the British rule, and been in charge of the officer known as the Keeper of Records. But the large bulk of the General Records was most likely kept in the Kachcheri up to about fifty years ago, when the bundles were all brought together, bound, and labelled, in the Colonial Secretary's Office. The post of Clerk of the Dutch Records at the Kachcheri, held by Mr. A. H. Heer, was abolished on the retirement of that officer in 1857. The *Thombus* of Colombo and Galle remained till recently in their respective Kachcheries, where a clerk, first styled *Thombu Holder*, according to the Dutch title, and afterwards Clerk in charge of the *Thombus*, was placed in charge of them, whose duty it was to issue extracts from them upon the application of parties. In the course of time, when, with the disappearance of the older generation of Burgher clerks, no one could be found with the requisite knowledge of Dutch to perform this duty, the Colombo *Thombus* were removed from the Kachcheri and placed in my charge at the Registrar-General's Office, and, when I assumed duties as Archivist, they followed me here after a little while. The Galle *Thombus* were only removed from the local Kachcheri to Colombo some time after my present office

was established. They are in by far the worst condition of all the records now brought together. The General Records of the Commandements of Galle had been preserved in the Galle Kachcheri up to the year 1880, when they were removed to Colombo. They were first deposited in one of the rooms of the upper floor of the Colonial Secretary's Office, and, while there, were carefully sorted and arranged by Sir J. A. Swettenham, then Assistant Colonial Secretary. At a later period, the room being required for the use of the General Treasury, they were removed to the Colombo Museum, where they lay locked up in the godown until, in 1899, they were brought back and placed in my charge; and they now form an important part of the Archives here. The School Thombus had been lying for many years in the Registrar-General's Office, transferred there apparently from the Kachcheris with other records which were supposed to relate to the subject of registration, when the Registrar-General's Department was created in 1867. I took charge of them here only last year.

What may be stated generally with reference to all the records is that they bear traces, more or less, of neglect and rough usage at some time or other. Many of the volumes have been rescued from the ravages of rats and mice, and are now in a tattered condition; while others have been exposed to damp, and thus reduced to a mouldy and very indecipherable state. White ants appear to have also had a share in the work of destruction, and this, no doubt, accounts, in a great measure, for the loss of several entire volumes. All these, it may be said, are natural agencies which constantly threaten the safety of books and papers in this country; but there is no doubt that a great deal of the damage might have been prevented if proper attention had been devoted to the records by those in whose custody they had been. Many of the losses may also be reasonably attributed to the frequent migrations to which the records were subject during the last hundred years. It is fortunate, however, that, although there is indication of a great many losses, the bulk of the records is still in existence, and with care and proper stowage they may yet be preserved for many years to come. If at any time the question of replacing the lost records is to be considered, I may mention here that there is a separate department in the *Ryks-archieef* at The Hague where a large collection of Ceylon records is carefully preserved. These, I understand, are the duplicates of all the official documents sent under a standing order by the Ceylon Government to the Government at Batavia and removed to The Hague in recent years. The Netherlands Government has always shown a willingness to furnish copies of any such records as may be required here.

Passing from a consideration of these external conditions to a closer examination of the records, one of the most notable features to be observed is the great diversity of handwriting that prevails. It is of course to be expected that some progressive change would be observed in the form of writing in a mass of manuscripts ranging over a period of a century and a half; but I refer here, particularly, to the curious forms that present themselves in the earlier manuscripts. These, for a limited period, are so various, and some of the forms so quaint and peculiar, that they are a source of great trouble in decipherment. I furnish here six examples of handwriting which I have taken from the manuscripts, not as representative specimens of all the varieties to be met with, because these are too numerous to be thus classified, but to give an idea of some of the most frequently occurring types. No. 1 is a page, somewhat reduced in size, of a volume of the year 1641. It is the oldest volume among the records, and the large blank spaces indicate hollows made through the book by white ants. No. 2 is dated 1655; No. 3, 1671. No. 4, of the same year, is an original letter written from Galle by Commandeur Adriaan Roothaes. No. 5 is of the year 1679. No. 6, of the year 1704, is a page from the Proceedings taken by Governor Simons against Commandeur Van Toll, which I have referred to in a previous place.* A comparison of these specimens with the published facsimiles of some of the manuscripts of corresponding date in the British Museum will show at a glance the great similarity that exists between the two. So close and intimate were the literary and political relations between England and the Low Countries during this period, that I think the similarity can be easily explained. I would therefore quote here the following remarks in a Parliamentary Return of the year 1803 on the Public Records of the United Kingdom as being by inference applicable here: "Hitherto, each reign appears to have had a set or uniform character; but in the reign of Elizabeth and her successors, the Clerical Mode seems to have been in a great measure abandoned, and each transcriber to have written according to his own fancy; and it is observable that the English Records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are in general more difficult to be read than the Latin Records of preceding ages." These Latin Records, which were chiefly legal documents and ecclesiastical writings, had of course been prepared by the clergy, and the clergy were one body throughout Europe, studying

* See page 3.

and using the same classical language for all literary purposes and following uniform modes of expression. But when, after the end of the fifteenth century, the laity took to the art of writing, there were no rules to bind them, and consequently styles of writing multiplied. Our early manuscripts here would, I think, be found to fully illustrate these facts. As the eighteenth century advanced, the handwriting in the records will be found to have become gradually more fixed, and are in general of a more legible character.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL RECORDS.

I COME now to consider, separately, and in further detail, each of the series of records I have enumerated. Taking these in the order in which I have set them down, I will first treat of the General Records of the Government. These constitute the largest section, and number nearly 3,000 volumes. They and the Proceedings of the Political Council of Ceylon, though separately numbered, formed, as I have said, the Dutch Records, which, for many years, and until recently, were located in the Government Record Office. They are the only records which may be identified in the List of Books and Papers of the Dutch Secretariat compiled in 1796, to which I have already referred ;* although, as I will presently show, they form but a fragment of the large collection of records described in that document. The General Records consist of almost every description of document, and afford an immense amount of information relating to the Government of the Dutch East India Company, to the public and social life of the Dutch in Ceylon, to their industries and enterprises, and to their relations with the native inhabitants. These records seem to have originally consisted of stitched files or unbound bundles of papers. About fifty years ago, or thereabouts, an attempt appears to have been made to arrange them, and they were then bound into volumes and numbered. Some of the volumes have inscribed on the first page, in English, their subject or title, although, in many cases, I have found these descriptions to be misleading or erroneous. The most serious drawback,

* See page 2.

however, in the work then accomplished is in the numbering of the volumes. No attempt had been made to classify them, and the chronological order has been totally disregarded ; so that volumes, the most diversified in subject-matter, and far removed from each other in point of date, are now placed side by side on the shelf. Not infrequently too have the pages been displaced in binding, and, in several instances, leaves of different volumes have been bound up together without any clue to their proper place. If a catalogue of these records had existed at any time after they were taken over by the British Government, this appears to have long since disappeared. I find an attempt had been made to prepare a list of the records from the titles found inscribed on the volumes ; but this work, as may be expected, could only be done in the most imperfect manner ; and the fragmentary list so compiled is almost worthless. I have now completed a catalogue of these records in their present numerical order as a first step in classifying and arranging them in a systematic way. What strikes one on a comparison of this catalogue with the corresponding portion of the records enumerated in the Dutch list of 1796 is the large number of records which are now wanting. The frequent gaps in the series of years of each particular description of record shows only too clearly that the losses have occurred through want of proper care and supervision. Making allowance for the usual destructive agencies in this country, by which the preservation of all records is made a matter of the greatest difficulty, there can yet be no doubt, I think, that many volumes have disappeared in other ways. It is a noteworthy fact that several records which appear to have been removed from the Archives from time to time for purposes of reference or translation have never been returned. I have already mentioned the case of the wholesale disappearance of the Legislative Enactments,* although there is nothing to show that they had at any time been among the General Records ; but I may mention the instance of the valuable Memoir of Governor Van de Graaf, of which a translation, said to have been made many years previously, appeared in the pages of the *Ceylon Literary Register* in the year 1887. The original was undoubtedly a record belonging to the series of General Records I am now treating of ; but it is no longer in the Archives, and there is nothing to show by whom and when it had been removed.

As the General Records embrace a very large range of subjects, they admit only of a somewhat broad classification.

* See page 5.

I have here distributed them under the following heads, viz.:—

- (1) Deeds and Instruments affecting Land, 60 volumes.
- (2) Memoirs and Instructions of Governors, Commandeurs, &c., 70 volumes.
- (3) Acts of Appointment of Company's Servants, 33 volumes.
- (4) Diaries and Journals kept in Colombo and during the circuits of Governors, &c., 58 volumes.
- (5) Appointments of Native Headmen, 6 volumes.
- (6) Secretarial Protocols, including Last Wills, 168 volumes.
- (7) Landraad Proceedings and Minutes, 33 volumes.
- (8) Papers on Educational Matters, 9 volumes.
- (9) Correspondence, 1,463 volumes.
- (10) Transactions with the Kandyan Court, 82 volumes.
- (11) Papers relating to Pearl Fisheries, 35 volumes.
- (12) Miscellaneous. These remaining volumes of the series, amounting to about one-third of the whole number, are on so many diverse subjects that further classification becomes difficult. They consist of Reports on various subjects, Petitions, Conditions of Sale, Financial Statements, &c.

The following analysis shows the number of volumes of each period now extant, the great disproportion in the number of successive periods, especially of some of the later decades, being perhaps a further proof of the many losses that have occurred in the course of time :—

| | | |
|-------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| 1600-99, 90 | | 1771-80 (10 years), 423 |
| 1700-25 (25 years), 100 | | 1781-90 (10 years), 579 |
| 1726-50 (25 years), 460 | | 1791-1800 (10 years), 430 |
| 1751-60 (10 years), 301 | | Later records, 66 |
| 1761-70 (10 years), 514 | | |

(1) *Deeds and Instruments affecting Land.*

Under this head I have included several lists and returns of lands compiled for revenue purposes, as well as some reports of Commissions appointed to inspect certain descriptions of lands, such as paddy lands, chenas, coconut gardens, pepper gardens, &c. The deeds include the usual transactions of transfer, mortgage, lease, &c. Perhaps a translation of a few ordinary examples may give a better idea of the usual form of these

instruments than any description I could attempt here. The following is a simple Deed of Sale :—

“ We, Willem Adriaan Berghuis and Frederik Pieter de Rook, members of the Honourable the *Raad van Justitie** of this castle, testify and make known, that before us came and appeared the Chitty and resident of this place, Thomme Moergappa, who acknowledged and declared to have sold, ceded, and transferred, as is done by these presents, to the like Chitty Francisko Jurie Ondaatje, a premises situate beyond Kaayman’s Gate at Wolvendaal, bearing No. 34, in extent eighty-two square roods and seventy-two like feet, according to the Deed of Sale of the 24th April last, bounded on the north by No. 35, on the east by the street, on the west by No. 30, and on the south by No. 33, conforming to the plan and description attached to the margin of the engrossed copy hereof by the First Sworn Land Surveyor, Mr. Dalhoff, the sale deed having been on the 24th April of this year executed in favour of the appearer ; and that for the sum of four hundred rix-dollars currency at forty-eight Dutch stivers each, whereof the twentieth penny† has been deducted for the benefit of the Honourable Company ; and the appearer acknowledges at the same time to have received in full satisfaction the payment of the last penny with the first : Therefore, relinquishing all manner of right and pretence that he up to the date of these presents has had to the said premises, he promises further to warrant and defend this transfer at all times in accordance with and in submission to the law.

THOMAS MOERGAPPA.

“ In our presence :

“ WM. AN. BERGHUIS.

“ F. P. DE ROOK.

“ In my cognizance :

“ JS. KRIEKENBEEK,

“ Sworn Clerk.”

An example of a more intricate deed, containing recitals, is the following :—

“ We, Arnout de Lopes and Caspar Styger, members of the Honourable the *Raad van Justitie* of this castle, testify and

* Sometimes called *Hof van Justitie*, Court of Justice. See page 9.

† *I.e.*, 5 per cent.

make known, that before us in her own proper person came and appeared Catharina Fonceca, widow of the Sinhalese Wallimoenne Francisco, resident of Calitura, only daughter and heiress *ab intestato* of her deceased father Thomme Fonceca, who, supported by Joan Perera, Pattangatyn* of Caloemoele, and Gabriel Coere, village scribe of the village Calitura (who as witnesses to these presents also appearing, under the interpretation of the sworn interpreter Nicolas Fernando, declared and affirmed it to be true and well known to them that the appearer is the only daughter and universal heiress of her father the above-named Thomme Fonceca), acknowledged and declared to have sold, ceded, and transferred, as by these presents she doth, to Uspottolandege Joan Silva and Heethacandege Simon Fernando, a certain garden called Magawatte, marked No. 128 in the plan, lying to the north of the river of Caliture, and bounded on the west by No. 127, on the north by No. 129, on the east by No. 112, and on the south by No. 114, in breadth from south to north eight, and in depth from east to west ten roods, in extent eighty square roods, according to the Deed of Sale, dated 31st August, 1702, in favour of the said Thomme Fonceca; and that for the sum of eighty-five rix-dollars currency at sixty light stivers† each, of which the twentieth penny is deducted for the Honourable Company; and the appearer acknowledges, &c.”

The following may be taken as an example of a mortgage :—

“ We, Johan Fredrik van Meybrink and Justinus Kriekenbeek, members of the Honourable the *Raad van Justitie* of this castle, testify and make known that before us came and appeared the *Boekhouder* and Commissioner of the Arekanut Department, Simon Bartholomeus Woutersz, who acknowledged to be indebted unto Gerrit de Lange,

* *Pattangatyn* is said to be a corruption of the Tamil *pattankutti*, and to be allied to the Sinhalese word *patabendi* in the term “ *pattabendi-arachchi*, ” “ a rank generally held by fishers.” One of the duties of a “ *pattangatyn* ” would seem to have been the collection of fish market rents. It appears to have been a dignity coveted by the fishers quite as much as native ranks were by members of other communities. The word is also applied in this sense to certain natives in authority at the Pearl Fisheries.

† The full value of the rix-dollar was 60 Dutch stivers; but in the course of time its local value appears to have depreciated, and as a denomination of currency it came to represent only 48 stivers. Yet to preserve a fictitious identity with the original rix-dollar, the local mint turned out stivers of lower value, of which 60 were made to correspond to 48 of the Dutch stivers.

Esquire,* Under Officer of the Navy at this station, in the sum of eight hundred rix-dollars currency of forty-eight Dutch stivers each, arising out of the matter of a loan, and by the appearer in good current money received, renouncing hereby the benefit of "non numeratæ pecuniæ" (*doende mits dien afstand van 't verzet van onaangetelde gelde*), and promising therefore on the first demand of the creditor, the right and lawful holder of these presents, after due notice thereof, to faithfully and promptly tender and pay the said sum of eight hundred rix-dollars with the interest agreed upon of one-half of a said rix-dollar per cent. per month commencing from this date and running on up to date of full payment. As security for the foregoing the appearer tenders as special mortgage a house and premises situated in the old city† (Pettah) in the block O, bearing No. 5, &c., *vide* Deed of Sale of 11 September, 1781, executed in favour of the appearer, which for further security is herewith tendered to the creditor.

"Appear also Jan Carel Andriesz, Sworn Clerk of the Political Secretariat, Gillis Wouter Trek and Cornelis Bartholomeus Scharff, both Boekhouders, who declare to have each severally offered and bound themselves as sureties and principal debtors in terms hereof, renouncing in this behalf the "beneficium ordines seu excussionis"

* "Esquire" is not a title for which there is an exact Dutch equivalent. The expression which I have so rendered here is "de Edele," which is literally "the Noble." But taking the various Dutch honifics in order of rank it would appear that persons to whom "de Edele" was applied were those who according to English usage would usually be styled "esquire."

† The Pettah of Colombo is still called by the older generation of Burghers "oude stad," or old city; but there are few, I believe, who would be able to explain the origin of the term. The northern suburbs were so called from the earliest years of the Dutch occupation, because the fort of Colombo originally included the whole of the Pettah. A few years after the Dutch conquest it was decided to reduce the limits of the fort or *casteel* by cutting off the northern portions by a line of bastians and curtains running across the middle of the then existing city. The new ramparts extended from the "Leyden Bastian" in the neighbourhood of the present coal sheds to the "Rotterdam Bastian," now occupied by a part of the Military Barracks and the bit of ground in the neighbourhood of the second railway crossing from the Fort station. The original bulwarks on the north side of the city, of which St. John's Canal was the protecting moat, were not demolished till many years after, and "Kayman's Gate" marks the site of the city's entrance on that side. Baldæus in his work on Ceylon (*Beschryving v. h. Machtige Eyland Ceylon*, 1672) gives a map (p. 128) of the fort as it was altered by the Dutch, and also a map, attached to the Portuguese account of the siege of Colombo given at the end of his work (p. 206), showing the original Portuguese fort.

(doende ten dien eynde afstand van de voor regten van ordre of rang van aanspraak wyt winning van den oorspronkelyken schuldenaren en oplissinge van schuld).

“The appearers further jointly declare that for the fulfilment of the foregoing they bind, generally, themselves, their goods, movable and immovable, their debts and credits, present and future, submitting herein to the verdict of all courts of law and tribunals of justice.

“The full force and effect of the foregoing renunciations and pledges having been duly stated and explained to the appearers in our presence by the undersigned sworn clerk, they testified to have understood the same and to fully subscribe to them.

“Thus passed in the castle of Colombo, the 7th December, 1787.

SN. BS. WOUTERSZ.

As sureties :

JN. CL. ANDRIESZ.

WOUTER GILLIS TREK.

CS. BS. SCHARFF.

“In our presence :

JN. FK. VAN MEYBRINK.

JS. KRIEKENBEEK.

As witness .

JN. P. PFEIFFER,

Sworn Clerk.”

It will be seen that in these transactions the place of the notary was taken by two members of the Court of Justice. These were called the *Schepenen*, or Magistrates, before whom the parties to a transaction had to appear and make known their intentions, and who alone were authorized to attest deeds. The particulars were then entered in the *Schepen-Kennis Rol*. or Magistrates' Information Book, to which the grantors', and, in some instances also, the grantees' signatures were attached, and the parties were handed the engrossed original of the instrument, signed and sealed by the sitting Magistrates. Deeds relating to lands forming the subject of inquiry before the Landraad were executed in the presence of two members of that court, and were very similar in form.

Grants of land by the Government were issued under the hand either of the Governor, the Commandeur, or the Dissave,

according to the value of the land or the conditions of the grant. I give two examples :—

(1) “Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon with its dependencies, with his Council, hath, by authority of his Commission, conveyed in full possession to Gabriel Schade, foreman and scribe to the Armoury here, a certain piece of land and a sowing field situate at Livermente, north of Narahenpitti, three hundred and thirty roods from the high road to Galkisse, bounded on the north and north-east by jungle, viz., from *a* to *b** thirty-eight roods, from *b* to *c* eighty-four roods, from *c* to *d* seven roods ; on the east by waste land, as from *d* to *e* sixty roods ; on the south by the plantation of the Pasdun Corle Parregodde Cangaan, as from *e* to *f* thirty roods, from *f* to *g* also thirty roods, and from *g* to *h* fifty roods ; and on the west by sowing land, viz., from *h* to *a* one hundred and sixty-five roods ; in total extent seventeen morgens† and three hundred and ninety-seven square roods like as the same was measured by the Land Surveyor Tatik Oliviersz Helt and figured in the annexed plan : with power to possess the said piece of land and sowing field as a hereditary property and to plant, sow, hire, sell, and alienate the same as he shall be advised, except to moors or heathen, subject nevertheless to such conventional and general servitudes as are at present attached to the land or which may hereafter be charged thereto by the Honourable Company : promising in such manner on behalf of the Company to warrant and defend this transfer of the said piece of land and sowing field, are these presents confirmed by the seal of the Honourable Company.

“ Given in the Castle of Colombo, on the 4th January, 1707.

CS. JN. SIMONS.

(Seal.)

“ By order of the Governor :

“ MR. CS. JN. SIMONS.”

(2) “Jan Daniel Goldestein, Boekhouder, attached to the Pay Office of this place (Galle), having made application for a certain piece of the Company’s waste ground lying in the Great Modder Baey, behind the block Lr. —, bounded on the west, north, and east by the Company’s reserved

* These letters and figures refer to the map or plan annexed to the engrossed copy of the deed.

† A morgen was equal to 2·11654 acres.

land, on the east by a water course, on the south by the *Kreupel* (Cripple)* street, from *a* to *b* 3 roods, from *b* to *c* $6\frac{1}{2}$ roods, from *c* to *d* $2\frac{1}{4}$ roods, from *d* to *a* 6 roods and 1 foot, in extent seventeen square roods and ninety-five square feet, like as the same was measured by the sworn Land Surveyor Christiaan Hendrik Hartel and in the margin of the engrossed copy hereof figured ; to be granted to him in possession according to appraisement : Wherefore we, considering that this land is of no use to the Honourable Company and is lying fallow, being desirous of granting this application, do hereby grant the same, that the said land may be fully possessed by the applicant with power to sell, barter, and alienate the same as he shall be advised, he having in terms of the appraisement of the Town Wardens, as shown in their Report dated 19th April, and lodged in the Trade Office here, already paid into the Company's Treasury the sum of twelve rix-dollars (*vide* the hereunto annexed receipt of the Treasurer). The said Goldestein shall, however, not permit the land to grow wild, but shall be bound to maintain the same in a proper manner, not planting it with any manner of large trees, wild plants, or anything of such kind, whereby the same would become unsightly and disorderly to the detriment of the town, bearing such charges and servitudes as it has been subject to from of old or which may in future be charged upon it by the lord of the land, and holding himself ready whenever the same shall become necessary for the service of the Honourable Company, to yield it up without opposition, razing to the ground and demolishing whatever may have been erected thereon.

“ Given in the town of Galle on the 6th May, 1784.

“ A. DE LY.”

(Commandeur.)

The foregoing are but two specimens of a large variety of forms used in the granting of land by the Company. I regret not having the space here for some of the longer forms used in the case of village lands.

* It is difficult to locate this street from the position and description given here and in other deeds where the name occurs. It is probable that it has either been blocked up and built upon, or has been abandoned as a street. A narrow passage, leading from the corner or junction of Modder Baey Street and Parawa Street to Lighthouse Street, now closed for many years, is associated with a weird story or legend of a murder in ancient times. It is now used only as a sideway to a private dwelling-house, but is said at one time to have been a regular road. It may probably be identified with the “*Kreupel straat*” in question.

Among the lists and returns of lands compiled for revenue purposes which I have included in this section, are several relating to chenas, pepper gardens, areca gardens, and coconut gardens. For the purpose of illustration, and being perhaps of greater interest at the present day than any of the others, I have selected a few extracts from one or two of the Coconut Garden Registers. The first are extracts from a—

“ Report made and submitted to the Honourable Gerrit de Heere, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon, the Coast of Madura, Inchiado, &c., by the Undermerchant and Captain of the Mahabadda Joannis Stafforts, and the Captain of the Galle Corle Abraham Emans, as Special Commissioners appointed by His said Excellency for the enumeration of all the Company’s coconut gardens, as well as gardens within the Company’s territories planted by various inhabitants with as well as without special consent of the authorities, and also such gardens the lawful owners whereof are dead or whose terms have expired, all situate within the District of Mature.”

This was a report made in the year 1700, and will serve to show the interest which the Dutch took in the cultivation of coconut at this early period of their rule, and the attention which the inhabitants devoted to this industry. The main object of the Commission referred to was, it will be seen, to enable the Company to resume possession of such of their coconut lands as were unlawfully held by the villagers:—

“ Honourable Sir,—In compliance with your highly esteemed order we set out from Galle on the 24th July of this year (1700) for Billigam and, arriving at Mature the next day, proceeded on the 26th following into Dollasdas Corle and into the village Diecwelle, where we made a commencement of our work, and found, by actual counting, in the Company’s garden called Wellewatte, 128 coconut trees in excess of the number appearing in the Mature Coconut Garden Register furnished to Your Excellency, and further, having visited all the Company’s gardens in the said village, we found them to be of the number and of the quality set forth by us in the accompanying statement. The vidaan and mayoraals of this village informed us how, of the Company’s coconut trees, some have been given away to different individuals by successive dissaves and even also by the former vidaan of this village, as, in the first place,

“ Thirty of the best coconut trees in the Company’s garden called Wellewatte to a *Chiande* named Pattina, for which he (as stated by the present vidaan) is obliged to

deliver $1\frac{1}{2}$ *callangs** or 18 *medieds*† of *zuri*‡ per day, while the *Chiandes* who draw *zuri* in the Company's gardens in this village have to deliver in lieu of their *engebaddé* or body tax a *callang zuri* per day. So that the Honourable Company has thus far obtained on account of these 30 coconut trees not more than 6 *medieds* or $\frac{1}{2}$ *callang zuri*.

* * * * *

“ The Honourable Dissave de Vos had gifted away by an *ola* to the scribe of the late Adigar of Mature a garden called *Ciriwardenegewatte*, which, by the death of the owner *Ciriwardene Aratche*, without legitimate descendants, had reverted to the Honourable Company. This gift *ola* of the Dissave de Vos we found to have been confirmed and ratified by a second *ola* of the Dissave Alebos. But as the disposal of this matter remains with Your Excellency we have entered this garden or piece of ground, which we found planted with 217 young coconut trees, in the list among plantations made on Company's land.

“ All the plantations on Company's land in this village planted by various persons without permission consist of 37, wherein have been found 1,367 coconut trees, which Your Excellency will be pleased to see specially entered in the list.

* * * * *

“ *In the village Dondere*, the *carriaas* or fishers have collectedly informed us that one *Dissenayke Appohamie*, then *Bannayke* of the village, deprived them by force, and against their will, of a certain piece of waste land granted to their forefathers in the time of the Sinhalese Kings for the purpose of being parcelled into lots as dwelling places for their families, and that he had planted the said land with coconut trees, notwithstanding that they (the fishers) had several times pointed out to him, the said *Dissenayke Appohamie*, that he had not the least right or title to plant this land, as it had been given to their forefathers as dwelling places. And because this *Appohamie* stood high in the estimation of the Government, and out of fear that he, the *Bannayke*, would in one way or another do them hurt, they had not dared thus far to make any complaint. We found this

* Portuguese *calão*, a species of Indian earthen vessel for holding or carrying water or other liquids. Apparently allied to the Sinhalese word *kalaya*, a water pot.

† Portuguese *medida*, a measure. A *medied* in Ceylon was equal to seven quarters (*mutsjens*).—Valentyn.

‡ Toddy.

garden, which is called Humanewatte, planted with 781 fruit-bearing coconut trees, as will be seen entered in the list.

“ Before the Dissave Willem van Dielen appeared, in the year 1682, some *chiandes*, who laid claim to a certain garden called Hellewatte, planted by one Hellewatte Nainde, lascoryn, and his two brothers with 573 coconut and 150 jak trees within Company's territory, and as the claim of these *chiandes* was found to be without foundation, the said Dissave van Dielen rejected the same and granted an ola to the said Hellewatte Nainde and his two brothers, whereby he (the Dissave) conveyed to them the afore-named garden Hellewatte as their lawful property and paravenie; but as we found the said garden to lie within the Company's lands and the decision rests with Your Excellency, we have, as in other instances, included this in the list among Company's lands.

“ In the Company's garden called Pittawatte, situate in the village Dondre, Your Excellency will find, according to the Mature Garden Register, 432 coconut trees, viz., 336 fruit-bearing and 96 young plants. We found, however, in the garden not more than 234 coconut plants, of which 140 would not bear fruit this side of one year, and 94 are very young plants. So that a great discrepancy will appear between the Mature Register and this our finding.

“ We found in this village (Dondre) 18 coconut gardens within Company's land planted with 2,088 coconut trees, and they will be found stated in the list with the names of the planters thereof.

* * * * *

“ *Within the Four Gravets of Mature* the then Governor of Ceylon, Joan Maatsuycker, of blessed memory, had given to Wiedjasondere Modliar for maintenance a garden called Mahawitterewatte, as Your Excellency may see from the gift ola thereof. There are standing in the said garden 175 middle-sized fruit-bearing coconut trees. Since this Wiedjasondere Modliar has now been many years dead, and as the Company obtains no services for this land, we have described it in the list of gardens among plantations made on Company's land. The same is up to now occupied by the grandchildren of the said Modliar.

“ The garden called Banderewatte, situate within the Mature Gravets, wherein stand 8 middle-sized coconut trees, was by the Dissave van der Molen granted to Hangancon Modliar, in addition to his other maintenance property, and after his death this garden had been gifted by his son, without

any power to do so, to the present interpreter of the Dissave Abraham Schepmoes, named Michiel Perere, but as such a conveyance was unlawful this garden also appears in the list.

“According to the gift ola of the Honourable Joan Maatsuycker, of blessed memory, Sinnewieratte Modliar was given for his maintenance a Company's garden called Ambegahawatte, planted with 69 middle-sized coconut trees, and this for many years after the death of the Modliar and up to the present date has been possessed by his heirs. As the maintenance is no longer associated with any service we have included this garden among plantations made on Company's land.

“The present Coraal of Morua Corle owns a garden called Witackenewatte planted with 40 middle-sized fruit-bearing coconut trees, which had been given for maintenance to the deceased Tennecon Modliar, the said Coraal of Morua Corle having been married to the daughter of Tennecon Modliar, and as this garden is a plantation made on Company's land the same is so described in the list.

“The garden called Allahapirmabanderewatte, wherein are 9 old coconut trees, was formerly granted to one Allahapirma Aratche as maintenance, but he being a fugitive from the Company's service, it is now unlawfully held by his brother. It is therefore entered in the list as a plantation belonging to the Company.

“The widow and children of the lately deceased Adigaar of Mature own a garden within the Mature Gravets as a plantation made on Company's land, with 62 good fruit-bearing coconut trees, called Oeyebaddewatte, which is also shown in the list as a plantation made on Company's land.

“The widow of the Sergeant Lubbert owns a garden within the Mature Gravets planted on Company's land and called Mananperioe Modeliansegewatte planted with 64 good fruit-bearing coconut trees, which was granted to her by the late Dissave van der Duyn, and we have duly set this down in the list.

“Dissenaicke Modliar of Mature owns two gardens planted in Company's territory, called Banderewatte, with 60 old unproductive trees and Coddepillegewatte with 20 middling coconut trees, which we have shown in the Roll of Coconut Gardens as plantations made in Company's land, as the said Modliar can show no proof title to the same.

“The Dissave de Gens had given to one Sammaradiwagre Mohotiaar for maintenance, according to an ola extract, a garden situate within the Mature Gravets called Parangiawatte planted with 165 coconut trees, viz., 100 good

fruit-bearing and 65 middling coconut trees. This garden, after the death of Sammaradiwagre Mohotiaar, having been thus long possessed by his son's son without any service being rendered therefor, we have set it down in the Roll.

“ The deceased interpreter of Mature had obtained from the Dissave de Vos, by an instrument shown to us, the license to plant a piece of waste Company's land now called Marcodeabregewatte, on which we found 45 coconut trees, viz., 29 good fruit-bearing, 5 old unproductive, and 11 young coconut plants. It being now possessed by Marco d'Abre's niece we have included it also in the Roll.

“ Within the said Gravets of Mature is situate a certain piece of ground which in the time of the Sinhalese Kings was planted with coconut trees, the income from which was to be devoted to the service of the pagoda at Dondure, but as, at the time the Honourable Company conquered these lands, all the old trees had died out or had fallen down, the Honourable Joan Maatsuycker, by an ola, granted permission to all or any who were so inclined to plant this land on the condition of half the produce being delivered to the Honourable Company. We found on this land 21 gardens containing in all 2,002 coconut trees, of which 1,642 were good fruit-bearing trees and 360 trees that would bear fruit within 3 to 4 years. Instead, however, of the Honourable Company obtaining an exact half as it ought to have done all these years according to the stipulation in the ola of the said Honourable Joan Maatsuycker, all that the Company has derived from these 21 gardens with 2,002 coconut trees has been not more than 12 laryns or $2\frac{2}{3}$ rixdollars yearly in cash.

“ We have found both inside the fortress and outside within the Four Gravets of Mature seventy-five gardens in all, in Company's land, planted with as well as without license, containing in all 3,950 coconut trees. These Your Excellency will find duly entered in the List.”

I will now quote a few items from a list of gardens in the Colombo District of the year 1759. It is entitled—

“ List of Gardens planted with and without consent (of the Company) situated in the Salpiti korle, of which the share due to the Lord of the Land has not yet been rendered by the occupants ; showing also the number of fruit-bearing coconut trees now standing thereon, and the quantity of coconut oil which the owners have to deliver to the Honourable Company yearly, at the rate of $\frac{1}{3}$ measure* for each tree, valued at $2\frac{1}{2}$ stivers the measure.

* *Medied.* See note on page 23,

“ Gardens planted with permission.

| Gardens. | No. of Coconut Trees. | Value of Contrib- tion. Rds. Sts. | No. of Measures of Oil to be delivered. |
|--|-----------------------------|--|--|
| <i>In the Village Wewelle.</i> | | | |
| 1 .. Called Kahategaha- watte, belonging to Merinjoege Don Soe- sew, late Koraal .. | 57 | .. 0 17 $\frac{3}{18}$ | .. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| <i>In the Village Hoewarepolle.</i> | | | |
| 1 ... Called Alloebogaha- watte, belonging to the afore-named Don Soesew, late Koraal .. | 73 | .. 0 22 $\frac{1}{18}$ | .. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| <i>In the Village Kattoebedde.</i> | | | |
| 1 .. Called Kahategaha- watte, belonging to the late Balege Don Bastiaan .. | 113 | .. 0 35 $\frac{5}{18}$ | .. 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| <i>In the Village Battegettere.</i> | | | |
| 1 .. Called Kosgahawatte, belonging to Kastoe- rietjige Don Pas- qual Appoehamie and Kastorige Joan Koere .. | 47 | .. 0 14 $\frac{1}{18}$ | .. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| * * * | | | |
| <i>In the Village Ratmalane.</i> | | | |
| 1 .. Called Dombegaha- watte, belonging to Mapatoenege Don Bastiaan Appoe- hamie .. | 195 | .. 1 12 $\frac{1}{18}$ | .. 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1 .. Called Wettekeyagaha- watte, belonging to the late Siman Sal- gado, planted by the under - mentioned persons, as follows : | | | |
| By Mandadige Abraham Perera | 105 | .. 0 32 $\frac{5}{18}$ | .. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

| Gardens, | No. of Coconut Trees. | Value of Contribu- tion. Rds. Sts. | No. of Measures of Oil to be delivered. |
|--|-----------------------------|---|--|
| By Goniama- line Apponsoe .. | 112 | .. 0 35 | .. 14 |
| By Pellewattege Christina Dias and the late Sariakalige Joan Fernando .. | 170 | .. 1 5½ | .. 21¼ |
| By Christina Dias | 60 | .. 0 18½ | .. 7½ |
| By the late Wedeg Gabriel Apponsoe and Franciscoe Ap- ponsoe | 113 | .. 0 35¼ | .. 14½ |
| * * * | | | |

“ Gardens planted without permission.

In the Village Wewelle.

| | | | | |
|-------|---|----|----------|-------|
| 1 ... | Called Kahategaha- watte, belonging to Merinjoige Don Soe- sew, late Koraal .. | 33 | .. 0 10½ | .. 4½ |
| 1 .. | Called Noegegahawatte belonging to Roepe- singege Bastiaan .. | 3 | .. 0 0¼ | .. ½ |

In the Village Kattoebedde.

| | | | | |
|-------|--|----|----------|-------|
| 1 ... | Called Dolewatte, be- longing to the late Wewelle Gamage Don Philippoe .. | 50 | .. 0 15½ | .. 6½ |
| 1 ... | Called Bogahawatte, belonging to the late Polwattege Paulo Fernando .. | 15 | .. 0 4¼ | .. 1½ |
| | In the said garden is also by one Damoen- doe Baddehellege Diogoe Barbosa vidaan, planted .. | 70 | .. 0 21½ | .. 8½ |
| 1 ... | Called Kahategaha- watte, belonging to the late Gammed- dege Don Martinjoe | 20 | .. 0 6½ | .. 2½ |

| Gardens. | No. of Coconut Trees. | Value of Contribu- tion. Rds. Sts. | No. of Measures of Oil to be delivered. |
|--|-----------------------------|---|--|
| 1 .. Called Delgahawatte, belonging to the late Kotege Poentje Appoe .. | 6 | .. 0 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ | .. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1 .. Called Kahategaha- watte, belonging to Miwennege Adriaan Fernando, Chando .. | 55 | .. 0 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ | .. 67 $\frac{3}{8}$ |

The following are extracts from a somewhat similar List or Register for the year 1766 of lands in the village of Bebery (Beruwala):—

| | | | |
|---|----|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1 .. Called Jasoerigewatte, belonging to Amere- singhe Arachige Don Siman Appoehami, sandy ground, no cinnamon .. | 43 | .. 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ |
| 1 .. Called Mahawatte, be- longing to Amere- singhe Arachige Don Siman Appoehami, sandy ground, no cinnamon .. | 11 | .. 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ |
| 1 .. Called Kajoegaha- pittyewatte, belong- ing to Ameresinghe Arachige Don Siman Appoehami, sandy ground, no cinnamon .. | 10 | .. 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1 .. Called Wiersekere- goddewatte, belong- ing to Kankanige Don Siman, stony ground, with 2 peel- able and 2 young cinnamon trees .. | 83 | .. 0 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ | .. 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ |
| 1 .. Called Wiersekere- goddewatte, belong- ing to Don Christo- boe, stony ground, with 2 young cinna- mon trees .. | 52 | .. 0 13 | .. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1 .. Called Dawettegaha- watte, belonging to Don Christoboe, sandy ground with 2 young cinnamon trees | 44 | .. 0 11 | .. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

(2) *Memoirs and Instructions of Governors, &c.*

The Memoirs and Instructions of Governors, Commandeurs, and Dissaves form one of the most interesting of the series of records. A Memoir was chiefly compiled by a departing Governor or Commandeur for the guidance of his successor in office, and, as a rule, it furnished a description of the country, its resources, peoples, industries, &c., with special hints of a personal nature for the information of the in-coming ruler. Those left by the Governors when relinquishing office, addressed to their successors, demand of course the first notice. Unfortunately the series is not complete, as the following list of those extant will show :—

Memoir left by Thomas van Rhee* for his successor Gerrit de Heere, † 1697.

* * * * *

Memoir left by Cornelis Joan Simons ‡ for his successor Hendrik Becker, 1707.

* Thomas van Rhee was Governor of Ceylon from 10th January, 1693, to 22nd February, 1697, when he was succeeded by Gerrit de Heere. He had previously held several other appointments in the local service, among others that of Commandeur of Galle. He married Henrietta van Kriekenbeek, daughter of Rutgerus van Kriekenbeek of Wyk te Duurstede in the Province of Utrecht, who had come out to Ceylon with his family in the year 1659. By the courtesy of a member of the Kriekenbeek family still in Ceylon, I am able to furnish the following translation of an inscription on a silver wedding medal which is still preserved as an heirloom in the family :—

“ In remembrance of Thomas van Rhee, Commandeur of the city and domains of Galle, Matura, &c., born at Wyk te Duurstede on the 16th December, 1634, and of his wife Henrietta van Kriekenbeek, born in the same town aforesaid on the 1st October, 1640, who entered the marriage state on the 7th August, 1661, this is presented on their 25th marriage anniversary in the year 1686.”

Mevrouw van Rhee died at Colombo on the 24th October, 1696, and her tombstone may be seen at Wolfendal Church.

† Gerrit de Heere was Governor from 22nd February, 1697, to 26th November, 1702, on which latter date he died after a very brief illness. His tombstone may be seen at Wolfendal Church, where his bones were removed in 1813 with those of the other Governors, &c., buried in the old church in the Fort. It will be seen that he was born on the 1st March, 1657, and that he died at the comparatively early age of 45 years.

‡ Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor of Ceylon from 11th May, 1703, to 22nd December, 1707, was one of the most scholarly rulers of Ceylon under the Dutch. He was a Doctor of Laws, and it was at his instance that the Tamil Code of Laws, *The Tesawalami*, was digested and rendered into Dutch by the Dissave Claas Isaacs.

Memoir of Hendrik Becker* for his successor Isaac Augustin Rumpf, † 1716.

* * * * *

Memoir of Jacob Christiaan Pielat ‡ for Diederik van Domburg, § 1734.

* * * * *

* Hendrik Becker, Governor from 22nd December, 1707, to 7th December, 1716, had previously been a Captain in the Dutch Army and served in Ceylon. His name as Governor will always be associated with the Leper Asylum at Hendalla, which he founded, and where a large stone slab with his cipher monogram may be seen.

† Isaac Augustin Rumpf, Governor from 7th December, 1716, to 11th June, 1723, rose to that position from the local Civil Service. He was an able administrator and a polished scholar, of which testimony is borne by the records. In the last year of his rule the cinnamon peelers rose up against the Dutch in a body and he subdued them in a masterly manner, depriving them as a punishment of many of the privileges granted to them. His death occurred rather suddenly, it is said from a shock received on hearing of the assassination of the Fiscal Barent van der Swaan and his wife by their slaves. Valentyn gives a long account of his stately funeral (*Byzondere Zaaken*, p. 359), of which probably he was an eye-witness. As a compliment to his scholarship the epitaph on his tombstone, which is to be seen at Wolfendal Church, is in Latin verse. The following metrical translation by the late Mr. E. C. Dumbleton is, I think, worth reproducing:—

“ Hidden beneath this tombstone’s shade
The mortal part of Rumpf is laid,
Illustrious dust ! His spirit high
Now flits beyond the ethereal sky :
Sunk is the sun that gleamed so bright,
Changed is our day to “ Death’s Dark Night,”
Born to command and grief assuage—
The fondest hope of this our age !
Lo, Ceylonese, lo ! Here he lies,—
Whenever this stone confronts your eyes,
Grudge not the tribute of a tear
To parent worth that’s buried here ! ”

‡ Jacob Christiaan Pielat administered the Government from 21st December, 1732, to 21st January, 1734. He was specially sent out by the Council of India, of which he was a member, to investigate affairs and to redress grievances. A translation of his Memoir, made by Miss Pieters, has already been published by the Government.

§ Diederik van Domburg was promoted Governor of Ceylon from the Commandeurship of Galle. His rule extended from 21st January, 1734, to 7th June, 1736, on which latter date he died, after an illness of several months. There is no monument to his memory, but in Wolfendal Church there is a tombstone over the grave of his only son, Diederik Christiaan van Domburg, born 4th October, 1734, and died 27th December, 1741.

Memoir of Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff* for his successor William Maurits Bruinink,† 1740.

* * * * *

Memoir of Daniel Overbeek‡ for his successor Julius Valentyn Stein van Gollenesse,§ 1743.

The series is apparently broken at the places where I have put asterisks; but, although the obligation to write these Memoirs was imposed on them by the Supreme Government at Batavia, many of the Governors evidently left no Memoirs behind them. It must have been so, for instance, in the case of the Governors who died at Colombo while holding office, and of others who vacated office under circumstances which make it improbable that they would have been required to leave any Memoir. The following Governors died in harness, most of them after a very brief illness: Gerrit de Heere in 1702, Rumpf in 1723, Hertenberg in 1725,|| Van Domburg in 1736, Vreelandt¶ in 1752, Van Eck** in 1765, and Falck†† in 1785; while Petrus Vuyst‡‡ was removed from the Government in 1729 and tried and executed in Batavia for treason, rebellion, and murder. Stephanus

* Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff was Governor of Ceylon from 23rd July, 1736, to 12th March, 1740, and afterwards Governor-General of Netherlands India. His death occurred at Batavia on the 1st November, 1750. His Memoir for his successor in Ceylon is one of the fullest and most valuable of the series. In addition to it Governor Van Imhoff has left behind various other volumes of diaries and instructions which are of great interest. As in the case of most of the Governors and other high officials who served in Ceylon, there is connected with his name also a memorial in Wolfendal Church, which records the death of his son Jacobus Willem Balthazarus van Imhoff, a young man of twenty years of age, who died in December, 1736. The sculptured shields, sixteen in number, displayed in parallel lines on each side of this stone show the various noble alliances of the family. They are probably intended to represent the "seize quartiers." One of the shields, viz., that of Boreel, will be familiar to any one who has been studying the illustrations in *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*: it is the same as that of Sir Jacobus Boreel, who, though a baronet of the United Kingdom of the British Islands of Charles I.'s creation, is still a native of Holland and a subject of the Queen of the Netherlands.

† Willem Maurits Bruinink was Governor from 12th March, 1740, to 3rd January, 1742.

‡ Daniel Overbeek was Governor from Jan. 3, 1742, to May 11, 1743.

§ Julius Valentyn Stein van Gollenesse was Governor from 11th May, 1743, to 6th March, 1751. His name will always be associated with the building of Wolfendal Church.

|| Johannes Hertenberg was Governor from 12th January, 1725, to 19th October, 1725. It was his sudden death in Colombo that brought the infamous Vuyst to rule over Ceylon. Governor Hertenberg's tombstone is to be seen at Wolfendal Church.

(Notes continued on pages 33, 34, and 35.)

¶ Geraard Joan Vreeland (26th March, 1751, to 26th February, 1752) had been Dissave of Matara and Commandeur of Galle, successively, before he became Governor of Ceylon. His rule was a short and uneventful one. A cluster of beautiful heraldic seals in crystal which had belonged to him are now in the possession of Mrs. H. R. Fretz, whose husband's family as close relations of the Governor inherited some of his property at his death. His tombstone is in Wolfendal Church.

** Lubbert Jan Baron van Eck, Governor of Ceylon from 11th November, 1762, to 13th May, 1765, was chiefly instrumental in the acquisition by the Dutch of the entire sea-board of Ceylon. Previous to his time the Kandyan King still had the sovereignty over certain parts of the north-west and south-east coasts. Van Eck prosecuted the war against the Kandyans with great vigour, at one time even marching up to the capital and taking possession of Kandy. He did not however live to see the termination of hostilities; as the long marches through unhealthy districts brought on a fever, from which he died. He was buried in the old church in the Fort of Colombo, from whence his bones were removed to Wolfendal Church in 1813, where his tombstone may be seen. An account of his funeral, translated by Mr. F. H. de Vos, is published in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XVIII., p. 118. The beautiful star fort at Matara, known as the "Redoubt Van Eck," is another monument to his memory.

†† Iman Willem Falck (6th August, 1765, to 7th February, 1785) succeeded Baron van Eck and successfully brought the war with the Kandyans to a close by the Treaty of the 14th February, 1766, an English version of which appeared in the *Orientalist*, vol. III., p. 115. Falck stands high in reputation among the Dutch Governors of Ceylon. He was not only a man of sound judgment and moderate views, but at the same time showed a marked energy and firmness in his dealings both with his own subordinates as well as with the neighbouring court. He was also a distinguished scholar, having graduated at the University of Utrecht, of which he was a Doctor of Laws (J. U. D.) and a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D). Although he had never previously served in the Island, he was a Ceylonese by birth. His father Frans Willem Falck had been Fiscal of Colombo and Dissave of Matara, where he died on the 7th August, 1737, when his son was yet but a year old. His grave inside the Matara Dutch Church is marked by a tombstone, which may yet be seen. His mother was a Miss Adriana Gobius, born at Samarang in Java, but descended from an old Dutch family seated in Utrecht. An amusing story used to be told about Governor Falck's arrival and reception at Colombo, the truth of which it is impossible to vouch for at this distant date, but which may be related here for what it is worth. The allusion was probably to his complexion, or may be to a peculiarity in his voice. On the 6th August, 1765, the members of the Political Council, the clergy, and many of the prominent citizens, accompanied by a contingent of the military, marched out through the south gate of the castle to welcome the new Governor as he was coming up from Galle by the "land way." At the meeting-place the Governor alighted from his carriage, and, as the chief officials according to rank went forward to salute him, the *Hoofd Administrateur* Daniel Burnat is said to have exclaimed, when he caught the first glimpse of the Governor's face, "*Wy hebben werkelyk een kraai gevangen.*" "We have indeed caught a crow." These words were distinctly overheard by the Governor, although he pretended at the moment not to have done so. He was of too

magnanimous a disposition to resent the expression of contempt, yet he found the temptation too strong not to turn it to some account. In a short time he was deep in the affairs of the Government, and pored over reports, returns, and statistics with avidity, for he was pre-eminently a man of business. Errors were frequently detected, for which the *Hoofd Administrateur's* Department was responsible, and, as these from time to time caught the eagle eye of the accomplished financier, he pointed to them with his finger and remarked with a twinkle in his eye, "*Daar's een kraai.*" "There's a crow." Burnat was no doubt made uncomfortable by the way in which the tables were turned on him, and he was glad enough when shortly afterwards he was able to get away on promotion as Dissave of Matara. Falck appears, however, to have had a very high regard for him. A beautifully emblazoned mural tablet (*Wapenbord*) and a tombstone in memory of Governor Falck are to be seen at Wolfendal Church.

‡‡ Petrus Vuyst was Governor from 16th September, 1726, to 27th August, 1729. He was the son of Henricus Vuyst, *Opperkoopman* and *Sabandhaar* or Customs Master at Batavia, where he himself was born. To prevent repetition I may quote the following passage from what I have myself written with reference to him on a previous occasion: "In contrast to these stands out prominently the memory of another Governor, Petrus Vuyst, the mention of whose name was alone sufficient for a long time to strike terror into the hearts of the people here. His history may be mentioned to show, how, in an age of slow communication and immature laws, it was possible for an individual with a perverse and ambitious nature to so far abuse his authority as to perpetrate the grossest crimes and cruelties. Vuyst was born in Batavia, the son of an officer in the Company's service there. After being educated in Holland, and marrying a young lady of fortune, he returned to the East, where he rose rapidly in the Company's service, chiefly, it is said, through the influence of his wife's relations. He was scarcely 30 years old when he was appointed Governor and Director of this Island. The accounts we have of him present him to us in the character, no less of a silly and fanatical, than of a wicked and infamous person. His first act on landing at Galle, says a biographer, was to clap on a plaster over one of his eyes, in order to show the people of Ceylon that he did not want two eyes to rule a land of such small dimensions. He is also said to have vauntingly proclaimed that his administration of the Island would be marked by a vigilance and firmness which no predecessor ever exercised before. In the words which he is said to have often repeated—

*Met Salman's wysheid
En Vuyst's dapperheid—*

he meant to rule 'with the wisdom of a Solomon and the boldness of a Vuyst.'

He had not been long in the Government before he sought opportunities to quarrel with his subordinates. Some of the highest officials soon incurred his displeasure. Commandeur Schagen, of Galle, the highest of the Company's servants after himself, was removed from office on charges of maladministration. The military were attacked; and when they attempted to defend themselves against a systematic course of persecution devised by him, this was made the occasion for charges of treason against them. Then followed inquisitorial councils and a regular system of espionage; and witnesses were compelled to give evidence under most painful torture. Among other diabolical inventions was that of having the victims' nails drawn off and hot sealing-wax poured on the bleeding flesh. He went on from bad to

Versluys* was also recalled in disgrace. The Colombo Museum Library obtained, I believe, in the year 1902, by purchase from Mr. Louis Nell, manuscript copies of the Memoirs of Laurens Pyl† to Thomas van Rhee, 1692, and of Julius Valentyn Stein van Gollennesse to Gerrard Joan Vreeland, 1751. These would supply, in chronological order, one just before the first and one just after the last of those named in my list. Governor Loten‡ in 1757 and Governor Schreuder§

worse, until a universal terror spread over the land. He dismissed his regular councillors, and constituted himself judge, prosecutor, and executioner, all in one. Nineteen innocent men were brought to their death by the most inhuman modes of torture that could be imagined. Some were hanged on the branches of a tree in the esplanade, some on gallows, some had their arms and legs broken and were then decapitated; Lut to three of them, Frederick Andriesz, Jan de Cauw, and Barent Schuurman, was reserved the most barbarous of all these modes of slaughter. After their bones had been broken, their flesh torn, and their heads struck off with an axe, the trunks were dragged out on hurdles and their heads fixed on spikes. The news of these atrocities at length reached Batavia, and the authorities there lost no time in sending out a new Governor, who had orders to arrest the tyrant and send him in chains to Batavia. He was there tried by a special tribunal, and was condemned to suffer death by decapitation. His body was afterwards divided into four quarters, burnt, and the ashes thrown into the sea. This, probably, is the darkest shadow in the whole picture that may be drawn of the Dutch times in Ceylon. I have given it as a contrast to the many high lights that present themselves on various sides. Happily no other Governor was as bad as this, and most of them were conscientious, God-fearing men, who sought to do their duty by the lights vouchsafed to them."—*The Dutch in Ceylon: Glimpses of their Life and Times*. See also *infra*, Chapter III.

* Stephanus Versluys was Governor of Ceylon from 27th August, 1729, to 25th August, 1732.

† Laurens Pyl, who was Governor of Ceylon from 3rd December, 1680, to 10th January, 1693, had been Commandeur of Jaffnapatam before that. It was on his way to Colombo to assume the government that Knox was entertained by him at Mannar and afterwards accompanied him to Colombo. There is a stone inscription on the Baticotta Church, now used by the American Mission, with Commandeur Pyl's name as its founder:—

DOEN MAKEN DOOR DEN HEER
COMMANDEUR LOURENS PYL
ANNO. 1678.

"Caused to be built by Commandeur Lourens Pyl, 1678."

In the Jaffna Church there is also a tombstone marking the grave of a son of his who died in 1679.

‡ Joan Gideon Loten was Governor from 30th September, 1752, to 17th March, 1757.

§ Jan Schreuder was Governor from 17th March, 1757, to 11th November, 1762. Some writers have accused him of being the cause of the war with the Kandyan King which raged all through the succeeding administration.

in 1762 must be presumed to have complied with the standing orders of the Council of India on this subject, but there is no trace of their Memoirs; while the Memoir of Governor Van de Graaf,* now missing, is proved to have at one time been among the Archives. Of the Memoirs previous to that of Laurens Pyl, the manuscript originals are no longer in the Archives, and they appear to have been so missing for a considerable period of time anterior to the British occupation; because Governor Simons, in his Memoir of 1707, of which an extract appears in Valentyn (p. 341), states that the originals of all the early Memoirs, up to that of Rycklof van Goens, junior, in 1679, had disappeared in an unaccountable way from

* Willem Jacob van de Graaf was Governor from 7th February, 1785, to 1st August, 1794. He had previously served in the local Civil Service in various offices, and was also employed at the Cape of Good Hope. He was the son of Sebastian van de Graaf, Major of Cavalry at Utrecht in the Army of the United Provinces, by his wife Geertruyda van Vinceler. He was twice married, first at Galle, in 1764, to Agnita Clara Samlant, daughter of the Commandeur of Galle, and secondly to Christiana Elisabeth van Angelbeek, daughter of Johan Gerard van Angelbeek, who afterwards succeeded him as Governor of Ceylon. By his first marriage he had two sons, Abraham Sebastian van de Graaf and Dirk Cornelis van de Graaf, and by his second marriage two more sons, Johan Christiaan Gerard van de Graaf and Sebastian Christiaan van de Graaf, and a daughter Jacomina Gertruida van de Graaf, who married at Colombo in 1802 the Hon. George Melvill Leslie, Paymaster-General of Ceylon, fifth son of the sixth Earl of Leven. The announcement of this marriage in the *Ceylon Government Gazette* of 1st December, 1802, was as follows: "On Saturday, the 27th November, at the Country House of Christiaan van Angelbeek, Esq., Colpetty, near Colombo, the Hon. George Melvill Leslie, Paymaster-General on the Island of Ceylon, to Miss Jacomina Gertruida van de Graaf, only daughter of His Excellency the Hon. Willem Jacob van de Graaf, late first Counsellor and Director-General of the Dutch Settlement in India, by his Lady Christiana Elisabeth van Angelbeek." The following additional notice appeared at the same time: "On Saturday a most elegant and sumptuous entertainment was given by Mr. and Mrs. Van Angelbeek to His Excellency the Governor and the principal inhabitants of Colombo, in honour of the marriage of the Hon. Mr. Leslie to their niece Miss Van de Graaf." And in a later issue of the *Gazette* appeared the following: "On Thursday last His Excellency the Governor gave an elegant ball and supper in honour of the marriage of the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Leslie." Two painted and emblazoned memorial tablets (*wapenbords*) to the memory of Mrs. Van de Graaf (*nee* Van Angelbeek) and her mother, Mrs. Van Angelbeek (*nee* Lever), have been hung up in Wolfendal Church, where they may still be seen. The following extracts referring to these, taken from the Minutes of the Dutch Consistory of the 23rd May, 1805, would be interesting:—

(a) "To the Members of the Consistory of the Church of Wolvendal; Gentlemen,—The Hon. Mr. Leslie having applied to His Excellency the Governor for permission to put up two Achievements of the late Mrs. Van de Graaf and Mrs. Van Angelbeek in the Church of Wolvendal, for which Mr. Leslie adds they will make a handsome ornament, I am

the Political Secretariat between the years 1696 and 1701.* I have been fortunate enough, however, to obtain the use of a complete printed copy of the last-mentioned Memoir (that of Rycklof van Goens, junior) from a gentleman who procured it from Holland. As for the rest of the early Memoirs, Valenty in his valuable work publishes the following :—

Extract from the Instructions to Jacob van Kittensteyn,† 1650, by Joan Maatsuyker.‡

Extract from a short account of the manner in which the servants of the Dutch East India Company gradually acquired dominion in Ceylon and drove out the Portuguese, furnished

directed by His Excellency to acquaint you that he has no objections to show this Mark of Respect to the memory of those ladies, if it meets with your approbation and is not contrary to the usages of your church. I have, etc., Rob. Arbuthnot, Chief Sec., Col., May 16, 1805.”

(b) “ To Robert Arbuthnot, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, etc. ; Sir,—We have received your letter of the 16th May, and beg that you will be so good as to acquaint His Excellency the Governor that as it is not contrary to the usages of our church, we have not the least objection to the Hon. Mr. Leslie putting up in our church two Achievements of the late Mrs. Van de Graaf and Mrs. Van Angelbeek. Provided that it be done without hindrance to the Achievement of the late high Respectful Gentleman. We remain with profoundest respect, etc., in the name of all the members, Gs. Philipsz. Kol., 24th May, 1805.” The reference in the latter part of the second letter to the “ high Respectful Gentleman ” (*Weledele Groot Achtbare Heer*) is somewhat obscure ; but it probably refers to the *Wapenbord* or hatchment of Governor Falck which was then already occupying some wall space in the church, and which the Consistory probably did not wish removed from its position.

* They probably disappeared with the old Portuguese records. See pages 2 and 3.

† Jacob van Kittenstein was Governor at Galle from 25th February, 1650, to 11th October, 1653.

‡ Joan Maatsuyker was Governor of the Dutch conquests in Ceylon from 24th May, 1640, to 25th February, 1650. During his rule Colombo was still in the hands of the Portuguese, Galle being the seat of his Government. He afterwards rose to the highest position in the East Indies, viz., that of Governor-General at Batavia. A very interesting description of his character and career, translated by Mr. F. H. de Vos from a volume containing the lives of the Dutch Governors-General, appeared in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. V., p. 166, from which some quaint information may be gathered. He is said to have been “ very simple in his attire ” and to have had “ a word for every one.” The account goes on to say that “ He was clever and sharp-witted, but rather inclined to cunning. By means of a telescope and a pipe or tube which connected his room with the Secretariat, he saw what all the officials and clerks were doing, and punished them accordingly for idleness or wrong doing, and of which they thought nobody knew anything except themselves. Some of them at first began to suspect that he understood the black art, but others less credulous, seeing this pipe, began to consider for what purpose it was placed there.

to the Government of India by Adriaan van der Meiden* in 1660.

Considerations on Ceylon in the form of instructions compiled for the Governors of that Island by the Commissary Rycklof van Goens, † 1661.

Memoir of Rycklof van Goens for Jacob Hustaart, ‡ 1663.

Report on the state of the East India Company's possessions in Ceylon, Malabar, &c., submitted to the Governor-General at Batavia by Jacob Hustaart, 1664.

Extract from a description of the state and prospects of Ceylon, &c., furnished to the Governor-General by Rycklof van Goens, 1675.

Extract from the Considerations on Ceylon by Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, § High Commissioner, 1677.

They set a piece of paper before it, which they carefully removed when the Governor stepped into the room, so that he could not for a long time understand what had happened to his pipe, and why he could not spy his clerks. However, his trick had the desired effect, viz., to make them more active in the discharge of their duties. His enemies had as much reason to fear him as his friends had to be on their guard in consequence of his tricks and diplomacy." Maatzuyker died on the 4th January, 1678, leaving a large fortune, the bulk of which, having no children, he left to a nephew residing in the East Indies. A sister, who was a nun, received 200,000 guilders and another nephew, Hendrik de Boer, 100,000 guilders.

* Adriaan van der Meiden followed Kittenstein as Governor at Galle on the 11th October, 1653. It was during his administration that Caltura, Colombo, Manaar, and Jaffna successively fell into the hands of the Dutch. The most prominent figure, however, in the military and naval operations against the Portuguese at this time was Gerard Hulft, who, as Director-General of the land and sea forces of the Dutch, took precedence of Van der Meiden. Hulft's untimely death on the 10th April, 1656, just on the eve of the fall of Colombo, gave Van der Meiden the chief command, and he had the honour of accepting the surrender of the city on the 12th May following. His rule extended up to September, 1662.

† Rycklof van Goens came out to the East Indies with his parents in 1629. After being employed in various offices, chiefly in the naval service of the East India Company, he was first sent out to Ceylon at the end of 1657 with a fleet of 16 ships and 700 soldiers, to "superintend" the Government as Commissary. He took up the personal administration from Van der Meiden in September, 1662, but at the end of 1663 returned to Batavia, being replaced by Jacob Hustaart, during whose administration the English are said to have made an ineffectual attempt to gain a footing in the Island. Hustaart had to return in November, 1664, and Commandeur Roothaens of Galle took up the provisional administration till, in 1665, Rycklof van Goens returned to Ceylon as Superintendent, Admiral, and Commander of the Forces, and re-assumed the Government, which he held till April, 1675, when he finally relinquished it to his son. In 1676 the Assembly of XVII. nominated him Governor-General in succession to

Maatsuycker, a post which he reluctantly accepted two years later, and which he repeatedly sought to relinquish. This he did in 1680. He then returned to Europe, and died at Amsterdam in 1682.

† See previous note.

§ Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee de Drakestein, Lord of Mydrecht, was High Commissioner to Bengal, Coromandel, Ceylon, &c., from 1684 to 1692, in which latter year he died on board the ship *Drechterland* on a voyage from Ceylon to Surat. His "Considerations" on Ceylon is an elaborate document full of valuable information. There is also in the Archives a volume containing instructions issued to him by the Directors of the East India Company at the time he was entrusted with his mission. The name Van Rhee de or Rhee de is also associated with a very romantic, though melancholy, story, based upon an inscription on a stone pillar standing on a rocky promontory at Trincomalee. This monument, it is stated, was erected on the 24th April, 1687, to the memory of one Francina van Rhee de Lady (?) of Mydrecht. This is all we learn from the inscription; but the following is the story: "Francina van Rhee de was the daughter of a Dutch gentleman in the Government service; and had formed an attachment to an officer in the army, which was sanctioned by her father, and the day was fixed for the celebration of the nuptials. Misunderstandings arose as to the amount of the bride's dowry, and other matters being disputed, the intended bridegroom broke off the match, and shortly after obtained leave to return to Europe. The unfortunate and misguided girl, rendered desperate by the desertion of her lover, resolved that he should not leave the Island during her lifetime; and, having obtained information as to the time of the ship's sailing, watched from her chamber window the sails spread that were to waft him from the cinnamon isle. Before clearing the coast the vessel was compelled to tack, and pass close to the precipices that bound the southern part of the Fort. For this moment she had watched; she rushed from her dwelling, darted along the edge of the cliffs, under which the swift vessel was gliding, for an instant balanced on an overhanging crag, then, with a wild exclamation of revengeful despair, leaped from the giddy height, and was dashed against the rocks below. With some difficulty her mangled remains were collected, by order of her heart-broken father, to receive Christian burial; and, although we can only hope the act of self-murder was perpetrated during temporary insanity, as that alone can extenuate the commission of so fearful a crime, we have often felt surprise that the family should have commemorated so awful an occurrence by the pillar on this conspicuous situation."—*Sirr, Ceylon and the Cingalese*, vol. I., p. 112. Major Forbes (*Eleven Years in Ceylon*, vol. II., p. 4) relates substantially the same story; but neither of these two writers gives any authority for it. It seems a pity to destroy the foundations of an interesting legend of this kind; but I fear that the facts disclosed by the records and other authentic authorities do not support the story in any way. Francina van Rhee de appears to have been the daughter of Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee de, Lord of Mydrecht, but she did not die as stated; because she long survived the erection of the monument, having in fact outlived her father. She was twice married, viz., 1st, to Maurits Cesar de la Baye, Captain in the East India Company Service, who died at Colombo, 14th February, 1793; and secondly, in 1694, to Anthony Karel van Panhuys, son of Bartholomeus van Panhuys, Lord of Voorn. Some other explanation would therefore have to be found for the monument,

Although in most cases these reproductions are described as " uittreksels " or extracts, many of them appear to be in fact verbatim reprints of the whole text of each document.

Next to the Memoirs of departing Governors ought to be mentioned the Memoirs of the Commandeurs and Dissaves. Without specifying all these here, I would particularly refer to the exhaustive and valuable work of Commandeur Zwaardcroon* of Jaffnapatam in 1697, a standard authority on matters relating to the northern possessions of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon, to which frequent allusion is made by subsequent Governors and Commandeurs. Other Commandeurs who have made important contributions to this series have been Commandeur Floris Blom† of Jaffnapatam, in 1690; Commandeur Jacob de Jong‡ of Galle, in 1748; Commandeur Anthony Mooyaart§ of Jaffnapatam, in 1762; and Commandeur Arnoldus de Ly|| of Galle, in 1783; while many of the Dissaves of Matara have also, from time to time, recorded in the Memoirs left by them information of great interest and value touching that part of the Island.

The terms " Memoir " and " Instructions," I find, have been somewhat loosely applied in the description of these documents. I think, if a distinction is to be made between them, the " Memoirs " would rightly include only those I have already referred to, viz., the narratives compiled by departing functionaries for the use of those who were to follow them in office; while under the head of " Instructions " would come the charges addressed by superior authorities for the guidance of those serving under them. Such, for instance, have been the instructions sent by the Supreme Government

* Hendrik Zwaardcroon was Commandeur of Jaffnapatam from 1694 to 1697. In the latter year he went as Commissioner to the Coast of Malabar, and, for a few months previous to the arrival of Governor Gerrit de Heere, appears to have administered the Government of Ceylon (*Van der Kloot, Gouverneurs-Generaal*, p. 80). He was appointed Director of Surat in 1699, and Governor-General of Netherlands India in 1718. His death occurred at Batavia on 12th August, 1728, some years after his retirement. At his special desire the burial took place in the graveyard attached to the Portuguese Church outside the town. His grave is still to be seen on the left side of the entrance to the church. This church and the graveyard were intended for the humbler section of the community; and Zwaardcroon, says an old writer (Hofhout), chose this burial place because he wished to lie beside the " common people." This is said to have been characteristic of the man, who, as long as he lived, took pains to maintain by ostentatious display the dignity and the honour of the Honourable Company which he served, but at his death, though of gentle descent himself, preferred to be buried among the poor and lowly than among

the high and mighty of the land. "Want, de keuze van zyne begraafplaats mocht van nederigheid getuigen—zoolang de oud Gouverneur-Generaal onbegraven was had hy zekere rol te spelen, en zelf had Zwaardecroon maatregelen genomen, opdat ook zyne laatste verchyning onder de levenden de compagne waardig mocht wezen, die hy gediend had."—*De Haan, De Portugeesche Buitenkerk*, p. 40. His funeral as described in the *Dagh Register des Casteels Batavia*, 16th August, 1728, was one of great magnificence.

† Floris Blom, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam, 1689 to 1694. He had previously served in other posts at Colombo and elsewhere. He died at Jaffna on 3rd July, 1694, and was buried in the church, where his tombstone is still preserved. His wife Susanna Serringiers predeceased him on 12th February, 1693, and was also buried in the church.

‡ Jacob de Jong was Commandeur of Galle from 1742 to 1748, then Commandeur of Jaffnapatam from 1748 to 1763. He used to be sometimes referred to as "Jacob de Jong, junior," to distinguish him from his father Jacob de Jong, who was also at one time (1722-1723) Commandeur of Jaffnapatam. There are tombstones in the Dutch churches at Galle and Jaffna bearing epitaphs of three of his wives, viz., Elisabeth Mooyaart (sister of Commandeur Mooyaart) at Galle and Maria Sophia Ravens and Anthonia van Pelt at Jaffna. When Governor Vreelandt died on 26th February, 1752, he had to come down to Colombo and administer the Government for seven months.

§ Anthony Mooyaart, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam from 1763 to 1766, was the son of Nicholas Mooyaart and the grandson of Anthony Mooyaart of Amsterdam, who came and settled in Ceylon in 1662. He entered the Company's Service in 1712 and rose step by step to the Commandeurship. On the death of Baron Van Eck he was called upon, as the next in rank, to administer the Government of Ceylon during a very critical time (viz., during the hostilities with Kandy) until the arrival of Governor Falck. He was married to Elisabeth Ursula Woutersz, daughter of Commandeur Gualterus Woutersz of Jaffnapatam, and had a very large family, of whom five were cut down within a month by an epidemic of smallpox, and others died in infancy. The only survivors were two sons and two daughters. The sons were Gualterus Mooyaart and Wouter Christoffel Mooyaart. The former alone left male issue. He was the ancestor of the Mooyaart family now extant in England, Holland, and Batavia, and his daughter married Charles Edward Layard and was the mother of the late Sir Charles Peter Layard and of the late General William Twistleton Layard. The younger son of Commandeur Mooyaart, Wouter Christoffel, left only daughters, and their descendants are still living in Ceylon.

|| Arnoldus de Ly was Commandeur of Galle from 1766 to 1783. He was married to Maria Cornelia Schuttrup, daughter of Pieter Elders Schuttrup, Disave of Colombo. This lady died at Galle on 5th August, 1785, and was buried in the Dutch church in the vault just under the pulpit, where her tombstone with elaborate heraldic quarterings may be seen. They had a son, Arnoldus Everhardus de Ly, who, having received his education in Holland, returned to Ceylon with the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was in the Company's service at Galle at the date of the capitulation in 1796, and after that continued to reside as a private individual at Galle. His second wife, a young lady whom he married when somewhat advanced in years, survived him many years and died at a great age in the sixties. I remember as a child seeing and speaking to her.

of Batavia for the guidance of the Governors here, and also the instructions left by Governors and Commandeurs for the guidance of their Councils and those left in charge of the administration during their temporary absence on circuit or otherwise. The most noteworthy to be found among the former is the volume of instructions sent from Batavia for the guidance of the Governor of Ceylon, 1656 to 1665, in which the duties of the various heads of departments are fully detailed and general instructions given to the Governor as to the conduct of the Government. The author of this valuable compendium appears to have been the Admiral Rycklof van Goens, who, as stated, had himself previously administered the Government of the Island.

I do not propose to speak at greater length of these Memoirs and Instructions, as the whole series is now being translated, and may be read in English as the volumes are completed from time to time.

(3) *Acts of Appointment of Company's Servants.*

The Acts of Appointment of Company's Servants relate of course to the European servants of the Company, which included all those of European descent born in the Island. The latter were divided into two classes, viz., *Poesties*,* the issue of two Europeans, and *Casties*,† those of remoter, but still of pure, European descent. I have already described the grades of the various services and the salary attached to each. All appointments below that of Under Merchant were made in the first instance by the Governor, and, as a matter of form only, received the sanction of the Government of Batavia. Appointments from Under Merchant upwards were made directly by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the Governor. I give a few examples of these Acts, as they will further illustrate the course in which promotion proceeded and the manner in which appointments were made. It will be seen that the initial appointment in all these cases, but one, was that of *Zoldaat*, literally soldier, but this does not imply that the officers had to serve as privates in the army. Every one entering the service had to serve an apprenticeship

* I have not been able to trace the etymology of this word. It occurs in Barros as *postica*, but does not appear to be Portuguese.

† From the Portuguese *castico*. "So they call in India the sons born of Portuguese parents."--*Vieyra*. The word occurs in the writings of a great many early travellers, such as Linschoten, Mandelso, Valentyn, Wolff, &c. It was evidently used in the same way as *creole* was in the West Indies, and in antithesis to *mixties*.

of five years with the rank and pay of a *Zoldaat* ; but, in the case of those intended for the Civil Service, this apprenticeship was passed in some clerical office ; and for this reason, in some of the Acts, the appointment is described as *Zoldaat by de pen*, or *Aanquekling by de pen*, equivalent to writer. Some entered the service as *Matroos* or sailor, with the same salary as that of *Zoldaat*.

The following is an Act of a first appointment :—

“ Hendrik Samuel Colette of Batticaloa, *Casties*, aged 23 years, is by these presents, on his application, admitted into the service of the Company as *Zoldaat*, and is, as such, granted a salary of 9 guilders per month on a bond for five years, commencing from this date.

“ Colombo, 18th August, 1783.

“ IN. WM. FALCK.”

In the next, the promotion is shown from that of *Zoldaat* to Absolute (*i.e.*, full) Assistant, the intermediate stage of Junior Assistant being passed over under the circumstances stated in the Act :—

“ Leendert Bosch of Utrecht, arrived in India in the year 1755 per ship *Oudcarpsel*, as *Zoldaat*, on 9 guilders per month, and, having since then, up to the year 1760, performed clerical duties both at Negombo and Trincomalee on his own pay, and in that year advanced in pay to 14 guilders, is by these presents, a vacancy arising of an assistant's post, promoted to Absolute Assistant, and is as such granted a salary of 24 guilders per month on a new bond for five years, commencing from this date.

“ Colombo, 26th April, 1762.

“ JN. SCHREUDER.”

The following is an example of a minor military appointment :—

“ David Estrop of Osnabrugge, arrived in India in the year 1760 per ship *Bossenhoven* as *Zoldaat* on 9 guilders (per month), promoted in 1775 to Kapitein des Armes, and on the 28th June, 1778, promoted to Sergeant at 20 guilders for five years, is by these presents, on his application, and on the expiry of his term, advanced in salary to 24 guilders per month on a new bond for three years, commencing from this date.

“ Colombo, 19th June, 1783.

“ IN. WM. FALCK.”

The following shows an advancement to that of *Boekhouder*, where, it will be seen, the grade of Absolute Assistant is passed over for exceptional reasons :—

“ Abraham van Coeverden of Galle, admitted into the service of the Company in the year 1736 as *Zoldaat* at 9 guilders per month, at present Junior Assistant drawing 20 guilders, and employed in the principal work at the Trade Office at Galle, is by these presents, on his application, and on the good testimony borne as to his qualifications and conduct, promoted to *Boekhouder*, and as such is granted the salary of 30 guilders per month on a new bond for five years, his rank taking effect from this date, but his salary and the terms of his bond from the 29th September, 1751, when the five years on his present salary of 24 guilders shall have expired.

“ Colombo, 14th October, 1750.

“ JS. VN. STEIN VAN GOLLENESSE.”

In the following appointment to the rank of Under Merchant the officer's previous career, as recited, is a somewhat uncommon one. I give it as an instance of a Company's servant obtaining his discharge from the service in order to become a Burgher and then returning to the service :—

“ Anthony Hoepels of Colombo, admitted into the Company's service in 1674 as an Apprentice Surgeon (*jong barbier*) with 10 guilders per month, promoted in the year 1689 to Apothecary on a monthly salary of 40 guilders, but in the year 1698 relieved of office and granted Burghership, with a supervision, as before, of the Apothecaries' Department, enjoying therefor out of the Company's Treasury in all a hundred rix-dollars a year, is by these presents, upon his application, considering the special grounds on which he became a Burgher, re-appointed to the Company's services with his former salary of 40 guilders per month and the rank of Under Merchant which he had obtained by his Act of the year 1689. The allowance of one hundred rix-dollars is to cease from the date of these presents, and he will be bound to serve the Company for a fresh period of three years, salary, rank, and obligation taking effect from this date.

“ Batavia, 1703.”

The highest rank, under that of Governor, to which a Civil Servant could be promoted is conferred by the following Act :—

“ Anthony Mooyaart of Jaffnapatam, admitted into the service of the Company in the year 1712 as *Zoldaat* on

9 guilders, and since promoted by steps to Upper Merchant with 80 guilders per month, is by these presents, in pursuance of the Resolution of the Council of India of this date, nominated and promoted to Commandeur of Jaffnapatam with the salary of 120 guilders per month on a new bond for five years, the one and the other taking effect from the date on which he assumes his command.

“ Batavia, in the Castle, 1st June, 1762.

“ PS. AS. VAN DER PARRA.”

(Governor-General.)

(4) *Diaries and Journals.*

The Diaries and Journals may be divided into three classes, viz. : (1) The Official Diaries kept in Colombo, in which a record is preserved of all events of any public interest or importance occurring in the town; (2) a few similar Diaries received from outstations; and (3) the Circuit Diaries of the Governors, Commandeurs, &c. None of these series is however complete. Of the Colombo Diaries, only those for the following years are extant : 1662-3, 1674, 1724-6, 1737, 1739, 1746, 1747, 1751, 1761, 1762, 1764, 1770, 1774-9, 1780, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1792, 1793, 1794, and extracts from those for the following years : 1740, 1742, 1745, 1748, 1757, 1763, 1765. The outstation Diaries consist of those for the following years belonging to the Commandements of Galle : 1667, 1726-7, 1729, 1752-4, 1775-80, 1784-5; of the Diary for 1674 of Negapatam, and the Diary kept in the Fleet off Goa 1660-1. The Circuit Diaries of the Governors, &c., consist of the following :—

Diary of occurrences during the voyage of Rycklof van Goens from Ceylon to India and back, 1673.

Journal of a visit by Commandeur Rutgard d'Heyde through the District of Matara, 1691.

Diary kept during the journey of Governor Gerrit de Heere from Colombo to Jaffna, 1697.

Diary kept during the journey of Governor Cornelis Joan Simons from Colombo to Jaffna, 1704.

Diary kept during the journey made by Governor Cornelis Joan Simons from Colombo to Galle and Matara, 1707.

Diary kept during the journey of Governor Cornelis Joan Simons from Galle to Matara, 1707.

Diary kept during the journey of Governor Cornelis Joan Simons to Galle and Matara, 1708.

Journal of an official visit paid by the Hoofd Administrateur Swen Andersen to Tuticorin, 1711.

Diary of Governor Rumpf's tour from Colombo to Jaffna, 1719.

Diary kept during the voyage of Governor Stephanus Versluys to the coast of Madura, 1732.

Diary kept during the journey of Governor Van Imhoff to Galle and Matara, 1737.

Account of Governor Van Imhoff's tour round the Island, 1738.

Journal of events in Governor Van Imhoff's tour through the lands of the Colombo Dissavony, 1739.

Extracts from the Diary kept during a visit of Governor Van Imhoff to Jaffna and Manaar *via* Galle and Matara and from letters received from Jaffna, 1739-40.

Circuit Diary of Dissave Kersse of Matara, 1741.

Diary kept during the journey of Governor Julius Valentyn Stein van Gollenesse to Galle and Matara, 1745.

Circuit Diary of Governor van Gollenesse through the Galle and Matara Districts, 1745.

Diary kept during the journey of Governor Stein van Gollenesse from Colombo to Jaffna, 1746.

Diary kept during the journey of Governor Schreuder round the Island south-about, 1760.

Diary of a visit paid by the Governor Lubbert Jan Baron van Eck to Coromandel, 1763.

To give some idea of the nature of the information afforded by the Official Diaries kept in Colombo I have selected a few entries from the Diary for the year 1751, which may be taken as typical of the events generally recorded :—

Friday, 1st January.—“ Being the first day of the New Year 1751, a Divine Service of thanksgiving was held according to custom, and afterwards a meeting of the Political Council. At this assembly there was opened and read a letter from Their Honours at Batavia, received by the ship *Leyden* at Galle and conveyed thence overland. This letter contained the intelligence of the death of His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff and of the promotion, in consequence, of the Honourable Jacob Mossel to be Governor-General of Netherlands India; likewise, the nomination of the Councillor in Ordinary of India and Governor and Director of Ceylon the Honourable Julius Valentyn Stein van Gollenesse as First Councillor and Director-General of the conquests of the Netherlands Company in Asia. After this the members of the Political

Council and of the Council of Justice, the Clergy, and other high officials in the Company's service, as well as the most prominent Burghers, called at Government House to greet His Excellency on the occasion of the New Year and to congratulate him on the important post to which he had been nominated. His Excellency, having received his visitors most courteously, and thanked them for their greetings, entertained them with a repast of a variety of cakes and refreshing morning beverages."

* * * * *

Wednesday, 6th January.—"Arrived here from China in the ship *Geldermalsen*, the Commander of the Indian Seas, Roelof Block, the said ship on entering the harbour saluting the fort with 13 guns, which were answered from the ramparts of the castle by 12 guns. The Commander then, about two hours later, left his vessel under a fire of 13 guns, and on reaching the pier was received there by the Koopman and Fiscal Gerrit van Altenhoven, the Political Secretary Marcelles Bles, and the Zoldy Boekhouder Johannes Philippus Visboom, who were specially deputed thereto. Proceeding thence to the accompaniment of sounding drums and flying colours, along the way from the Waterpoort to the residence of His Excellency the Governor, which was lined by double files of the military, he was welcomed most cordially by the Governor, while, at the same moment, the soldiery which were stationed on the ramparts in front of Government House, under command of Ensign Coelman, fired a volley, which was taken up by the Artillery on the ramparts with 12 guns.

"There also arrived later this day the ships *Amstelveen* and *Dieshoek*, the first from Galle and the second from Bengal, who each saluted the fort with 15 guns, which were responded to by 9 from the ramparts."

* * * * *

Friday, 8th January.—"Was preached by the Reverend Mr. Bronsveld the penitential sermon preparatory to the Lord's Supper, which was to take place the following Sunday."

* * * * *

Sunday, 24th January.—"Intelligence was received from Hangwella, from the chief official there, Ensign Rosenouw, of the departure hitherwards of a deputation of Kandyan Chiefs, consisting of the Dissave of the Three and Four Korles, Widjeyesoendre Rajekaroenayeke Seneviratne Moedianse Ralehamy, Amgammene Mahamohiti

Ralehamy, Gallegodde Ratteralehamy Midunne and Iriegamme. His Excellency the Governor thereupon specially despatched—

Monday, 25th January.—“The Commissioners of this Dissavony, Van Bergheim, Van Altenhoven, and Arnoldus van Sprang, to proceed to Avisawelle under the escort of three companies of the military with their respective officers to receive Their Honours.

“This day was also sold the rent of the chank fishery along the shores of Calpetty up to the Cape Carredivo, and northward of Manaar, for one year; and the rent, which formerly fetched 8,000 rix-dollars, was purchased by the Chitty Simon de Melho for 7,200 rix-dollars.”

Wednesday, 27th January.—“Meeting of the Political Council, at which was read over and signed the Despatch for the Fatherland which was to go by the homeward-bound ships *Woit, Kendsdorp, and de Geregtigheid.*

“Later in the evening, arrived at the Pas Naklegam the Kandyan Courtiers, with the Commissioners sent from here, and the military with their officers referred to under yesterday’s date. Their Honours were received at the Pass by Messrs. Pieter Elders Schuttrup, Warnar Berghuis, and Govert Altenhoven, who afterwards, with the Commissioners and the military who had accompanied these Chiefs from Avisawelle, returned to the Castle in the evening.”

* * * * *

Monday, 1st February.—“The present Kandyan Chiefs were, with the exception of the first Ambassador, who found himself somewhat indisposed, conveyed (to the Castle) in carriages from the Great Pass (Grandpass) by Messrs. Marcellus Bles, Jacob van Berghem, Arnoldus Sprang, and Harmanus Jeronimus van Cleef, and were afterwards received in audience with the usual ceremonies by His Excellency the Governor and the members of the Political Council.”

Tuesday, 2nd February.—“The afore-named Kandyan Courtiers started on their return journey to the Court under escort, as far as Avisawelle, of the Koopman and Political Secretary Marcellus Bles, Captains Arnoldus Sprang and Jacob van Berghem as well as three companies of military with their officers.”

* * * * *

Tuesday, 9th February.—“Dropped anchor here, in the outer harbour, a two-masted English privateer called *Rose*

Galley from Bengal, commanded by Captain David Green with 40 men and carrying 10 guns, having a cargo of rice, sugar, &c., bound for Persia. It put in here merely for want of drinking water, which the Captain, in a proper manner, asked to be supplied with."

Wednesday, 10th February.—"Came into harbour here from Galle the sloop *Veldhuysen*.

"Later, at the meeting of the Political Council, the Honourable the Governor-elect Gerrit Joan Vreelandt took the oath prescribed for Governors. Captain Arnoldus van Sprang was nominated Ambassador to the Kandyan Court, and the following appointment was made: the Boekhouder Johannes de Vos to be Sworn Clerk of the Secretariat in the place of the Boekhouder Mighiel Hemme, who was appointed Commissary of the Arekanut Department."

* * * * *

Monday, 15th February.—"The sloop *Anthonia Dorothea* departed for Tuticorin, and there came into the harbour from Malacca a two-masted brigantine which saluted the Castle with 5 guns, which was responded to by the ship *Amstelveen*, lying in the harbour, with 3 guns. The newcomer was commanded by a Surat native named Mahmet, had 18 men, and carried a cargo of 14 balys Chinese camphor, 38 picols sapanwood, 232 do. alum, 155 bhars rosin, &c., consigned to Cochin. The Commander came on shore and begged to be supplied with drinking water, which was granted."

* * * * *

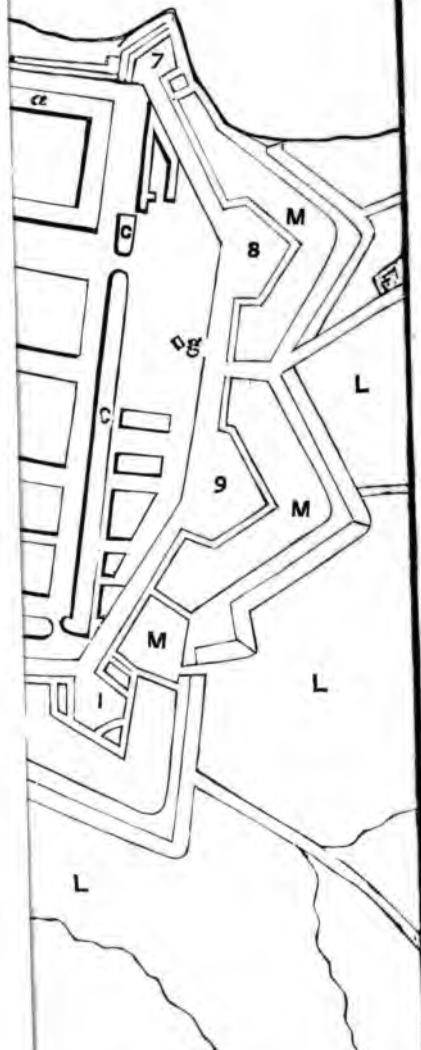
Tuesday, 2nd March.—"Arrived here for a holiday by the sloop *De Standvastigheyt* from Tuticorin, the linen draper Johannes Verkert.

"Arrived also by the ordinary land route from Galle, the Honourable the Commandeur of Galle, Frederik Cunes, accompanied by the Captain-Lieutenant and Master Attendant Steven Bade. His Honour was met at the garden of the native distiller Mighiel Gomes by a deputation consisting of the First Warehouse Keeper Warnar Berghuis, the Fiscal Govert van Altenhoven, and the Political Secretary Marcellus Bles, and was, from there, conveyed in a carriage into the Castle under a salute of 15 guns from the ramparts. The procession was preceded from the Gaalsche Poort (the south gate of the Fort) up to the residence of the Fiscal

FORT OF COLOMBO, 1751.

C Canal
 L Lake
 M Moat
 S Sea

a Governor's House
 b Judicial Chamber
 c Church
 d Kaffir's Poort
 e Hill
 f South Gate
 g East Gate
 h Matroos Point



Govert van Altenhoven (where His Honour was to reside) by a double file of military with the beating of drums and the sounding of trumpets.”

* * * * *

Thursday, 4th March.—“ There came into the harbour from Bengal an English Company’s ship called *Kent*, commanded by Captain William Rabcom, manned by 120 men and mounted with 3 guns, saluting the Castle with 15 guns, which were answered by our Admiral the *Amstelveen*, with 13 guns. The Commander, coming on shore, stated that his cargo consisted mostly of rice, which he requested to be allowed to retail to the public in the town, which was permitted.”

* * * * *

Tuesday, 16th March.—“ At the meeting of the Political Council the Upper Merchant and *Hoofd Administrateur* Noel Anthony Lebeck took the oath prescribed for the President of the *Raad van Justitie*, as well as the oath of allegiance; and the Provisional *Negotie Boekhouder* Pieter Welbrink took the oath of allegiance and that prescribed for members of the Political Council. The *Boekhouder* Johannes de Vos took his oath as Sworn Clerk. The *Boekhouder* Hogenschild was appointed a member of the Landraad in place of Hendrik Schokman, deceased.”

* * * * *

Wednesday, 12th May.—“ The Anniversary of the Conquest of Colombo: which was again celebrated by the hoisting of flags round the ramparts of the Castle, the ringing of bells from half past five till six o’clock, and the firing of 45 guns.”

* * * * *

Tuesday, 8th June.—“ There arrived here from Kandy, with his wife and four children, a certain European named Frans Anthon, who in the year 1734 had deserted and run away from the garrison. He gave an account of his experiences during his exile in the Kandyan King’s dominions.”

* * * * *

Saturday, 7th August.—“ In terms of the definite sentence of the Honourable the *Raad van Justitie* of this Castle, approved by the supreme authority in this Island, a certain woman named Johanna, *alias* Nagamma, was strangled by being tied to a pole, for slave thieving. Thereafter, at 12 o’clock noon, her head having been sundered from the body, the trunk was dragged outside to the public place of

execution and stretched upon a wheel, to be there consumed by the birds of the air. On the same occasion eight other persons were sentenced to be put in chains for thieving and to do hard labour for a number of years in the Company's Works."

* * * * *

Thursday, 25th November.—“ An extraordinary occurrence took place here this day. At about 2 o'clock in the early morning a wild tusker (elephant) made his entrance into the fortress by the *Rotterdamsche Poort*, through the archway where the water from the Castle moat has its outlet into the lake. He then went along the ramparts, past the *Gaalsche Poort*, and, issuing out again through the *Point Enkhuysen*, passed by the watch behind the hill, then attacked the sentinel who was on guard at *Kaffir's Poort*, smashing his cartridge case and completely breaking and wrenching off one arm from the body with his trunk. He got down at the point facing *Delft's Poort* and marched along various streets of the Castle till 5 o'clock in the morning, when, at the gun carriage sheds which stretch up to the Justice Chambers, he came with a sailor who was proceeding to fetch drinking water, whom he seized and dashed to the ground, completely robbing him of life. He then retreated to the *Amsterdamsche Poort* towards the smith's forge, where, finding no mischief that he could do, he ran through the so-called *Strandpoortje den April** towards *Matroos Point*. Here the people saw him coming and shut the gate; whereupon he displayed his strength by making a hole in the wall with his trunk, and, turning round, would have wreaked his vengeance on a Parawa who happened to be there, and who would have had to pay for it with his life, if a crowd of people had not assembled and scared the brute away. Thus surprised, he took his flight by the *Matroos Point* into the sea. His Excellency the Governor then ordered a party of fishermen with their *thonies* and some Maldivians with their boats to set out and capture him, having also provided a boat with some rope for the purpose. These, about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, made him fast, while his hind legs were under water, and thus, by 3 o'clock in the afternoon, he had been drawn out of the water on to the shore on the Galle road about three-quarters of a mile from Colombo. Then, breaking himself free of all bonds and of all who pressed upon him, he took flight back into the woods.

* A sewer so named for some special reason, which I am unable to ascertain.

“ There was also held this day a meeting of the Political Council.”

* * * * *

Sunday, 19th December.—“ Came into harbour from Caymelle the sloop *Maria Lourentia*.

“ This afternoon, about 3 o'clock, the Venerable and Learned Rector of the Seminarium, Johannes Philippus Wetzeliuss, slept in the Lord. His Reverence's body was—

Monday, 20th December.—“ Interred in the Dutch Church with the following ceremony :—

1st.—Walked in front the Schoolmaster of the Seminarium Fredrik Jansz and the Vice Co-rector Christiaan Benjamin Klepping, in cloaks with crape bands.

2nd.—All the students of the Seminarium marching two by two.

3rd.—Six undertakers (*aansprekers*) in cloaks with crape bands.

4th.—The body borne by eight Under Merchants and an equal number of *Boekhouders* drawing Under Merchant's salary and the Deacons of the Church.

5th.—An assemblage of gentlemen and friends who followed the procession up to the church.

“ This morning was begun at Hulftsdorp the sale of the rents of the neli fields for the *maha* and *mottetu* harvests.

“ Later in the day His Excellency the Governor appointed a deputation consisting of the *Koopman* and First Warehouse keeper Warner Berghuis and the *Onderkoopman* Harmanus Jeronimus van Cleef to proceed, with a retinue of a company of Fusiliers commanded by Ensign Van Nes, to Hangwelle, and there to receive and escort to Colombo the Kandyan Ambassadors who were on their way hither.”

(5) *Appointments of Native Headmen.*

All the Acts of Appointment of Native Headmen now extant are contained in six volumes, as follows :—

Grants, Acts, and Warrants issued to Native Headmen, 1718–23.

Acts of Appointment of Native Headmen, 1756.

Appointments, Titles, and Ranks conferred on individuals, 1760.

Acts of Native Appointments, 1763.

Acts of Native Appointments, 1764.

Acts of Native Appointments, 1770–84.

The absence of any records of the Acts issued from 1723 to 1756, and some of earlier and later years, is striking. Although the usual destructive agencies I have referred to must, in some measure, be responsible for this, I fear that, as in other cases, the breaks in the list must often be attributed to the actual loss of the volumes.

These acts, so far as they go, are interesting, and throw some light on the policy which the Dutch pursued in their dealings with the rural population. They appear to have adhered, as far as possible, to the ancient customs of the inhabitants; to have respected many of their peculiar prejudices; and to have even upheld caste distinctions. The mode of appointment and promotion to offices and ranks was no doubt based on an older system, borrowed from the people, either directly, or through the Portuguese. Headmen were, as a rule, paid no salaries; but to each officer was made a grant of land called an *accommoddessa*, out of the proceeds of which he was expected to support himself and maintain his dignity. A Maha Mudaliyar was allowed 20 ammunams of sowing land, a Mudaliyar 12 ammunams, a Mohandiram 8, an Arachchi 6, and a Vidana 4. Of these, the Maha Mudaliyar also received a salary of 8 rix-dollars a month. These were the fixed *accommoddessans*, but, in exceptional cases, the grants were enhanced and other privileges were added to the dignity. The form and wording of the Acts of Appointment varied considerably. It is therefore but an imperfect idea which the following examples I have selected will give of the nature of these instruments. Yet to multiply the examples to any better purpose would be to burden this report with too many extracts. I have therefore refrained from adding to the selection, which may even now be considered too large.

The first example is that of an Act of a Maha Mudaliyar:—

“Whereas by the death of the Maha Modliaar of our Gate, Joan Alvis Wijewardene Senewiratne, his post has become vacant, We therefore, in consideration of the good qualities of the Maha Mohotiaar of our Gate, Don Simon de Silva Jayetieleka Senewiratne, who, on several occasions, and even recently in the investment of Kandy, had shown himself an able, vigilant, and faithful servant of the Honourable Company, deem it desirable to appoint him to the aforesaid vacant office of Maha Modliaar, as we do by these presents appoint him Maha Modliaar and First Interpreter of our Gate, under the title of Sierwardene Jayetieleka Senewiratne, and we do attach to his office nine and a half

ranks of lascoryns,* of whom six and a half shall compose our ordinary Life Guard, and the remaining three ranks shall appertain to the said Maha Modliarship; and he is permitted, according to previous example, and to advance his dignity among the villagers outside the gravets of this city, to carry a flying banner and be attended by six tom-tom beaters, a hautbois player, and twelve lascoryns, and shall receive a monthly salary of eight rix-dollars and the further grant, as his fixed accomoddessan, of the following *andet* fields situated in the Raygam Korle.

[Here follows a list of 31 different sowing fields with a total extent of 20 ammunams.]

“ Wherefore the Mohotiaars, Mohandirams, Araatjes, Kangaans, and Lascoryns under the Guard, and all whom it may further concern, are ordered and commanded to honour, respect, and obey, as it behoves them, the said Don Simon de Silva Sieriwardene Jayetieleke Senewiratne, as Maha Modliar and First Interpreter of our Gate, and these presents are granted unto him under our usual signature and the seal of the Honourable Company.

“ Given in the Castle of Colombo, in the Island of Ceylon, on the 17th April, 1766.”

In the following Act of a Mudaliyar the grant of a medal is also included. I have for obvious reasons omitted the name of the individual whose “ knavish practices ” and consequent banishment from the Island created the vacancy in the post :—

“ Whereas the Modliar and Coraal of the Belligam Corle in the Matara Dessavony in consequence of his unfaithfulness and other knavish practices to the prejudice of the Honourable Company, has been banished from this Island as a dangerous subject, and his post has thereby become vacant; and application has been made by the

* *Lascoryn*, or, as it is variously spelt, *lascorin* or *lascarin*, is derived from the Persian *laspkar*, an army, whence *laskari*, a soldier, converted by the Portuguese into *lasquarin*. The word is allied to *lascar*, which is still in use in the expression *gun-lascar*. See Yule and Burnell's *Anglo Indian Glossary*.

† “ Anda land is that which is delivered by the proprietor to another to cultivate on condition of delivering to him half the crop as rent. This is the usual condition on which fertile fields are annually let.” *Sir John D'Oyly*. (See White's *Glossary of Native, Foreign, and Anglicized Words*. Government Press.)

present Sabandaar* of Belligam aforesaid and Codditoekoe Mohandiram of Matura, Don Simon, to be raised to the rank of Modliaar; we therefore, considering his good qualities, deem it desirable to appoint him to the said post, as we do by these presents appoint him Modliaar over seven ranks of lascoryns belonging to the Matura District who had been serving under the said....., under the title of Wickremeratne Dissanayeke, and we grant him as his fixed accomodessan as many ammonams of sowing land as shall by a later written deed be allowed to him, and the said Don Simon Wickremeratne Dissanayeke is permitted as a further mark of dignity among the villagers to wear and use a gold medal with its chain. And we command and order all the Mohandirams, Araatjes, and Lascoryns within the said jurisdiction to honour, respect, and obey, as it behoves them, the said Don Simon Wickremeratne Dissanayeke as Modliaar, and this Act is granted to him under our signature and seal of the Honourable Company.—Colombo, 20th July, 1758.”

The two following are Mudaliyarships conferred for special services. The first of these is of peculiar interest, as it records an incident of somewhat uncommon occurrence, viz., the transport from Ceylon of two elephants to Holland for the use of the Prince of Orange :—

1. “Whereas Jan Philip de Silva two years ago did convey two elephants to Holland for His Illustrious Highness the Prince of Orange, during the voyage taking good care of the animals, and did on his arrival there deliver them to His Illustrious Highness in a manner well pleasing to him, for which His Highness had bestowed on him the gift of a gold medal, we therefore, as a reward to him for his good services, considering his good qualities, and in terms of his petition, have deemed it desirable to appoint him, out of order, and over the heads of others, as we do appoint him by these presents, Modliaar over two ranks of Chiandos†

* According to Valentyn the Sabandaar of Belligam (Weligama) was the chief native official of that station. He was assisted by three writers or clerks, who kept accounts which had to be monthly submitted to the authorities at Matara, where the Sabandaar himself had to appear with all the people under him. “Sabandoe, of de Sjahbandaar, gelyk die van Belligam, die als 't Hoofd van die plaats is, hebbende onder zich 3 schryvers, die Reekening van die Heerlykheid Maandelyks op Mature moeten doen, daar by zelf ook alle Maand verschynen moet, alzoo alle Volkeren op Mature onder hem behooren.” —*Beschryvinge van Ceylon*, p. 11.

† *Chiando*—Chandus, i. e., the Durawe or toddy-drawing caste.

lascoryns of the Colombo Gravets commanded by the two Mohandirams, Simon Fernando and Don Pedro, with the title of Abeyewikkreme Goenettleke Rajikaroene, and all prerogatives and privileges which are attached to the Modliaar's dignity, and for his fixed accomodessan we grant him four ammonams and five coernies *ande* and twenty-nine ammonams and two and a half coernies *ottoe** sowing land out of the following :—

[Here follows a list of lands.]

“Wherefore the Mohandirams, Vidaans, Araatjes, and all of his caste whom it may concern, are commanded to regard, honour, and obey him Jan Philip de Silva Abeyewikkreme Goenettleke Rajikaroene, as it behoves them, as Modliaar over the Chiandos. And these presents are granted to him under our usual signature and the seal of the Honourable Company.—Colombo, 3rd March, 1772.”

2. “Whereas the Maha Vidaan of Negombo Don Philip Wickremesinge has distinguished himself above others in the planting of cinnamon, and has thereby given us great satisfaction; we therefore, desiring not to allow such a service to pass unrewarded, in our meeting of the 6th April last thought proper, in terms of our Decree of 19th March, 1771, as further encouragement for fidelity in the service, to appoint him Modliaar, as we do by these presents appoint him, and to honour him with the gift of a silver sword and with a grant of 28 ammonams and five koerines *ande* and *ottu* sowing land

[Made up as follows : *ande*, 7 ammonams and 39 koerines ; *ottu*, 20 ammonams and 6 koerines.]

“Wherefore all whom it may concern are commanded to regard and obey him Don Philip Wickremesinge as Modliaar of the Negombo District and Kaymelle as well as the village

* *Ottoe*—*ottu*, i.e., a tithe or one-tenth of the produce. The following definition taken from Sir John D'Oyly's transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. III., 1831, occurs in White's *Glossary* : “*Ottu* is of three kinds : (1) a portion of the crop equal to the extent sown, or to one and a half or double the extent sown in some *paddy fields* or *chenas*. It is the usual share paid to the proprietor by the cultivator from fields which are barren or difficult of protection from wild animals, particularly in the Seven Korales, Sabaragamuwa, Hewaheta, and some *chenas* in Harispattu. In many royal villages in the Seven Korales are lands paying *ottu* to the Crown. (2) The share of one-third paid from a field of tolerable fertility, or from a good *chena* sown with paddy. (3) The share which the proprietor of a *chena*, sown by another with fine grain, cuts first from the ripe crop, being one large basket full, or a man's burden.”

Palaneheene and Vidanie of Toopoe. And these presents are granted to him under our usual signature and the seal of the Honourable Company.—Colombo, 1st May, 1773.”

The following are three examples of Mohandirams' Acts. They are different from each other in form and particulars as having been granted to persons of different communities :—

1. “Whereas by the death of Pasquaal de Soisa Wieratne Mohandiram under the Mahabadde, his post has become vacant, we therefore, in view of the good qualities and considering the urgent prayer of Donatus Sielva, who for some time had satisfactorily performed this service, have deemed it desirable to appoint him Mohandiram of the Mahabadde with the title of Sirriewardene Goenesekere, and to grant him as accommodessan so much of sowing land as his predecessor Pasquaal de Soisa had enjoyed from the village Attoerellie in the Gangebaddé pattoe of the Matura Dessavony. Wherefore, each and all whom it may concern are commanded to regard and duly obey him the said Donatus Sielva Sirriewardene Goenesekere as such, in token of which this open Act, under the seal of the Honourable Company and our usual signature, is delivered to him.—Colombo, 24th March, 1762.”

2. “Whereas Philip Fernando has now for some time past been performing provisionally the duties of Mohandiram over the Fishers of the Sea Strand at Chilaw, and he has addressed us an urgent appeal to be confirmed in this post, we therefore, seeing no reason to refuse him his prayer, in that he had been performing these duties to our satisfaction, do appoint him by these presents, absolutely, Mohandiram over the Fishers of the Sea Strand at Chilaw, in order that, as occasion offers, he may, in that capacity, duly attend to and look after the Company's interests. And we grant to him the profits which have been annexed to this office from of old.

“Wherefore all whom it may concern are commanded to regard and obey, as it behoves them, him Philip Fernando as Mohandiram of the Fishers of the Sea Strand at Chilaw. And these presents are granted unto him under our usual signature and the seal of the Honourable Company.—Colombo, 25th August, 1766.”

3. “Whereas by the promotion of the Mohandiram of the Attepattoe of this place, Cornelis de Alvis, to the Modliarship of the Hewagam Korle, his post has become vacant, and Don David Dias has applied to be appointed to the same, we therefore, in consideration of the good qualities of the applicant, have been pleased to accede to

his prayer, and do by these presents appoint him Mohandiram of the Attepattoe under His Honour the Dessave of this place, and with the title of Rajakaroene Senewiratne Bandaranayke. Wherefore the Araatjes, Kangaans, and Lascoryns belonging to the said Attepattoe shall respect and obey, as it behoves them, him the said Don David Dias Rajakaroene Senewiratne Bandaranayke as Mohandiram. And these presents are granted to him under our usual signature and the seal of the Honourable Company.—Colombo, 12th October, 1791.”

A rank, now obsolete, that of Pattangatyn, is conferred by the two following Acts :—

1. “Adriaan de Saa, fisher and resident of Belligam, within the jurisdiction of the Dessavony of Matara, is by these presents, on his urgent application, appointed as Joint Pattangatyn and Chief of the Fishers of Belligam, with the title of Wire Warne Jayesoerie, and as such to observe and perform all the functions appertaining to the Pattangatynship, and to enjoy therefor 1/10 part of the fish caught in the place according to ancient custom. Wherefore all whom it may concern are enjoined to regard and respect, as it behoves them, him the said Wire Warne Jayesoerie as Pattangatyn and Chief of the Belligam Fishers.—Colombo, 24th September, 1757.”

2. “Whereas by the promotion of the Pattangatyn of this town Joan de Silva to Modliar of Negombo, his post has become vacant, we, therefore, considering the importunate appeal of Bastiaan Pieris, have deemed it proper to appoint him thereto, as we by these presents appoint him, Pattangatyn and Joint Chief of the Fishers of this place, with the title of Rasemanogere Warne Kula Detta dipadiaan, in order that with the other Pattangatyn here he may precisely observe and perform those duties which appertain to the Pattangatynship, shall look after the interests of the Company, and render at the gate of the undersigned Governor the services he is bound to according to ancient custom. And he shall enjoy a monthly salary of three rix-dollars, which shall be paid to him out of the Company’s Treasury, and other further profits from the fish caught here, such as the said Joan de Silva, promoted, had enjoyed, and which from ancient times have been enjoyed by Pattangatyns. Wherefore we command that all the fishers and others who belong to this community shall regard, respect, and obey as it behoves them, him the said Bastiaan Pieris as Pattangatyn and Joint Chief. Wherefore this Act, &c.—Colombo, 15th January, 1761.”

I will conclude the Sinhalese Acts by two further examples in which the Goldsmiths and Barbers are referred to. The first is that of a Maha Vidaan of the Goldsmiths :—

“ Whereas the Chief of the Sinhalese Gold and Silversmiths as well as Jewel setter of this place, Joan de Mens, owing to advancing years and infirmity of body, has made application to us to be relieved of his duties with the honorary designation of “ late Master of the Silversmiths,” and in his place to appoint his son, Adriaan Mens, as Maha Vidaan over the Silversmiths of the twenty-four families to which these services have been restricted in these Commandements (Galle), we therefore, in consideration of his ability, have no desire to deny him this request, but do by these presents appoint him, Adriaan Mens, Maha Vidaan over the aforesaid Singalese Silversmiths and their lesser Chiefs, with the title of Wiedjesoerendre, with the grant to him as his fixed accomodessan of twelve ammonams of *ottu* sowing land, instead of the three ammonams of *ande* prescribed by the Regulations, as his father had enjoyed in the village of Kalehe in the Talpe Pattoe.

[Here follows the list of lands.]

“ All persons whom it may concern are hereby directed to honour and respect, as it behoves them, him the said Adriaan Mens as Maha Vidaan of the Gold and Silversmiths, with the condition that he shall be bound in any contingency to repair and construct without payment any silver work which may be required for the Company.

“ Given in the Town of Galle on the 21st May, 1758. A. de Ly.” (Commandeur.)

The following is the Act of a Vidaan over the Barbers :—

“ Whereas by the promotion of Talgahaheene Pannikkige Andries Ferdinandus to be Arachchi over the Barbers, his post as Vidaan over the same has become vacant, and the Barber Payagelle Pannikkige Louis Ferdinandus has applied to us to be appointed to the said vacant post of Vidaan, we therefore, having no desire to refuse him the same, but being glad to accord him the favour, do by these presents appoint him Payagelle Pannikkige Louis Ferdinandus as Vidaan over all the Barbers of the Galle jurisdiction, without accomodessan, under the title of Goenewardene, subject however to the customary obligations according to ancient usage.

“ Wherefore each and all whom these may concern are enjoined to regard and obey, as it behoves them, him the said Payagelle Pannikkige Louis Ferdinandus Goenewardene

as Vidaan over the Barbers, and these presents are granted to him under our usual signature and the seal of the Honourable Company.—Galle, 5th September, 1771.”

One example will, I think, suffice to show the nature of the ranks which the Dutch conferred on the Moors living in the vicinity of towns :—

“ Whereas the Moor Seyde Kadie Nainde Marcair Lebbe Nayna Marcair was by us recently appointed Joint Chief of the Moors of the town of Galle, and as now the other Chief of this community in the said Commandements has appealed to us that he being the oldest in the service should have preference over the other, we therefore, in consideration of the request made by him the said present Chief, deem it desirable to appoint him *First* Chief over the Galle Community of Moors residing within the Four Gravets, with authority to employ the Moor Ismail Lebbe Meestri Kader as his Canne Kappel.

“ Wherefore one and all whom it may concern are commanded to regard, respect, and obey, as it behoves them, him the said Aghamadoe Lebbe Sinne Lebbe Marcair as First Chief of the Moors.

“ Colombo, 28th July, 1757.”

The ranks conferred on Tamils in the Northern Province were peculiar to them. I only cite here examples showing one or two offices it was usual for prominent men to hold in the Dutch Service. The first is that of Company's Broker :—

“ Don Philipoe Chitambela Modliar, of the Welala caste, resident of Warnnaarponne within the jurisdiction of the Commandements of Jaffnapatam, is by these presents, as being one of the most respectable, influential, and able of the natives there, in the expectation that he would watch the Company's interests to the best of his ability, appointed the Company's Broker, in order to treat with the expected Elephant traders at the said Commandements, and to dispose of these animals to the profit of the Honourable Company ; and we allow him twelve *chiviaars* free from *oelie** service, with the further permission to wear on his head a turban which he will not be obliged to take off anywhere, as well as to use and allow himself to be conveyed in a palanquin with a bent bamboo by Mallabaars of the so-called Tandige class, and above all, to have carried in state over him an umbrella.

* *Oeli* is probably from the Tamil “Ulujam,” corrupted into *oelian*. Having originally meant the obligation of a slave to his master, it came in Dutch times to mean a compulsory service of a menial character which certain inferior classes were required to render.

“ Wherefore all whom it may concern are enjoined to regard him as the Company’s Broker, and in testimony thereof these presents are granted to him under our hand and the seal of the Honourable Company.—Colombo, 26th June, 1758.”

The following is the Act of Cannekappel, viz., Shroff or Cashier :—

“ Whereas Don Manuel Rasakarie Mana Modliaar, First Cannekappel of the Gate of the *Opperhoofd* (Chief Government Officer) of Manaar, in consequence of advanced age and infirmity of body, is no longer able to perform his said duties in a proper manner, we therefore have considered it desirable to relieve the said Don Manuel Rasakarie Mana Modliaar of the same, and reflecting on the good qualities and the urgent application of his son-in-law the Welala Welayren Joan Ramenaden, residing at Manipaay in the Jaffna Commandements, deem it proper to appoint him the said Welayren Joan Ramenaden as First Cannekappel of the Gate of the *Opperhoofd* of Manaar, in the place of the said Don Manuel Rasakarie Mana Modliaar, as we do appoint him by these presents, with the title of Don Joan Rasakarie Ritnasinga Modliaar, with the allowance of six coelies besides the pay and dignity belonging to his office.

“ Wherefore one and all whom it may concern are commanded by virtue of this open Act granted to him Don John Rasakarie Ritnasinga Modliaar under our hand and the seal of the Honourable Company, to regard him as First Cannekappel of the Gate of the *Opperhoofd* of Manaar.—Colombo, 10th August, 1761.”

The following is an appointment, not in the regular order of ranks or offices, but I think, of sufficient interest to be given here :—

“ Whereas by the death of the First Physician of the Jaffna Commandements, Don Joan Candappen Ilenge Kandela Modliaar, of the Maddappally caste, his post has become vacant, we therefore, considering the urgent prayer of Poelogisinga Modliaar Philippoe Comarewelen, Welala of Tillepalle, and in view of his having on various occasions proved himself one of the ablest physicians among the natives there, deem it desirable and proper to appoint him, the said Poelogisinga Modliaar Philippoe Comarewelen, as the Company’s First Native Physician for the Commandements of Jaffnapatam, as we do appoint him by these presents, with

the monthly salary of one rix-dollar besides the services of four coolies free of *oelie** duty.

“Wherefore all whom it may concern are commanded to regard and respect, as it behoves them, him as such.—Colombo, 29th September, 1756.”

(6) *Secretarial Protocols, including Wills.*

The volumes collected under Secretarial Protocols are those executed in the presence of and attested by the Secretary of the Political Council or one of his assistants called Sworn Clerks. I have already explained the mode in which deeds affecting land were attested by the *Schepenen* or Magistrates of the *Raad van Justitie*.† The functions of the notarial office were divided between these *Schepenen* and the Secretary of the Political Council. While all deeds affecting land went for attestation before the *Schepenen*, all other transactions which, under our present law, require notarial attestation, came under the cognizance of the Political Secretariat. It is scarcely necessary to specify here all the numerous deeds which thus come under the general head of Secretarial Protocols, as they include nearly all notarial deeds that are now met with. The only division I have made is between Last Wills and other Protocols. The Last Wills, of which there are 19 volumes, are worthy of special notice. They throw a great deal of light on the social life of the Dutch, and their quaint and solemn wording have a peculiar interest when compared with the forms now in vogue among us. All the old forms of wills under the Roman-Dutch Law, before the Ceylon Legislature introduced those modifications which have simplified these instruments, are to be met with. The “close” will, and the “joint” will of husband and wife, for instance, are of frequent occurrence. Not to multiply examples, and yet to give a fair idea of the wording and construction of a will generally, I have sought out an instance of a close will executed by a husband and wife jointly. It is somewhat under the average length of the wills to be generally met with, not being encumbered with codicils and bequests; but as it combines the close will and the joint will, it may well serve my purpose without any further examples:—

“This 14th day of May in the year 1755, appeared before me, Joan Hermanus Ducam, Sworn Clerk of the Political Secretariat, in the presence of the hereinafter mentioned

* See page 60.

† See page 19.

witnesses, Anna Maria van der Linden,* widow of the Upper Merchant and Dessave Pieter Elders Schuttrup, Esquire,† who placed in my hands a sealed packet bearing eight seals, all intact and unbroken, and on one side of which there appeared the following writing :—

‘ This 31st October of the year 1750, appeared before me Abraham Samlandt,‡ Sworn Clerk of the Political Secretariat, in the presence of the hereinafter named witnesses, Pieter Elders Schuttrup, Esquire, of Amsterdam, Provisional Hoofd Administrateur of this Government, and Anna Maria van der Linden of Batavia, husband and wife, well known to me the First Sworn Clerk and to the witnesses, both of them in sound bodily health, and having the full power and use of their memory, sense, and judgment, so far as our external observation enabled us to perceive, and nothing contrary presented itself to our senses, who presenting this closed document bearing four seals, viz., two of the appearer and two of the lady his wife, all intact and unbroken, required that I, the said First Sworn Clerk, and each of the witnesses should likewise set our seals thereto, viz., two seals of me the First Sworn Clerk and one each of the witnesses, which having been done, Their Honours declared that therein were contained their last Will and Testament, their intentions and desires, prepared and signed by them, and set down in writing by a faithful third hand, willing and desiring that the same shall have validity and effect after their deaths, whether as testament, codicil, gift *mortis causa*, or any other expression of last will, as may be best

* This lady died at Galle on 7th October, 1764, and was buried inside the Dutch Church, where her tombstone may be seen, close to that of her daughter Maria Cornelia Schuttrup, the wife of Commandeur Arnoldus de Ly.

† See note on page 18.

‡ Abraham Samlandt (also Samlant in some places) was afterwards Commandeur of Galle, where he died on 3rd May, 1766. He was born at Colombo on 12th April, 1713, and was the son of Barent Samlandt, Onderkoopman at Colombo, and the grandson of Barent Barentsz Samlant of Haarlem, who was a *Vryburger* at Colombo. Commandeur Samlant was buried in the old cemetery within the Galle Fort, where a large monument stood over his grave up to the year 1853, when the tombs were all demolished and the bodies removed from the cemetery to the church. An elaborately emblazoned wall tablet (*wapenkasse*) with heraldic and other insignia has been put up to his memory in the church. It is the finest specimen of its kind to be seen in Ceylon. Samlant had a son Abraham Samlant, who was Koopman and Negotie Boekhouder at Colombo at the date of the capitulation in 1796, and a daughter Agnita Clara, who married Willem Jacob van de Graaf, afterward^s Governor of Ceylon.

interpreted by the law ; although any further solemnities required by law have been omitted, which if so be the case, the appearers desire that all judges and courts interpreting the same may hold to be inferred therein.

‘ And whereas the appearers have by the said Last Will excluded from its operation the Board of Managers of the Orphans’ Chamber, the Curator *ad litem*, and all other judi- ciaries, it is distinctly intended and desired by the said appearers that such their intention may be thus disclosed by this superscription, in order that the opening of the Will and the formalities of reading the same may be avoided.

‘ The appearers also declare to have entrusted the execu- tion of this Will, the one to the other of themselves, and the opening of these presents shall be by him or her performed before such authority as is required by the law.

‘ Thus done and passed in the Castle of Colombo in the residing house of the appearers, in the presence of Isaac Adrianus Raket and Johannes Engelbregt, clerks, as witnesses.

‘ PR. ES. SCHUTTRUP.

‘ ANNA MARIA SCHUTTRUP (*née* VAN DER LINDEN).

‘ Attested by me :

AM. SAMLANT.

‘ In our presence :

IC. AS. RAKET.

JS. ENGELBREGT.’

“ Which aforesaid document, intact and unbroken, the lady appearer requested that I, the Sworn Clerk, should open. This then being done, in her presence, and in that of the under-mentioned witnesses, there was found therein a paper writing closely written on three sides of the sheet containing, word for word, as follows :—

‘ In the name of the Lord, Amen. By the contents of the present close Testament be it known to one and all whom it may concern, that we the undersigned Pieter Elders Schuttrup, Upper Merchant and Hoofd Administrateur- elect of the Ceylon Government, and Anna Maria van der Linden, his wife, residing here, not wishing to depart this mortal life without first disposing of to our satisfaction our temporal goods, being at the same time sensible of the weak- ness and frailty of human life on this earth, which is as a fleeting shadow, and that there is nothing more certain than death, yet nothing more uncertain than the time

and the hour thereof ; moreover, while yet we by the blessing of the Almighty Lord have the use of our understanding, sense, and memory, on this 31st day of October, 1750, of our own free will, without any inducement or persuasion thereto from any one in the world, are resolved (after first committing our immortal souls into the gracious and merciful hands of Almighty God our Creator and Saviour and our perishing bodies into the bosom of the earth) to revoke and annul by this instrument generally all previous testaments, codicils, or any other description of last will, which we, the undersigned, both together or each separately, have before this, in writing or by word of mouth, executed, notwithstanding the *clause derogatoire* by which it may have been provided, willing and desiring that the same shall be of no weight or effect ; and coming now to make by these presents a new disposition of our goods, we the undersigned testator and testatrix declare that the first dying of us do appoint the survivor to be the sole and universal heir of all our goods, movable and immovable, present and future, acts and credits, gold, silver, and jewels, male and female slaves, nothing excepted, which the first dying shall relinquish and leave behind, to do therewith and to treat the same as his or her own good, free, and lawful property ; nevertheless that the survivor shall be bound, honourably and according to their state in life to maintain and bring up the child or children which the first dying shall at the date of his or her death leave behind, like as a faithful father or mother is in duty bound to do, up till such time as the child or children shall attain the age of twenty-five years, shall marry or otherwise gain their majority, when the survivor shall be bound to give to the said child or children for their paternal or maternal share a sum of two thousand rix-dollars of forty-eight stivers each, instead of the legitimate portion, which they by law would be entitled to, which the first-dying declares not to have hereby reduced but to have richly enhanced.

‘And in the event of me the testator and first signatory hereof happening to depart this life without leaving any child or children, then I desire that the afore-named sum of two thousand rix-dollars may in the same way as a legitimate portion go to and devolve on my mother Cornelia Elders, widow of Mr. Abraham Schuttrup, at present residing at Alkmaar, with full right and title as aforesaid.

‘The first dying of us further appoints the survivor as executor or executrix of this testament besides guardian of

his or her child or children under age, granting to the same such power and authority as executors and guardians are granted by law and specially the rights of *assumption*, *substitution*, and *surrogation*, and free from the authority of the Managers of the Orphans' Chamber and Curator *ad litem* of this place or of whatever place at which the first dying shall come to depart this life, in acknowledgment nevertheless to these authorities of their unavailed of services in this behalf.

'I, the testator and first signatory hereof, do further request, elect, and appoint the Right Honourable the Directors of the Chartered East India Company for the Chamber Amsterdam, whence I came out, to be Executor in regard to the salary, pay, or monthly allowance standing to my credit or due to me at the date of my death, praying that the same may be paid over to such person as shall be rightly entitled thereto.

'All the foregoing we the undersigned testator and testatrix declare to be our Last Will and Testament, which we by a faithful third hand have caused to be put down in writing, willing and desiring that after the death of the first dying of us the same shall stand of full force and effect whether as Testament, Codicil, *Donatio mortis causa*, or as it may otherwise be best interpreted, notwithstanding any omission.

' PR. ES. SCHUTTRUP.

' ANNA MARIA SCHUTTRUP (*née* VAN DER LINDEN).

'The foregoing was set down in writing at the request of the testator and testatrix by me :

J. P. DE MOOR,

on the 31st October, 1750, at the house of the testator and testatrix.'

"Thus done, opened, and disclosed in the Castle of Colombo, on the day, month, and year afore-written in the presence of Lodewyk Hoepels and Joan Pieter Simon Cadenski, clerks, as witnesses.

" ANNA MARIA VAN DER LINDEN.

" WIDOW SCHUTTRUP.

" Which I attest :

" JN. HS. DUCAM.

" In the presence of :

" LODK. HOEPELS.

" JN. PR. SN. CADENSKI."

The following may be taken as a specimen of an ordinary Slave Transfer (*Slaaf-Brief*) :—

“ This 26th September of the year 1749, appeared before me Abraham Samlant, First Sworn Clerk of the Political Secretariat, in the presence of the hereinafter named witnesses, the Warehouse Keeper-elect of Trincomalie, Jan Christiaan Pietersz, who acknowledged and declared to have sold and transferred, as is done by these presents, the slave lad named *September* (the legality of the appearer’s ownership being proved to me the First Sworn Clerk by production before me this day of a Secretarial Certificate) to and for the behoof of the Chitty and resident here Joan Fernando, for the sum of forty rix-dollars (at 48 stivers each), which the appearer acknowledges to have been paid in full, the last penny with the first, &c.

“ Thus passed,

“ AM SAMLANT.

“ In the presence of :

“ JN. HS. DUCAM.

“ GT. JN. DE MOOR.”

The following is a deposition in support of the lawful property in a slave :—

“ This 27th March of the year 1782, appeared before me Benjamin Pieter Cornelis de Haart, Sworn Clerk of the Political Secretariat, in the presence of the hereinafter named witnesses :

“ Frans Moden, aged 35 years, Roman Catholic, and Kanden Moden, aged 35 years, Heathen, both Nalluas and residents of Jaffnapatam, who at the request of Johanna Philipina Hendel, widow of the late Cadet of the Artillery Gerrit Engelbert Vos, certify and declare that of the children named Eliza, Frans, and Joseph, the two first were borne by the slave maid Regina, and the last by the maid Ragel, that they, the deponents, could bear witness to this, because they had constantly frequented the houses of the Artillery Officer* Thomas Nagel and of the applicant, where these children were born, and that they had thus been well acquainted with their mothers.

“ The deponents declare this testimony which they offer to be the entire truth by reason of their having acquired the

* This is a very free translation of “ Vuurwerker,” which denoted a rank in the Artillery.

knowledge of the facts in the manner aforesaid, and they are moreover prepared, if required, to substantiate the same upon oath.

“ Thus done, &c.”

The following is an affidavit put in in an ordinary business transaction :—

“ This 29th March, 1783, appeared before me Benjamin Pieter Cornelis de Haart, Sworn Clerk of the Political Secretariat, in the presence of the hereinafter named witnesses :

Weddig Beutman, Boekhouder of this place, aged 54 years, and

Johannes Bloem, Burgher, aged 38 years, both of the Lutheran faith,

who, at the request of the Boekhouder and Commissary of the Arekanut Department here, Daniel Gerrardus Kersse, certify and declare that, at the request of the petitioner the said Daniel Gerrardus Kersse, they visited the Company's Store with the knowledge of the *Dispencier* Samuel Tavel, and examined 8 pipes of arrack which the petitioner had purchased from the said Mr. Tavel as Batavian arrack ; of these, 3 pipes, which they tested, were found from the smell and the taste to be two-thirds Ceylon arrack.

“ And the deponents, &c.”

The three foregoing examples may give an idea of the form of most of these instruments, but the variety in substance is so great that I must refrain from adding to the number of examples.

(7) *Landraad Proceedings and Minutes.*

The Landraad papers are contained in 33 volumes and are of various descriptions. Not much judgment appears to have been exercised in the binding of these papers, as each volume, as a rule, contains a miscellaneous assortment of documents, viz., petitions, copies of deeds, extracts from court rolls, depositions, interrogatories, &c. The Landraad, as already explained, was a court which dealt principally with the affairs of the native inhabitants, and foremost of these came disputes relating to land. I find it difficult, without encumbering this report with a long array of extracts, to illustrate from the records the usual procedure in these courts, or to explain its powers and jurisdiction. The court was a collective one composed of about ten members, including the Dissave, who was its president. These members were generally laymen

without much pretension to a knowledge of law or practice ; but it was usually arranged for at least one professional man to be on its board. This member was sometimes the officer who held the post of Fiscal ; but it often happened that the Dissave himself was a qualified lawyer with a law degree from one of the Universities. In the ordinary course of business an action began with the presentation to the court of a *Rekwest* or petition. The court then issued a citation on the party complained against, and a returnable day was fixed. Perhaps the following extract, which I take haphazard from a court roll, will best show how the action then proceeded :

“ Saturday, the 10th August of the year 1771.

“ *Present*: The Honourable the Dessave Godfried Leonhard de Coste, president ; and the members, Jan Jansz Wynroos, Baltus van Lier, Johannes Franciscus Gratiaen, Hendrik Joan Hesse, the Maha Modliaar of the Gate Don Simon de Silva, and the Modliaar of the Attepattoe Domingo de Sarram.

“ *Absent*: The Fiscal Jan Hendrik Borwater, *vice* president.

“ Anthonie de Zoisa, late Mohandiram of the Fishers, and Soese Fernando, Rural Commissioner, both residing at Negombo, plaintiffs in the matter of a claim *contra* Joan de Croes, arrack renter of Negombo, defendant in the same cause.

“ The plaintiffs claim a hearing in respect of their lawful property in the garden Doewewatte, situate in the village of Oedeatope, in the District of Negombo, as set forth in their plaint.

“ The plaintiffs are present and pray, in the absence of the defendant, that a second citation may issue against him and that he may be adjudged in default in respect of the first.

“ The defendant absent.

“ The court orders, in terms of plaintiff’s motion, that a second citation do issue against the defendant, and the defendant is condemned in the ordinary fine for the first default.”

Following up the particular case I have cited, on the 31st August, 1771, the court takes up the further inquiry into the complaint. The defendant is now present, and, to purge his first default, pays into court the costs thereof and prays that he may be heard in defence. The plaintiffs, who are personally absent, are now represented by the Chitty Juan de Silva Wijenayeger, who presents a proxy from them and prays that the plaintiff’s case as set forth in the *dictum van eysch* or claim, which he hands in, may be read and considered. The

defendant applies for a copy of the plaintiffs' *dictum* and moves for 14 days' time to answer. On the 21st September following the case again appears on the roll, and the defendant presents his *dictum van antwoord* or answer. This is followed by a motion from the plaintiffs for a further 14 days' time, and when that expires, their *dictum van duplicq*, or rejoinder, is presented into court. In this way the proceedings are somewhat protracted till, at length, the actual hearing or consideration of the case takes place. The evidence is recorded in the form of question and answer in parallel columns. They are called "interrogatories" and "counter interrogatories." Exhibits of deeds and other papers are put in, and the court finally gives its judgment. A decree of court was often followed up by the execution of a deed attested by two members of the court as *schepenen*.*

(8) *Papers on Educational Matters.*

There are only 9 volumes which could be separately classified under this head, and they all relate to the schools in the Galle and Matara Districts. With one exception, they are all Inspection Reports furnished to Government by the School Boards. The other is a special report submitted to Governor Vuyst by two clergymen of Colombo commissioned to report upon the native churches and schools in the Galle and Matara Districts. The absence of any similar records relating to the Colombo District is, I think, partly explained by the fact that as the School Boards were generally presided over by one of the clergymen, and were in a manner associated with the Ecclesiastical Establishment, the Church Consistory had been given the custody of the records for reference and guidance. I have indeed met with some of these reports among the records both of the Colombo as well as of the Galle Consistory when casually looking over papers. This does not, however, explain the absence of at least an office copy in the Government Archives.

The *Scholarchen*, or the School Board referred to, consisted, in Colombo, of the Dissave, the Clergy, and three or four members of the Political Service specially nominated by the Governor. Each of the Commandements of Jaffna and Galle had a similar board composed of local officials of corresponding position. Periodical visits were made by deputations from the *Scholarchen* to the schools and churches in the rural villages, one member of the deputation being always a

* See note on page 19.

clergyman. On these visits the schools were inspected, church services held, children baptized, and couples married. An extract or two from the reports would, I think, give a clearer idea of the manner in which these functionaries set about their work. The following is an entry from a report of the year 1718; it represents a day's work:—

“ 15 Feb., 1718. Inderoewe.

36 boys know 7 prayers and 2 catechisms

17 „ „ 7 „ „ 1 catechism

7 „ „ 7 „ „

3 „ „ 5 „ „

6 „ „ 4 „ „

15 „ „ 3 „ „

—
84

84 boys brought forward

4 boys know 2 prayers

8 „ „ 1 prayer

—
96

7 discharged

—
89 boys

16 girls know 7 prayers and 2 catechisms

5 „ „ 7 „ „ 1 catechism

2 „ „ 5 „ „

6 „ „ 3 „ „

3 „ „ 2 „ „

—
32

10 discharged

—
22 girls

89 boys

} 21 children baptized

} 8 couples married

—
111 children

“ We found here, as regards the progress of the children and the teaching, both on the part of the master as well as his assistant, a very satisfactory advance, as may be seen from their fair answering to the questions proposed by us both in the two catechisms and in the Christian prayers. We have, however, to state, as a separate matter, that the

Assistant Teacher of this school desires to exchange with the Assistant Teacher of Bentota and the Assistant Teacher of Bentota with that of Inderoewe, on the ground of convenience of residence, which requests of theirs have been submitted to this Board."

I give also a few extracts, taken at random, from a later report (1760) :—

" *Matara High School.*—Matters go on here in the usual way, both as regards discipline and instruction of children; but as this school has come to be called the "Appoehamy's School," we find, so to say, no children of the gentry of the land, but it is composed mostly of those of the low castes. These, however, appear to have been well taught."

" *Matara Elementary School.*—This we found, although just by the fortress, and therefore under the eye of the Dessave, very poorly supplied with scholars in proportion to the number of Christians residing in the neighbourhood. It is a pity that the parents are not more diligent in sending their children to school, as the master of the school is full of zeal in the service, which one may see from the manner in which those who have been sent to school have been taught. The parents seem, however, to be quite unappreciative."

* * * * *

" *Belligam.*—A somewhat large village, but having few school children and but a small community of Christians. We found, however, that the children had been well taught, being able to readily answer the questions put to them, to pray intelligently, and to be fairly well up in writing."

" *Galle : The City School* is presided over by the *Krank-zoeker* Pieter Strigt, a man of great ability in this work, who in the most excellent manner trains the children (who attend at his house in great numbers) in all the necessary branches of education."

" *The Orphan House School* is served by the Schoolmaster and Sexton Willem de Jong, who instructs, not only the orphans in the house, but some who come from outside. And he also prepares those of mature age for church membership."

* * * * *

" *The Matara Dutch Congregation* consists of 33 Dutch and 19 Sinhalese members. The Church services are

conducted there by the *Voorlezer** Simon Kesselaar, who, on account of a lingering disease has not the ability to look after the duties both of the Church and the School in a proper manner. The residents are therefore anxious to find another schoolmaster for their children."

(9) *Correspondence.*

This composes by far the largest section of the general records. All the letters may be classified as follows:—

Letters to and from Batavia, 322 volumes; letters to and from Holland and the Cape of Good Hope, 220 volumes; letters to and from Jaffna, 108 volumes; letters to and from Galle, 48 volumes; † letters between Colombo and minor outstations, 385 volumes; letters to and from Indian stations, 400 volumes.

It is difficult, from the abundance and the diversity of the material here, to clearly indicate the nature of the contents of all these volumes. The Dutch East India Company being, of course, mainly interested in trade and commerce, these matters occupied the most prominent place in the communications between its centres of operation. But the promotion of trade demanded attention to a diversity of other matters. A well organized Government had to be established and maintained, which called for statesmanship and legislation; the resources of the country had to be put under contribution, for which various agencies were to be brought into being. Thus agriculture and industries received considerable attention. But the Company, while it had its mercenary aims like other commercial organizations, had a strong sense, so to say, of its moral responsibilities as well. To convert the "benighted native" to the "true reformed religion" was an object which lay very near its heart. With this view, schools and churches were maintained in remote villages, and were regularly visited by the School Boards. All these matters, which I have indicated, and others resulting from or dependent upon them, are therefore largely dealt with in the correspondence. The letters from Batavia, the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company, and those from Holland and the Cape of

* This was a lay officer in the church, who usually read out portions of the Bible from a seat under or near the pulpit.

† The comparatively small number of these letters here is more than made up for by an almost complete series of the letters between Galle and Colombo, which has been preserved in the Records of the Galle Commandements.

Good Hope, are the most voluminous in form. In some instances these letters are of such length as to make up an entire volume. Those from Batavia were all addressed to the Governor and the Council of Ceylon and were signed by the Governor-General and the Members of the Council of India. In the same way the letters from Colombo were signed by the Governor and the Members of his Council. The letters from Holland were either addressed direct to the Ceylon Government by the several Chambers in Holland, or were extracts containing instructions relating to Ceylon, embodied in letters received in the first instance at Batavia, and forwarded thence for the information and guidance of the Governor and Council of this Island. All those on matters of state policy and those relating to administration were addressed by the Directors to the Governor-General and Council of India, and these letters generally embraced communications to all the various governments and factories of the Company in the Indian seas. The Council of India then forwarded certified extracts of the relevant passages to each of the sub-governments. The letters addressed direct to the Government of Ceylon were of a purely commercial nature, and were generally much shorter than the others.

A selection of examples from such a large store is not by any means an easy task ; but, as I would wish to continue the plan I have adopted of giving an idea of each class of the records by illustrative extracts, I would here, first of all, produce a passage from an early letter received from Holland relating to agriculture. It is dated 20th November, 1667 :—

“ We consider the promotion of agriculture to be a good object and calculated to bring about great tranquillity ; but on the other hand, as Ceylon would then require little rice from outside, this would act prejudicially against our elephant trade ; because the Bengal and Coromandel traders, who transport their rice here in the hope of conveying back in their vessels the elephants which they purchase, would be induced to drop their traffic in elephants, and the Company, which has derived so much profit from this source, would be compelled to transport the animals to the opposite coast in their own or in hired vessels, an undertaking which experience has shown us to be hazardous.

* * * * *

“ We see also in this the reason why the Portuguese in their later years had given so little attention to this cultivation. Whatever, therefore, Your Honours may urge in this behalf, we are of opinion that the matter ought to lie over, at least in the present juncture, when we are so

much in need of funds and the elephant trade is such a fruitful source of income."

The next extract is from a letter from Batavia. It is a year later in date, viz., 7th October, 1668, and treats of the same subject. It will serve, I think, to show what further views the Company had on the subject of rice cultivation at this early period of their rule :—

" We read with satisfaction of the great zeal and diligence shown in the promotion of agriculture in the District of Galle and its neighbourhood ; that jungles and hills have been cleared, and several dykes and canals constructed for the conveyance and retention of the rain water ; and that many plots of land have been prepared for the reception of no less than 300 lasts of seed. And as, with a view to encourage those interested in this work to yet greater zeal, Your Excellency has somewhat liberally presented the Commandeur Adriaan Roothaes and the Dessave Ryckloff van Goens, Junior, and their subordinates with a reward of 800 rix-dollars, mostly in cash, we will pass the expenditure this time as being money well spent. May God grant no less mercy and blessing over this work than his loving kindness has hitherto conferred on us, in having even blessed the Sinhalese so far, that, instead of *natcherie* and other poor food they had been used to, they are now able to obtain rice. Last year we expressed our great satisfaction at this prosperity, but, as the control of so many diverse affairs was calculated to be a source of trouble to the Government, Your Excellency was asked to consider whether it would be advisable for the Company to concern itself to such an extent as now with the promotion of agriculture, as it involved the adoption of measures for the prevention of fraud and the consequent loss which the Company might be subject to ; and you were asked especially if this work would not be more suited to private enterprise, which would find its reward in better prices. With this view Your Excellency almost entirely agreed in your letter of 8th November, as may be seen from the following words : ' As regards Your Excellencies' intention to give over this work to private enterprise, we must admit that this plan is in accordance with our views and inclination, but we think the work ought to be continued a little longer by the Company to be then taken up by private persons, which we think could be very well done not only in Galle, but also in Colombo, now that the deficits in the accounts have been cleared off.' It was by no means our intention that this work as carried on at present should be

suddenly abandoned, as Your Excellency seems to infer in your letter of 25th January to the Directors at Home, but that this should be done gradually and in the most feasible manner, so that the Company may be relieved of the burden as much as possible."

I will now give an extract from a letter, dated 24th September, 1745, in which the Government of Batavia lays down clearly its policy as regards the alienation of Crown lands in Ceylon :—

"The *paravenis*, although there may be some in Ceylon based on ancient titles, consist yet for the most part of lands sold or alienated by the Company. It is clear that among these there is necessity here and there for retrenchment on the ground of irregularity in the transfer. The case may be mentioned of that in the village Bommerie, where the sale took place notwithstanding that in the year 1740 positive orders had been issued from here totally forbidding any alienations on such footing. It is therefore *eo facto* ineffective and illegal, and the land must be recovered by the Company. All other lands sold or alienated since the order in question was received in Ceylon must in like manner be taken back. So also must all the mistakes previous to that be remedied in a suitable way. As these alienations were not all of the same effect or of equal prejudice to the Company, we consider it desirable to make the following order regarding them : All illegal alienations, viz., those made without sufficient reason on the ground that they were granted as compensation for services rendered, under the name of *paravenis* and exempt from the payment of any imposts, shall, after the death of the present lawful possessor, be subject to the payment of the full impost (with arrears?), whether it be *ande* or *ottu*, from those who shall then acquire its possession, by succeeding to the possession by inheritance. In the same manner are to be treated all illegal gifts, but without the usual impost. In this case the impost will be paid thereafter by the first who shall succeed to the possession after that. But lands legally purchased, viz., those for which deeds of sale have been obtained by those who had first acquired the property, where the Company had been misled by wrong appraisement by those who claimed to have rendered past services to the State, shall be taxed against the first who shall succeed to the property after this, but the payment will be recoverable from the next successor. If, however, there be any sales which have been made after proper appraisement, for which the full price has been paid,

where the transaction is perfectly lawful and above any suspicion, and the holder of the property is therefore justly entitled to continue in possession, it would be unfair to disturb him in the same. We believe, however, that there would be found few who come under this description.

“ It gives us pleasure to learn that the accommodessans in the possession of those who have deceased have been taken back, and by leasing out been turned to the profit of the Company, also that you have passed a regulation regarding the higher and lower orders of native officers, which, having considered, we fully approve with the earnest hope that the terms thereof would be rigidly observed; to this end there must also be specified in it the share in morgens* and roods which each is to enjoy. ”

War had broken out between King Kirtisri Raja Singa and the Dutch in 1763. The following letter from the Directors of the Dutch East India Company to the Government of India discusses, among other subjects, the prospects of this war, and reveals several facts bearing upon its early stages, which I am sure will be found interesting :—

“ The Company’s authorities (in Ceylon) informed us by three separate letters, of 12th November, 1763, and 25th January, 1764, that the Court of Kandy continued persistently to refuse to give up to the Company the lands and places which it had retaken during the war, or to make any concession to the Company, by which its establishment in this Island could, for the future, be placed in a settled and more secure position. We understand further from these advices, that the Governor and the Members of the Secret Council, having in vain tried to put an end to hostilities by friendly negotiations, had decided to push forward their war operations as vigorously as possible, and to march with the army on Kandy, being, in their opinion, the only means by which the wished for peace could be secured and any profitable result obtained. It was, therefore, with great anxiety we awaited the later report of this Government (Ceylon), which, having at length received, we are much concerned regarding the unfavourable result of the proposed undertaking. We learn, not only that the vanguard which had marched over the hills under command of Captain Tournay had been compelled by the Kandyans to retreat the same way, but that the whole army had been obliged to retrace its steps. We are the more grieved about this unfortunate result, because, in addition to

* A Dutch morgen was exactly equal to 2·1165402 acres.

the unexpected and unavoidable rains which poured down heavily, other disastrous circumstances appear to have combined together to miscarry this expedition. We consider such an expedition to be attended by risks which cannot always be foreseen ; but that, in a land where the roads are in many places inaccessible, the progress of an army is greatly impeded, and the transport of provision could only be effected on the backs of men. It is indeed principally in view of all this that, in our letter of 10th October, 1764, we had already deprecated the carrying out of the projected expedition. We regret to find by the issue that our objections were by no means groundless.

“ It was desirable, therefore, that the required ammunition and the transport of the baggage and other necessaries had been provided for in time, or, if this could not be done for want of the things required, the expedition should not have been undertaken. It must, at the same time, be borne in mind that this mishap would tend to make the Court of Kandy more intractable than ever, and that the King’s troops would be not a little encouraged thereby.

“ Not to repeat the errors of the past, we wish, as the authorities have decided to undertake a further expedition, that all the measures which Governor van Eck proposed to take be first completed, in order to prevent, as far as possible, the difficulties and obstacles which caused the first expedition to fail. It gives us pleasure to note that Your Honours have done your best to aid him in this by forwarding such things as were required. We therefore indulge the hope that, though contrary to our wishes it was not possible to conclude peace, and the projected expedition could not be avoided, that it will at least realize the desired object. Our hearty wish is that God will be pleased to bless the arms of the Company, and that Governor van Eck may be brought to the position of being able to make peace on favourable terms. This it appears would be the case if the result of the second expedition be successful ; the more so, as the Court had already, before the date of the expedition, seemed disposed, if not desirous, to settle the disputes which had arisen and was about to enter into negotiations regarding them.

“ It is, in the meantime, some satisfaction to us that the attempt of the Kandyans to drive the Company’s troops out of the conquered lands proved futile, and that the Company is still in the occupation of these lands.

* * * * *

“ With regard to the subject of religion, we have learnt with regret of the increase in the number of Roman Catholics,

and it has given us pleasure to find that Governor van Eck has taken measures, so far as the present state of affairs permitted, to effectually prevent this ; and we recommend the civil authorities and all others to whom the supervision of this exalted service is entrusted to oppose to the best of their ability the further encroachments of the Roman sect.

“ It has also given us particular pleasure to learn that, since the occupation of Putulang and Chilauw by the active cruisers, smuggling has so far decreased that no further reports of it have been received. And it gives us pleasure to see that you have furnished the authorities there with the necessary vessels, which we are confident they have already put to good service.

“ With regard to concessions granted to foreign ships, we have, by previous letters and orders, on the 29th April of last year, expressed our views thereon, and we refer to them particularly here, because the arrival of 44 ships in the year 1762-3 is certainly a matter for solicitude. We can hardly pass without comment the permission granted to various traders to dispose of their merchandise, such as coffee, sugar, Chinese stuffs, and other goods ; because by such concession foreigners are more and more attracted to this Island.

“ As we cannot suffer this to go on we order the authorities to strictly obey the orders contained on this subject in the Placaat of the 29th March, 1754, whereby no foreign nation or traders are to be permitted to dispose of their wares in the Island, except alone rice, which they bring from Coromandel and Bengal, and which is required in the Island.”

The following extracts from a long letter addressed by Governor Falck to the Governor-General and the Council of India at Batavia, on the 26th January, 1772, treats generally of land, but bears reference chiefly to the cultivation of cinnamon. It was this Governor who commenced the growing of cinnamon in the Company's lands. Previous to that the “ precious bark ” had to be mainly obtained from the King of Kandy's dominions.

“ In the Colombo Dessavony the revision of the Hoofd and Land Thomboz has been completed. In the Galle Korle are entered 1,381 families, 298 gardens, and 190 sowing fields, and we hope that this work would also be speedily completed. In the Matura Dessavony have been entered 990 families, 499 gardens, and 277 sowing fields. In order to prevent a suspension of this work we authorized the officials at Matura to take in hand the Thombus of the Gravets during the time the mayoraals of the Giriway were required

in the country for the gathering of the *neli*. However, to further the compilation of the Thombos of the Galle Corle and the Matura Dessavony, we ordered, on the 2nd July last, the Galle and Matura Thombo Commissioners to describe all lands to which there were any disputes under the name of the present occupant, with a note to the effect that these lands were in dispute. This would save much time and the record of many disputes would be avoided, which, especially in the Matura Dessavony, where at the surrender of Matura the old Thombo was lost,* demand a prolonged investigation, and at the same time would suspend the recording of lands to which there are no disputes. And since, as we have often stated, at Matura, all the old papers have been lost, the papers relating to the Matura lands which were in the Secretariat here have been sent to Matura in order that perhaps out of them the present Commissioners may obtain some light.

“ We have, we believe, good grounds for supposing that cinnamon may be easily grown by the labour of the people here. Many lands are found where little or no cinnamon grows, although, so far as may be judged externally, they are in the same condition, and situated under the same circumstances, as the richest cinnamon plots. It is not improbable that the difference lies in the fact that these grounds have less opportunity for receiving the cinnamon seed than grounds whereon, by their neighbourhood to old cinnamon trees, the cinnamon kernels are either carried by the birds or blown by the wind in falling.

“ To make sure of this, the first undersigned (the Governor), in the year 1769, set apart a piece of ground in the Marandahn of Colombo, fencing it to protect it from cattle, and there, under the supervision of the Dessave de Coste, caused a quantity of cinnamon seeds to be planted. It proved a great success. And according to a report, inserted in our Resolutions of the 19th March, 1771, by the late Cinnamon Captain De Cock, who visited this land about 21 months after it had been planted, there was found in it 1,750 young cinnamon plants of various sizes, according as the plants were more or less in the shade, and thus protected from the heat of the sun. They were most of them growing luxuriantly. And according to the said report,

* There appears to have always been a strange fatality attending the Matara land registers. What the Dutch Governor states here in reference to the Portuguese (?) records will be found to be similar to the complaint of the British authorities when they took over the Government in 1796. See page pp. 5, 6.

there was reason to expect that within four or five years it would be possible to have a peeling.

“ This experiment having clearly proved that the matter is a thoroughly practicable one, we have often let our thoughts dwell on the means of increasing the quantity of cinnamon in this way. However, not to precipitate matters, by which often the best objects are defeated, and in order to lead the indolent Sinhalese step by step, without wearying them, we have only made a beginning of the cultivation of cinnamon on a few pieces of ground in each Korle. The measures we have adopted with this object appear stated in our Resolutions of the 19th March and 26th April.

“ All the Modliars, Korales, and Mohandirams, both in the Colombo Dessavony, as well as in the Galle Korle, and the Dessavony of Matura, have been ordered, each in his district, to plant with cinnamon seeds a piece of ground such as would be found best suited for the purpose, under the advice of an expert of the Chalia people—at least twenty seeds to the square fathom of ground. And the headmen have, at the same time, been recommended, each in his district, to pay the same attention to the culture, and to this end, not only to properly protect the said land all round, but also, where necessary, in the dry season, to have it watered till the young plants have sufficiently matured not to need this attention any further.

“ The said headmen have also been warned that, at the expiration of a year, an investigation will be made by a Special Commissioner, as to what each has effected in regard to this order, and those who may be found to have neglected the work will be removed from office and further punished according to their deserts; but that, on the other hand, a gold medal and chain and a silver falchion, or such like token, will be presented to the one who shall show the largest number of cinnamon plants in his enclosure.

“ The Land Regents have been ordered, each in his Province, to see to these directions being carried out, and, in the first instance, to inform us of all native headmen who have been neglectful herein, in order that, after an inquiry into the matter, they may be punished. The Dessaves of Colombo and Matura and the Superintendent of the Galle Korle have been directed to make in their Annual Compendium a particular report of the state of the lands which, in pursuance of the foregoing instructions, have been planted with cinnamon seed.

" Lastly, the Cinnamon Captain* has been directed to carefully inform himself how far the design has been carried out, and yearly, after the gathering in of the total produce, to submit a written report thereof.

" In the Colombo Dessavony, with a view to fully carry out this design, the Dessave De Coste has submitted a report, which will be found incorporated in our Resolutions of the 23rd August, 1771, of those gardens which the inhabitants of the Colombo Dessavony have agreed to clear and those which they have not.

" Oftentimes have the inhabitants of the Colombo Dessavony complained against the prohibition to clear their gardens, and the inhabitants of the Salpiti Korle and the Vidany of Pantura, especially last year, repeated this complaint with great urgency, as they have not been able now for many years to clear their *paraveni* and other gardens. and these have therefore grown wild and give them little or no profit. In order to prove the grounds of this complaint, the Dessave De Coste, by a special Commission composed of Chalias and Korle people, caused an inquiry to be made into the matter, and thereupon submitted a report which shows what gardens the inhabitants of the Salpiti Korle and Pantura desire to clear, what gardens have been accorded to the villagers for their services under the name of *paravenis* and *accommodessans*. and which of them are possessed by right of deeds of sale or gift or by inheritance, as well as how many cinnamon trees are at present to be found on each of them.

" This report was submitted to our Council on the 2nd April, and, while it has made clear to us the grounds on which the inhabitants request to clear their lands, it has come specially under our notice, with regard to the gardens which the inhabitants occupy under the name of *paravenis* or *accommodessans*, that, according to the custom of the country, the holders thereof must be provided with lands for their subsistence without any impost thereon. Now the prohibition to clear their gardens must be reckoned as such an impost, and this is the most exacting in the time of fruit plucking, which is thereby hindered.

" Then, as regards the gardens which the natives own by deeds of gift or sale as well as by inheritance, and for which valid title deeds have been granted, or which may be

* Also called the " Captain of the Mahabaddé." It was an office usually associated with that of the Dissave of Colombo and with the Superintendent of the Korle at Galle.

granted in terms of our Resolution of 4th August, 1758, it is unreasonable that the people should hold them under a servitude which would in a short time make these lands useless to the owners.

“ Now, as the liberty to clear the aforesaid gardens could be given under necessary restrictions, without the interests of the Company in respect of the cinnamon being affected, and, as the aforesaid report states, in respect of the gardens which have not been cleared for many years, in which of them cinnamon is found growing wild, and the number of trees to be found in each, we have, on the day aforesaid, authorized the Colombo Landraad, in terms of the list submitted with the said report, to grant permission to the villagers who shall apply therefor, to clear all service *paraveni* and *accommodessan* gardens which they possess for their services, and also at the same time all gardens for which title deeds have already been granted or are to be granted, with the express warning that the owners or users of these lands shall take care that the cinnamon trees to be now found in each of these lands shall not be thereby damaged, but, on the contrary, that their number shall be as much as possible increased, and that they shall be bound to give notice thereof at all times on pain of such punishment for the destruction of cinnamon trees as has been provided for by successive Placaats.”

I will conclude these extracts with a letter addressed by the Land Regent of the Wannu, Captain Thomas Nagel, to Governor Van Angelbeek and the Council at Colombo (19th March, 1795). It has reference to the services which the Wannias of the lower castes had to perform, and will be found of quaint interest :—

“ I have to submit the following considerations on the points referred to me in regard to the best arrangements to be made for the performance by the inhabitants of the Wannu of extraordinary *oeli** service ; so that the burden may be equally borne by all.

“ In the report of the Commissioners this service is said to consist of—

1. The roofing of resthouses, lascoryn-mandoes, and the *neli* store for the preservation of provisions.
2. The maintaining of roads, so that they may not be overgrown with jungle or obstructed by trees pulled down by elephants.

* See note on page 60.

3. The providing and carrying of *choels* or lunt-torches for travellers at night, and the loan of beasts of burden for the transport of wagons.
4. The washing of linen for beds and chairs in the rest-houses for qualified officers when travelling.
5. The beating of *tambelyntjes* by Parreas from one province to another for qualified officers travelling on duty. Supplying firewood and water is not a duty performed by these people here, as the Commissioners seemed to think, and as perhaps it is done in Colombo and other districts.

“ As the arrangements for providing the required people for this extraordinary *oeli* service are left to the Provincial Modliaars and Mayoraals, so that each person is to do his share, it is probable that these chiefs would exempt from labour their own friends and relatives.

“ The poor, who thus have to do the whole of this work, could complain to me, but I suppose they abstain from doing so for fear of the chiefs who might retaliate on them on some future occasion. No complaints to this effect have been submitted.

“ The Adigaars in the outstations could do much against this practice by seeing that these duties are performed by each person in turn ; as they usually supervise the work.

“ But most of the Adigaars are very poor, and find it hard to maintain their wives and children on the small salary they receive from the Company, and they have no other source of income. A better class of men could not be expected to take up these posts, as those who have private means or are more efficient would prefer, if they could, not to serve in this wilderness.”

(10) *Transactions with the Kandyan Court.*

The papers on this subject, contained in 82 volumes, consist mainly of Reports and Diaries of Embassies and Correspondence. Among exceptional volumes may be mentioned the Treaty between the Dutch Admiral Adam Westerwold and Raja Sinha in 1638 ; the Diary of Dr. Danielsz' visit to Kandy in 1739 to cure the King of a certain disorder ; and an Account of the English Expedition under Hugh Boyd in 1781. To these I have to add a series of 21 original letters in Portuguese (unbound) addressed by King Raja Sinha to the Dutch (1644-60), which were recently returned to the Archives by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archæological Commissioner. They have

been translated and annotated by Mr. Donald Ferguson, and formed the subject of a paper read before the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 21st May, 1904. Translations of the reports of some of the Embassies made by the Dutch to the Kandyan Court have also been published from time to time. I would particularly refer to that of Bystervelt in 1671, of which a translation by Mr. F. H. de Vos appeared in vol. XI. of the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In view of this I have not considered it necessary to subjoin any illustrative extracts from the very copious collection of reports which are preserved. They vary of course in substance, but are very nearly alike in form ; and as my object in furnishing these extracts is merely to explain the form and character of the various records, it would be beyond my scope here to insert any of the accounts, however interesting, of the interviews between the servants of the Dutch East India Company and the Kandyan monarchs.

Although there appears to be much truth in the accusation which Knox brings against the Dutch of endeavouring to maintain peace with the Kandyan Court by undue " flatteries and submissions," we must, I think, bear in mind the peculiar circumstances of the time and the great disadvantages under which the Dutch were placed in the pursuit of their principal mission in Ceylon. While, therefore, by no means able to justify their attitude in this respect, we could hardly, I think, in common fairness, condemn their conduct as altogether reprehensible. Some of the ceremonies which policy compelled them to practise, no doubt against their own sentiments and good taste, because they pleased the Kandyans, strike us, it is true, at the present day as so much mummery and buffoonery ; but they seemed to have been compelled to this by the peculiar feelings and fancies both of the Kandyans themselves and of their own native subjects.

The following programme observed on the arrival at Colombo in December, 1761, of the letter and presents from the Governor-General to the Kandyan King, may be taken as an example :—

" Ceremonies to be observed on the reception of the letter and presents from the Right Honourable the Governor-General of Netherlands India, Petrus Albertus van der Parra, to His Majesty the King of Kandy, despatched on the 5th December, 1761, and brought here by the ship *Sparenryk* :

" 1. On the day on which the said letter and presents are brought ashore, being Wednesday, the 8th instant, all the ships and vessels lying in the harbour shall from sunrise till sunset fly their flags and pennons.

“ 2. On board the ship *Sparenryk* the letter shall be laid on a silver dish covered with gold brocade, and the case in which the presents are packed shall be covered with white linen.

“ 3. The Opperkoopman and Dessave Jan Bauert, accompanied by the Kooplieden, the Fiscal Wouter Rudolph van Senden, and Huibert Hoogerwaard shall proceed in a boat to the said vessel and there receive the letter and the presents.

“ 4. When the boat leaves the ship *Sparenryk*, 19 guns shall be fired from the said vessel, while the crew shall man the rigging and give three loud cheers.

“ 5. Then the rest of the ships shall follow, the Commander of the Harbour with 15 guns and the other vessels in succession with two less each according to rank.

“ 6. On the arrival of the boat at the usual pier, the letter and the presents shall be conveyed through a double rank of the soldiery and many triumphal arches to the western entrance of the Government House, accompanied by the following suite :—

A regiment of the native guard with their standard flying.

A kettle-drummer.

A trumpeter.

Twelve dragoons with their standard borne by a Lieutenant.

Thirty-six grenadiers with their standard borne by a Lieutenant and accompanied by martial music.

A little space where the washers are to go in front spreading linen on the ground where the Commissioners with the letter and the presents are to walk.

The letter, under a canopy held by four Appoehamies, and carried in a silver dish covered with gold brocade by the Dessave, on his head, in the midst of four persons holding lighted torches in their hands.

The Commissioners.

The presents.

A little space for the washers to take up the linen over which the letter and the presents were carried.

Thirty-six grenadiers under their officers.

Twelve dragoons under their officers.

A regiment of lascoryns of the Attepattoe.

“ 7. The letter shall, on its passage, be saluted by the military with their arms, ensigns, and drums.

"8. At the western gate* of Government House His Excellency the Governor, accompanied by the members of the Political Council, shall receive the letter at the hands of the Dessave and convey it to the Reception Room.

"9. Meanwhile the military shall assemble before Government House and discharge three volleys of musketry accompanied by three guns from the Ramparts and followed by 22 guns. Whereupon the ship *Sparenryk* shall fire 17 more guns, the Commander of the Harbour 15, and the other ships in order 2 less each.

"10. In the Reception Room the letter shall remain on the said dish, and covered by the gold brocade, in a chest specially set apart for the purpose, and shall, both day and night, be guarded by a dragoon and a lascoryn with drawn swords.—Colombo, 7th December, 1761."

The Embassies to Kandy were attended with considerable inconvenience and risk owing to the difficulty of travel and the unreliable character both of the King and of his courtiers. Whatever may be said against them, one cannot, I think, help admiring the courage and fortitude of the men who, from time to time, undertook this mission; as they were always doubtful when they would be allowed to return or even perhaps to return at all.† Besides the regular annual Embassies which conveyed the Letter of State to the King with the presents which were expected to gladden his heart, special Embassies were despatched on every occasion on which the King was to be congratulated on some felicitous event, or be condoled with on some loss or bereavement. In the year 1740 King Sri Wijaya Raja Sinha took to himself, as a second wife, a young

* The Dutch Governor's house, as is well known, was the present St. Peter's Church. The main building, viz., that which is now used as the church, has apparently been little altered; but it is clear from old engravings and ground plans of the premises, that portions from the sides have been removed and the sites built upon. The "western entrance" to Government House must have been the large archway which now leads to the General Treasury, and the low room occupied by the Treasury clerks was probably one of the original apartments.

† There are several wills extant, executed by some of the Ambassadors on the eve of their departure to Kandy, much in the same way as wills are still made by persons in anticipation of death or before undertaking a perilous voyage. Knox says: "There are several white ambassadors, besides other Chingulay people, by whom the Dutch have sent letters and presents to the King, whom he keeps from returning back again. They are all bestowed in several houses, with soldiers to guard them; and though they are not in chains, yet none is permitted to come to them or speak with them, it not being the custom of that land for any to come to the speech of ambassadors." *Historical Relation*, chap. XIII., p. 365 (Philalethes).

Princess of Madura. She had been conveyed thence by the Dutch in their ships, and afterwards a special Embassy of felicitation proceeded from Colombo with an array of presents, among them a Persian horse, which the King appears to have previously expressed a wish to have. The setting out of this Embassy is thus described in his Diary by the Ambassador, the Under Merchant Gustaaf Lodewyk van Liebeherr :—

Wednesday, 20th June, 1747.—“ Set out in full state, accompanied, as far as Pas Naklegam, by His Excellency the Governor, the members of the Political Council, and other ‘qualified’ officers in several carriages, while the guns fired from the Ramparts of the Castle. Pas Naklegam was reached at 9 o’clock. At 2 o’clock, after a grand entertainment, took leave of His Excellency. Proceeded thence, in the company of the Dessave of Colombo Abraham Aarnouts and the Commissioners * Berghuis and Macquet, as far as the Pannebakkery. From there, after a short delay, continued our journey under a salute of three charges of musketry from the mounted *pennisten*, † the same as on my arrival. In the evening, about 9 o’clock, under convoy of three companies of fusiliers, arrived at Hangwelle, and there, according to custom, was welcomed by the Chief Official of the station, the Ensign Jan Christoffel Scherff. Having carefully disposed of the Royal Letter, horse, and presents in the place prepared for them, and having partaken of supper, retired for the night.

Thursday, 21 June.—“ Proceeded in the morning towards Avisawelle, where, after a short detention, I was welcomed by the Mohottiaar of the Three Corles and some lesser chiefs. After exchange of the usual courtesies, on both sides, the former asked me not to take it amiss that he should have failed to come to meet me on the way, explaining that he had got a sudden fainting fit which prevented his coming earlier, which indeed was abundantly manifest from the coldness of his hands and the pallor of his countenance. In the meantime, at the request of the chiefs, the horse and the presents were conveyed over the river, and thereafter, having had dinner with the Dessave and the two Commissioners, I passed on to the bank of the Sitavaque river with

* It was the practice to appoint a standing committee of about two or three high officials to act as a deputation at the reception, &c., of the Kandyan Embassies.

† This word is of doubtful etymology. It is apparently derived from *pen*; and the most likely explanation is that the apprentice clerks, who were to serve their first five years in the grade of *Soldaat* or private soldier, were formed into a company under the name of “*pennisten*.”

the Royal Letter, between two ranks of military, where I took my leave of my friends, and, with the Royal Letter and the rest of my suite, crossed over to the opposite bank.”

* * * * *

It is very trying to follow the diarist in his narration of the events of his most tedious journey. The natural difficulties presented by a steep and rugged road, through a densely wooded country, where no bridges spanned the numerous streams that had to be crossed, seemed to have been much enhanced by the frivolous delays created by the Kandyan courtiers who came to meet him at various stages of the way. On Thursday, 6th July, more than three weeks after he had first set out, when as yet he had accomplished but a small part of the journey, he thus records the day's events :—

“ Having very early in the morning despatched the Imperial steed and the presents (from Roenelle) I left at 8 o'clock in the usual state and arrived at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon at Idemalpane, from where we should again—

“ *Friday, 7th July*, have departed very early in the morning if the high water in the river caused by the rain of the previous night had not prevented us. To meet this difficulty, however, the courtiers, who in the meantime had caused a catamaran to be constructed for the conveyance of the men and the goods, informed me that, as he feared more rain and bad weather, he proposed to transport the horse and a part of the presents if I myself with the Imperial Letter would follow, and that he, in the night or early in the morning, would follow with the rest. In the meantime, he would give the necessary orders that by evening as many torches should be in readiness as I would require for myself and my suite. Seeing not the least difficulty in acceding to his request, I so informed the Dessave, and a moment afterwards the horse and a part of the goods were sent across, which I and four of the courtiers followed about 2 o'clock. After a pleasant though tedious journey, we arrived at length in good health, about 10 o'clock, at Dombegaharoepe, where after I had placed the Imperial Letter in safe keeping, the tired courtiers joined us.

“ On *Saturday, 8th July*, in the morning at 9 o'clock, they again presented themselves to me, and after they had, visited with me the spot where the Letter and the presents (the remainder of these had been brought over here in good order the previous night) were kept, I led them to the stable, where the Mohotiaar, as spokesman, asked me from what place the horse had been obtained. I replied

that it was from Persia. * * * At 6 o'clock in the evening the courtiers honoured me with another visit, and, after I had heard some of their princely music, they stepped into the *mandoe*, where they were regaled with betel and refreshments. The aforesaid Mohottiaar then asked me, among other things, if no news had come from Batavia of the arrival there of their Ambassador. I replied that a ship was expected from Batavia at the end of this month or the beginning of the next, and it was hoped this vessel would bring intelligence of the arrival there of the Embassy. I added that Your Excellency greatly desired to have this intelligence in order to be able to convey it to the Great Court. At this the courtiers were highly pleased, and they praised Your Excellency for the great affection which you showed them in various ways. About 9 o'clock the Dessave informed me by one of his confidential servants that it was conjectured that on the 12th or 13th we would start on our further journey towards the Court, and that I must indeed be a particularly fortunate gentleman to have every thing turn out according to wish, as his own illness had also lessened in an extraordinary degree, so that he now had the hope of being able to proceed to the Great Court the following day in order to discourse to His Majesty of me, for whom he (the Dessave) had a great regard.

Saturday, 9th July.—“ Nothing of importance occurred except the ordinary visit of the courtiers, who honoured me this day for six hours long with their presence and frittered away the time in very indifferent conversation.”

The Ambassador and his retinue with the attendant courtiers at length reached their destination on the 31st August, more than ten weeks having been taken in the journey. On that day the diary proceeds to record that—

“ About 4 o'clock appeared the Dessave of Oedoepalate, Diboelwoelle Ralehamy, the Mohottiar Waddene Toenkoekare and Oedoewawolle Mohandiram to conduct me to the Great Court. These, according to custom, welcomed me, and, after I had heard with pleasure the orders they had brought, the Dessave proposed that the horse and the other presents should be sent ahead across the river. This having been done, I followed with the Imperial Letter in the company of these officials and those who had been with me, under a salute of 36 discharges of musketry and the sounding of drums and trumpets. At 3 o'clock we arrived at the stone bridge at Bogamber, where, having rested for an hour, we continued our way into the town, in the middle

of which I was kindly welcomed on behalf of His Majesty by the Second Adigaar of the Kingdom, Samerakkodde Ralehamy, and the Dessave of Saffragam. Having been conducted by them and the other gentlemen before the Royal Palace, I was received by the First Adigaar, Ehelepolle Ralehamy, and a large number of courtiers, among whom, however, I did not find the Dessave Leuke. The usual compliments having been exchanged, the First Adigaar and the Dessave of Mataele, Pinnepage Ralehamy, entered the Palace to inform His Imperial Majesty of my arrival and to submit to him my request to be allowed to have with me a Secretary and the Second Interpreter. In a short while these gentlemen returned and informed me that His Imperial Majesty had granted them permission to bring me and the First Interpreter with the Imperial Letter before his Golden Throne, no mention being made of my particular request. In this manner I entered with the two Adigaars and several other ministers and the tray with the Imperial Letter. At the usual place, the latter was taken from the Appoehamys and placed on my head, and I stepped into the Audience Hall with the usual ceremony. I had to kneel before the throne of his Imperial Majesty, who himself took the letter from the tray. After this I returned, walking backwards and making a deep obeisance, till I came to the carpet just opposite the throne, where both the Adigaars were kneeling, one on either side. His Imperial Majesty first inquired of me regarding the health of Your Excellency, whom he called his very faithful and upright Governor, then after that of the Members of the Political Council, and lastly after my health. He inquired whether during my residence in his country I had been well treated. To all these questions I replied with due respect. His Imperial Majesty was then pleased to give me permission to sit down at my ease, which I lost no time in doing. When I had done so, he asked me whether I had orders to submit to him any verbal proposals. When I answered emphatically in the affirmative, he gave me permission to proceed. I then inquired, on behalf of Your Excellency and the Members of the Political Council, in very respectful terms, after his health, addressing him as "The Great and Mighty Monarch and Invincible Imperial Majesty." The King upon this, with a most pleased expression on his countenance, stated that he enjoyed good health. I then proceeded to address him in the following strain."

Here followed a speech full of bombast and high-flown epithets, fashioned to please the ears of the vainglorious despot

whom they were intended to cajole. He was addressed as the "Great and Mighty Monarch and Invincible Imperial" Majesty and "all the most precious blessings of health, prosperity, fame, honour, glory, and happiness" were called down upon him from Heaven on the auspicious event of his marriage. A numerous progeny from the illustrious alliance was prayed for, who were to succeed their "lordly father" on the throne when he, "having reigned for thousands of years in perfect peace and harmony for the welfare of the inhabitants of Ceylon, shall be called upon to pay the debt of nature to his Creator." The King having seriously listened to this harangue with the most gratified feelings, temporarily dismissed his guests. But this Embassy, which was designed to be one of felicitation, was fated to witness the sad calamity of the King's death, which took place within a fortnight of the first audience. I do not propose to follow up these extracts or to enter into any of the questions of state policy which formed the subject of discussion on such occasions. What I have quoted will, I think, serve to show how far the Dutch were compelled to stoop in order to secure the good offices of the Kandyan King. It will be found however that not all the Ambassadors thus tamely submitted to the ceremonial exactions of the Kandyan Court or to the indignities which must have been most abhorrent to them all. The Kings also sometimes found it to their interest to yield to the firm, but courteous, refusal of some of these stout-hearted Dutchmen to make themselves ridiculous before him. By about 1760 the relations between the Kandyan Court and the Dutch had become very much strained owing to the unyielding attitude of Governor Schreuder in respect of certain demands put forward by the King, and a war at length broke out which terminated in the Kandyan King being robbed of every outlet he had on the coast. The Dutch, having thus become masters of the entire sea board, immediately changed their demeanour, and the King no longer insisted on any of the Ambassadors performing those antics which the custom of his Court required from his own subjects.

(11) *Papers relating to Pearl Fisheries.*

There are thirty-five volumes of various papers on this subject—Reports, Diaries, Correspondence, Permits, &c. I have not been in a position to make a close examination of these volumes, much less to study them in a way to enable me to speak with any intelligence on their contents. The methods adopted at these old fisheries would probably be considered out of date now, and an inquiry into them of no practical use; but I may

be permitted, perhaps, to give here an extract from a report of the manner in which an inspection of the pearl banks was made 160 years ago, furnished to Governor Van Gollenesse in 1747 by an ancestor of my own,* who had, on several occasions, served as one of the Commissioners on this duty :—

“ Towards midnight, or in the early morning, a departure is made from the shore for the banks far out at sea, in the hope of reaching them at sunrise, or at latest one hour thereafter, if the weather remains favourable and no adverse current is met with.

“ One of these banks being reached, one may remain there till 12 or 1 o'clock at noon, but no longer, as the rest of the day is required for sailing or rowing back to the shore ; the more so, because during the months of November and December the monsoon changes, and one cannot be sure of the weather continuing sufficiently favourable to make it possible to remain at sea in case the inspection of a bank should take longer.

“ On reaching the banks, one has to wait half an hour, or even more, for the four or five *thonies* of the *Pattangatyns*† and inferior native chiefs to come up to receive their orders as to how the boats are to be distributed and from which side the inspection is to begin ; because these men always lag behind in order to be the first to reach the shore again in case a return has to be made without anything being accomplished on account of squally weather or strong winds.

“ The yearly inspection made now for some years in the months of November and December is declared by the native chiefs to have been performed accurately and to their satisfaction, but I am not able to confirm this statement, because I have found by experience that oyster banks which may be discovered one year cannot be found again the next.

“ It is also impossible to reach the banks opposite Aripo when the north wind, which usually blows during the latter part of November, veers round to the south, accompanied by a strong current ; because this prevents the *thonies* from either sailing or rowing back to the shore. It is therefore often necessary to suspend the inspection on account of unfavourable weather and wait until there is a likelihood of the wind changing. In such weather the *thonies* often run the risk of breaking their masts, yards, and rudders.

* Marten Anthonisz, *Onderkoopman* and *Consumptie Boekhouder* at *Manaar*.

† See note on page 17.

“ In the year 1744, during the inspection of the pearl banks on the south side of the Anewoeloendaan bank, at a depth of seven fathoms of water, was found a reef with a considerable quantity of oysters, either attached to each other or scattered about. On the north side of the Bengal bank was found a small sandbank containing a great number of oysters at a depth of seven and a half fathoms of water. The oysters on both banks were considered of good quality and were estimated at 9½ Madura fanams per 1,000 of the former and 14 fanams per 1,000 of the latter.

“ In the year 1745 the estimate of the native chiefs for the farming out of the Fishery, viz., 600 divers working 36 days each, was founded on the inspection of the Chiwele, the south side of the large bank, the Aripo, and the Bengal banks, by 16 days diving on the first, 12 days on the second, 4 on the third, and 4 on the fifth bank, respectively. During the next year, 1746, no such decrease of oysters occurred on the inspection of the banks as the divers had found during their lease of 30 days. In a conversation which I had with Joan de Kroes Patseko, the Manaar Addepponaar over the Parawas, and Aresenibette Modliaar of Carreoer under Jaffnapatam, I was told, on questioning them, that during the lease of 30 days in 1746 nearly 8 days were spent in diving for oysters on the front reef of the Chiwele banks situated right opposite Moderganemo, at a depth of six fathoms of water, which the year before had not been discovered at all.

“ The statement of these two native chiefs seems to me acceptable ; because, at the inspection of the Chiwele bank this year it was found that on the north side, and in places where last year the oysters were found in abundance, very few or none at all are to be found now. This would lead one to suspect that the divers during the spring obtained most of their oysters from the north side of the Chiwele, and also a part from the south side of the large bank and from the Aripo bank.

“ According to the report of my colleague* and myself in 1745, the native chiefs declared that during four days diving by 600 divers, a large quantity of oysters was found on the Bengal bank, while the next year, 1746, none were found. I therefore believe that this statement was made by the chief simply because this bank (which is very small) can

* Anthony Mooyaart. *Onderkoopman* and *Zoldy Boekhouder* at Jaffna. He was afterwards *Commandeur* of Jaffnapatam, and on the death of Baron van Eck in 1765 administered the Government of Ceylon for a few months. See note on page 41.

with difficulty be found, as may be seen from several former reports, where it is suggested that they may have become covered with sand.

“ With a view of this yearly inspection in November being performed accurately, in a more convenient manner, in less time, and without any danger, thus also avoiding the risk of the Company being misled by the native chiefs as to the result of the inspection in the farming out of the Fishery, I take the liberty of proposing, according to my humble knowledge (subject to the wiser judgment of Your Excellency, that in future there should be employed in this very important service one of the Company’s large sloops, furnished with Your Excellency’s authority to secure *thonies* at night or in bad weather when it would be possible to inspect the banks and all other places where oysters are found, until 4 in the afternoon or even later without any danger. The sloops and the *thonies* could then remain for about four days, while the large vessel could do service during the day, and serve as a retreat for the Commissioners and the people during strong winds or squally weather, while the *thonies* could be attached to it.”

(12) *Miscellaneous.*

To this section belong all the numerous titles which I have found it difficult to form into separate groups owing to their large variety. I do not think I could do better than quote here a few of the titles to indicate the nature of the subject-matter of some of these volumes :—

- (1) New Statutes of Batavia. 1642.
- (2) Instructions touching Tolls, Retired Company’s Servants, European Strangers, Free Trade, Manufacture of Silk, &c. 1671.
- (3) Transfer of Negapatam to the Dutch by the Chief of Madura. 1681.
- (4) Translations of Portuguese Letters. 1690–2.
- (5) Papers relating to a Dispute among the Clergymen stationed at Jaffna. 1699.
- (6) Return of Persons Employed in capturing and training Elephants at Matara. 1708.
- (7) Diverse Papers relating to the Secret Designs of the French. 1711–2.
- (8) Translation into Dutch of Sinhalese Olas. 1720–2.
- (9) Extract from a Report on Coffee Cultivation in the Districts of Colombo, Galle, and Matara. 1728.

(10) Statutes of the Chartered Netherlands East India Company ordained by the High and Mighty Lords the States-General of the United Netherlands. 1742.

(11) An Enumeration and Classification of the Native Inhabitants of the Low Country. 1745.

(12) Statement of Timber cut from forests and delivered to various Departments, Galle. 1750.

(13) Application and Permits for trading and fishing for Chanks, &c. 1744-59.

(14) Muster Roll of the Inhabitants of the Walallawiti Corle. 1743.

(15) List of Inhabitants of the following Sinhalese castes : *Jagereroes*, *Olias*, and *Danders* in the District of Galle, and the services they are bound to perform. 1758-9.

(16) Conditions of Sale of Rents. 1760-1.

(17) Returns and Receipts from various stations. 1765-6.

(18) Declaration of submission made by Roman Catholic Priests to the Dutch Government. 1774-85.

(19) Papers relating to the suspension of nineteen Officers of the Regiment de Luxembourg. 1784.

(20) Correspondence relating to the English Lieutenant of Engineers William Lowe. 1782.

(21) Correspondence with the British Government of India relating to Military Operations against Tippu Sultan. 1790.

(22) Remarks of Governor Van Angelbeek upon the statements made by the Land Commissioners of the Wannu and the Commandeur of Jaffnapatam touching the improvement of the Revenue of those places. 1795.

(23) Papers relating to the Swiss Regiment De Meuron. 1790.

(24) Cash Accounts received from Outstations. 1795-6.

(25) Instructions for homeward-bound ships. 1783-94.

Considering that this Miscellaneous section comprises about one-third of the whole series of General Records, these titles which I have quoted are to be taken as merely suggestive of the nature of the records which are here included. It should be stated, however, that under some of the titles a series of volumes are to be found for several years, such for instance as Translations of Sinhalese Olias, Conditions of Sale of Rents, Returns and Receipts, &c., although the number of volumes under each head is not large enough for separate groups to be formed of them.

CHAPTER III.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE POLITICAL COUNCIL.

THE Proceedings of the Political Council of Ceylon are contained in 700 volumes. They bear a separate series of numbers from the General Records, and, unlike the latter, are arranged in some chronological order. They include (i.) the official record of the Proceedings with the autograph signatures of the Members of the Council; (ii.) the rough drafts of the Proceedings showing alterations and corrections; and (iii.) Sessional Papers and other documents dealt with by the Council. The earliest volume, which bears the No. 1, does not properly belong to the Proceedings of the Council of Ceylon, being the Minutes kept by the Council of War at Negombo in 1644, twelve years prior to the taking of Colombo by the Dutch. The Proceedings now extant may be said therefore to commence with vol. 2, which contains the Resolutions of the year 1657. The Resolutions prior to that, as far back as 1640, are to be found among the Galle Records, as they belong to the Council held at Galle when it was the seat of the Government (1640-1656). From 1657 the series is unbroken except for a few small gaps here and there, as, for instance, between the years 1696 and 1699 and between 1710 and 1712. The existing volumes are unfortunately very often incomplete, wanting pages at the commencement and the end, and several volumes towards the end of the series are missing. These Resolutions will be found, I think, to be of great value, as they contain in detail the deliberations of the Political Council upon all matters brought to the official notice of the Government. They have thus been made to preserve a continuous record of contemporary events relating to the transactions of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon, from the date of its establishment in the Island to the capitulation to the British in 1796. Among the papers presented to the Council, which, bound in separate volumes, form a collection of very diversified matter, are to be found some valuable reports and returns on subjects of more than passing interest. These are themselves, I think, deserving of special notice, but the scope of this report will not permit of my making any more than this casual reference to them here.

The record of the Council's Proceedings has been kept for the most part in large-size volumes, carefully engrossed or neatly and legibly written. Unfortunately, however, several volumes for a consecutive number of years, beginning from about 1700, though well preserved in other respects, are becoming useless

for reference owing to a peculiarly corrosive ink that was used. With the most careful handling, I find it difficult to prevent the paper falling to pieces, as it is completely fretted through by the lines of the writing.

The Council, as I have explained in a previous part of this report,* was usually composed of ten members, the Governor being President. The proceedings were conducted with all the formalities and solemnities which appear to have been observed at official functions at that time. Before the business of the day was taken up it was usual for the following prayer to be offered up by the President, all the members standing :—

“ O Lord God, Heavenly Father ! Who art the Fountain of all wisdom: Whereas it hath pleased Thee to dispose of us to administer this Government in the service of the East India Company, which, without Thy Divine help, we are not able to do, we pray Thee that Thou wilt visit us this day with Thy Fatherly Grace and preside over this our assembly with Thy Holy Spirit, that our dark understanding may be enlightened, and that we may be purified of all human affections, whereby we may so conduct and conclude our transactions that every thing may be done to the Honour of Thy Holy Name, the welfare of the True Religion, and our Dear Fatherland. All this, and more that we are in need of, we ask, concluding with the perfect Prayer which Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour hath taught us to offer : Our Father,” &c.

I will now give a few extracts from the Proceedings. I have followed no method in their selection, but have merely translated such passages as have caught my eye in going over the volumes.

The following references to Knox would, I am sure, be of interest to those who have read his “ Historical Relation.” As far as I am aware no allusion to the events here recorded occurs either in Knox’s own book or in any of the Dutch accounts of the Island which have been published. I have had of course to retranslate the English letter, as only the Dutch version has been preserved :—

“ Monday, 21 and 24 October, 1669.

“ The English having a few years ago sent an Embassy to Cotjaer, and the people having been taken prisoners by Raja Sinha, and, until now, forcibly detained, these have secretly despatched an *ola* note written in English to be

* See pages 8 and 9.

forwarded to Madraspatnam, which was brought here by a certain Mallabaar named Perga. This note being delivered by the said servant to His Excellency, was found, when translated, to contain the following :

‘ Right Worshipful Sir EDWARD,*—

‘ In the year 1664 we received a packet bearing date 61† specially addressed to us, which is all we have received, although Mr. Vassal‡ has received several which he has kept from us, and also money, of which we never got any, though our necessity is so great. Our party are all still alive and well, except Arthur Emery, the Captain, and John Gregory, who have died. There are at present still alive among us 23 persons, who would be glad to be at liberty. News we dare not give you for fear of our letter being intercepted (or robbed on the way). We refer you to the messenger Perga, who could better inform you of all that has transpired than we could write here. As he is risking his life in conveying this, we beg that you will richly reward him. The Dutch are not unmindful of having us looked after. If you could kindly send us, poor unhappy captains, something for our support as the messenger Perga will advise you, we will not cease to pray for Your Honour continued health and prosperity.

‘ We remain, Sir,

‘ Your obedient Servants,

‘ JOHN LOVELAND.

‘ ROBERT KNOX.’

“ In the margin : ‘ Zealand, 21 August, 1669.’

“ The superscription was :—‘ Into whatever good Christian hands this letter may fall, we pray for God’s sake that it may be forwarded to its address.—JOHN LOVELAND.’

“ On reading this letter, and considering that we and the English are not only neighbours, good friends, and allies, but also closely bound to each other by religion, and therefore the more bound to assist each other in need, so far as

* Sir Edward Winter, Governor of Fort St. George.

† 1661.

‡ William Vassal, who, with twelve others, had been captured by the Sinhalese about eighteen months previous to the advent of Knox and his party. He belonged to a company who were shipwrecked in the Maldives and escaped in boats to the coast of Ceylon.—*Knox’s Historical Relation of Ceylon* (Philalethes), page 269.

circumstances of time and place permit, seeing now that the messenger referred to in the *ola* has been commissioned by the writers to return with some assistance, and has been directed to take back a reply ; therefore, for these and other weighty reasons, and in order that through him we may on a later opportunity also send some help to our own poor countrymen, it is decided and agreed to send back the messenger and present our said good friends and allies for their maintenance fifty golden pagodas and as many pieces of clothing as the messenger would be able without risk to carry on his shoulders like a Chitty hawker, and to send also, rolled up inside a quill, a letter in English and Dutch as follows :

‘ To Our Good Friends and Dear Allies, the Honourable Officers and Prisoners of subordinate rank of the English Nation :

‘ UNDERSTANDING your great want and misery, we cannot refrain from performing our Christian duty of assisting you with such articles in the shape of clothing, as the messenger will deliver to you, and fifty golden pagodas in cash. The *ola* to Sir Edward we have despatched to Madras together with a copy of this letter. Please send the messenger back as soon as possible that we may learn whether we may trust to his faithfulness to also help some of our own nation who are suffering great want. Relying on him to deliver this safely, we beg you will share everything among yourselves together. We hope through him to be always able to assist you so long as he is spared by God.

‘ We remain,

‘ Your good friend,

‘ RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS.’

“ In the margin : ‘ Colombo, the 22nd October, 1669.’

“ And whereas we are in duty bound to despatch the said *ola* to Madraspatam as soon as possible, in order that our friends there may also be informed of the condition of their poor countrymen, it is resolved to send the *ola* to Choromandel to His Excellency Governor Paviljoen, to be forwarded from there to Madraspatam, together with a letter addressed to the English authorities there as follows :

‘ To the Honourable the President of the Honourable Company of the Estimable English Nation at Madraspatam.

‘ SIR,—THREE days ago there appeared before me at Colombo a black man, calling himself Perga, who handed

me the accompanying letter written on a leaf of the sugar palm, by which you may see the miserable condition of your countrymen. As their great want did not permit of much delay, we provided them with some clothing and fifty pagodas in cash, which the said Perga undertook to deliver without fail and to return here. He has been promised for this twenty pagodas. We hope through him to be able to assist your as well as our own people. I asked him after the condition of your countrymen, and he states that twenty-three English are still alive, viz. :

| | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|--|
| 4 | { | Capt. John Loublingh* Robert Knox John Berry William Day† | } | These four are in a village above Candy called Zegondeney. |
|---|---|--|---|--|

5 Persons, among them Mr. Markes, who were stranded at Calpentyn, living in the Town of Candy.

4 Persons in Zalinoer, a ward of the Town of Candy.

4 Persons in Oere Noere, another ward of Candy.

3 At the King's Court.

3 In Bolatgame, a third ward of Candy.

23 Officers and subordinates.

‘ Of our people, out of 64 men, only 18 or 20 were alive, the rest having died or been put to death. These, as well as your countrymen, were distributed over the King's dominions in and round about Candy and other places. One of your countrymen was lately put to death, because he had broken a porcelain dish at the King's Court.‡ We

* Capt. John Loveland ?

† He belonged to Vassal's party.

‡ This no doubt refers to poor Henry Man, of whose fate Knox gives a full account, as follows : “ It happened one day that he (Man) broke one of the king's China dishes, which made him so sore afraid, that he fled for sanctuary into a vehar, a temple where the chief priests always dwell, and hold their consultations. This did not a little displease the king ; this act of his supposing him to be of opinion that those priests were able to secure him against the king's displeasure. However, he showing reverence to their order, would not violently fetch him from thence, but sent a kind message to the Englishman, bidding him not to be afraid for so small a matter as a dish ; (and it is probable had he not added this fault, he might have escaped without punishment) and that he should come and act in his place as formerly. At which he came forth ; and immediately as the king had given order, they took hold of him, and bound his arms above the elbows behind, which is their fashion of binding men : in which manner he lay all that night, being bound so hard that his arms swelled, and the ropes cut through the flesh into the bones. The next day, the king

hope that in the end God would no longer tolerate this ill-doing and would provide a means of liberating these poor creatures, towards which purpose we will employ all our ingenuity. Thanks to God, we have so far advanced with our guards inland that we hope to reach your and our people in two days. But this progress has to be made through dense forest and barren mountainous country, so that we have need to employ more caution, watchfulness, and secrecy than force. Your Honour may be assured that we will neglect no means in our power to deliver both your countrymen and ours without distinction. May God Almighty grant His blessing on this project, for which our prayers and petitions must be urgently offered to Him. A copy of our reply to the *ola* scrip sent to your countrymen accompanies this in our language and in English. May God preserve Your Honour.

‘ I remain, Sir,

‘ Your good friend and willing Servant,

‘ RYCKLOFF VAN GOENS.’

“ In the margin : ‘ Colombo, 23 October, New Style, 1669.’ ”

The following is an extract from the Resolutions of the 10th October, 1720. It is the text of a Mandate or Proclamation passed in Council and issued to the headmen, relating to the

commanded a nobleman to loose the ropes off his arms, and put chains in his legs, and keep him in his house, and there feed him and cure him.

“ Thus he lay some six months, and was cured, but had no strength in his arms, and then was taken in his office again, and had as much favour from the king as before ; who seemed much to lament him for his folly, thus to procure his own ruin.

“ Not long after he again offended the king ; which, as it is reported, was thus. A Portuguese had been sent for to the city to be employed in the king’s service ; to which service he had no stomach at all, and was greatly afraid of, as he justly might be. For the avoiding therefore of it, he sends a letter to this English courtier, wherein he entreated him to use his interest to excuse him to the king. The Englishman could not read the letter, being writ in the Portuguese tongue, but gave it to another to read ; which, when he knew the contents of, thought it not safe for him to meddle in that business, and so concealed the letter. The person to whom the Englishman had given it to read some time after informed the king thereof : whereupon both the Portuguese that sent the letter, and the Englishman to whom it was sent, and the third person that read it, because he informed no sooner, were all three at one time, and in one place, torn in pieces by elephants.”—*Knox’s Historical Relation* (Philaethes’ ed.), pp. 273, 274.

planting and cultivation of coffee, and will, I think, be of some interest :—

“ Mandate for the information and action of the chiefs, lesser servants, subjects, and villagers under the rule of the Illustrious Netherlands Company within the jurisdiction of Colombo, as well as of Galle and Matara with their dependencies.

“ We have informed you by our Mandate *ola* of the 14th August last of the plan which the Illustrious Company has been pleased to form for increasing the income and profits of Their subjects and residents in this Island—an end which could be so richly accomplished and with no labour to speak of in each of the *accommodessans* and *paravenis* ; because many lands which are found therein unsuitable for *neli* cultivation, and at present lying fallow, may, by the easy planting of coffee trees, provide you, both great and small, within a year or two with abundant money, sufficient to make you rich or at least for the ample maintenance of yourselves and your families. Those of you therefore who are diligent, and who serve the Illustrious Company with fidelity, would be able in future out of your *paravenis* and *accommodessan* lands to realize profits which your ancestors never enjoyed, although they faithfully performed for the possession of these lands all those services which were due to the lords of the land. Those gardens and *paravenis*, to be of real service, should be entrusted to those who would be able to raise a decent profit out of them, which the easy labour of coffee-planting would far more abundantly supply than has up to the present time been drawn out of coconut or areca gardens, which each subject has cleared at great expense for a slender and doubtful profit.

“ As the course followed at present in regard to the planting in *accommodessan* villages or waste lands by the villagers may suggest to you the idea that coffee cultivation will be regulated in the same manner as that of areca, &c., by which the Illustrious Company owns the entire crop and *accommodessors* share neither a part nor the whole thereof, we, following the gracious inclination of the said Illustrious Company, and knowing the readiness of the villagers to do and perform for the benefit of the Illustrious Company whatever custom has made liable in such like villages to the lord of the land from the lands which you enjoy for your maintenance, deem it proper for your greater encouragement and profit, to announce to you by this open Mandate—

“ First, that the present possessors of the *accommodessans* and *paravenis*, in furtherance of their faithful service to their lords, for which they have been particularly granted *accommodessans*, shall also be licensed and privileged to plant, as soon as possible, each in his maintenance land, the following number of coffee trees ; and we, finding any failure herein, caused possibly by the unwillingness and indolence of the said villagers (whom however we urge to steadily put their hand to the work under the supervision of the *accommodessors* and with the enjoyment of the proper remuneration for their trouble from the said *accommodessors*) after the expiration of six or eight months, or more if need be, on the reasons being shown for the neglect and the excuses for their conduct being heard, having given full consideration to all the matters, accord to each the justice and the redress which they shall merit.

“ Secondly, each *accommodessor* shall be obliged to constantly maintain the same number of trees as are hereunder specified for the holding of his *accommodessan* village or villages until further orders, and to this end shall constantly put in new plants in place of those that have become old or have died, in order that the Illustrious Company may be in a position always to ascertain what number of trees are to be found in the *accommodessan* villages, gardens, and *paravenis* of this Government, and consequently, what sum in money or goods could be annually put down to their own credit, and how many ships for the loading of the berries must be provided. We shall, however, if any one preferred to plant more trees in his *paraveni* than in the *accommodessans*, grant such permission with pleasure on sufficient reason being shown us in time ; because the intention of the Illustrious Company is to benefit themselves without prejudice as far as possible to Their Honours’ subjects.

“ Thirdly, the Illustrious Company will pay for the half of the good, well-dried, nicely prepared, and saleable coffee as may be gathered within the aforesaid *accommodessan* lands three light stivers per pound or the equivalent of this in goods, whether linen or any other desired goods ; provided that the *accommodessors* shall deliver to the Illustrious Company, as lord and proprietor of the land, in a proper and saleable state, the other half thereof free of payment, whereby you will be enabled to enjoy considerable profit without the expense of much labour or of supervision ; because it is on few lands that a great number of trees would be found growing wild compared with the abundant produce of the plants growing in the gardens. Thus the

care of the trees, the plucking, drying, and delivery of the beans would demand little trouble, and this may be performed by women and children, and this little trouble would be largely repaid out of the coffee gathered.

“ Further, in terms of our aforesaid *ola* of the 14th August a like payment of three stivers per lb. will be paid for the coffee growing in *paravenis* or private gardens of those subjects liable to ordinary as well as extraordinary service without any other deduction than a lawful tenth share which the subjects have to render to the lord of the land by right of, and in virtue of, ancient usage, from all sorts of crops, and so much the more from coffee which in the delivery is very liable to wither, shrink, or dry.

“ So also shall the coffee growing on all lands and gardens of other inhabitants and subjects, who are not Sinhalese or natives of this country, be delivered up to the Honourable Company on the same terms, whether these inhabitants belong to the native regiments or are settled in the respective Corles and other jurisdictions of the Illustrious Company, that is to say, for the payment of three stivers as aforesaid on the whole crop, but at the same time under deduction of a tenth share to the profit of the lord of the land. And all these regulations shall hold good pending further orders.

“ No one shall be permitted, without our special leave, to plant in his *accommodessan*, *paraveni*, or garden more or less than hereunder specified, viz. :—

| | On an Accommodessan. | On a Paraveni and other Garden of Inhabitants and Subjects. |
|---|----------------------|---|
| | Each. | Each. |
| Modliaar | 2,500 | 500 |
| Coraal | 1,250 | 250 |
| Attecorleas of the Galle Corle and Matura | 1,250 | 250 |
| Mohandiram | 1,250 | 250 |
| Vibadde Vidaan | 400 | 100 |
| Vidaan of more than 3 to 4 villages | In their villages { | 600 .. 100 |
| Vidaan of less than 3 villages | | |
| Araatjo | 500 | 100 |
| Cangane | 150 | 50 |
| Small Attecorleas in the Colombo Dessavony | 150 | 50 |
| Pannevidecarreas within Colombo | 150 | 50 |
| Lascoryn | 30 | 20 |
| Pattangatyn | 340 | 120 |
| Further inhabitants and subjects in each of their paravenis and gardens | — | 100 |

“ With a view to ascertain the exact number of the last mentioned, and also what kind of trees each individual has in his *accommodessan*, *paraveni*, or garden, we require the native Chiefs, once in every three months, to furnish to the Modliaar of our Gate accurate lists showing what number of trees and plants each inhabitant of their district has in his land, and the condition of the trees as regards fruits, &c. Such lists shall be furnished in duplicate to the Dessave or Superintendent of each district, as well of Colombo as of Matura and Galle.

“ As our previously cited order of the 14th August states that the Illustrious Company will also permit *motetu* gardens, *nielpalles*, and *ratmahera* lands lying outside the aforesaid *accommodessan* villages to be planted with coffee by the chiefs, subjects, and inhabitants upon previous application, provided they be found suitable for the same, without causing any hindrance to the growth of cinnamon and other timber, we have, therefore, deemed it proper to make no distinction regarding such lands, but to allow half the produce arising therefrom to go to the profit of those who have cleared and planted such low-lying Company's lands upon previous application. The *motetu* gardens which appertain to the public resthouses shall be dealt with in the same manner as the said *ola* of the 14th August has decreed, —Colombo, 27th September, 1720.

“ Summary of the number of coffee trees which each, according to his rank and condition, is to plant and maintain in the Dessavonies of Colombo and Matura and in the Galle Corle, according to the number of existing officers as further appears in the Mandate *ola* of the 27th September, 1720, viz. :—

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|----|----|---------|
| 24 | Modliars | .. | .. | 72,000 |
| 33 | Mohandirams | .. | .. | 49,500 |
| 6 | Attecorleas of Galle and Matura | .. | .. | 9,000 |
| 5 | Coraals | .. | .. | 7,500 |
| 9 | Vibadde Vidaans | .. | .. | 4,500 |
| 31 | Vidaans of the 1st Sort | .. | .. | 21,700 |
| 31 | Vidaans of the 2nd Sort | .. | .. | 12,400 |
| 189 | Araatjes | .. | .. | 113,400 |
| 453 | Cangaans | .. | .. | 90,600 |
| 22 | Small Attecorleas of Colombo | .. | .. | 4,400 |
| 15 | Pannevide Carreas | .. | .. | 3,000 |
| 5,437 | Lascoryns | .. | .. | 271,850 |
| 7 | Pattangatyns | .. | .. | 3,220 |
| Total number of trees | | | | 663,070 |

“ Besides those who do not perform ordinary services whose number is to be furnished by the respective Chiefs.”

The next extract I give relates to a ghastly episode in the Dutch history of Ceylon, viz., the tyrannical and murderous rule of the infamous Governor Petrus Vuyst (1726-1729). I produce it here as it will be found to clear up a point which has hitherto been unsolved, viz., the history of the well-known inscription to be seen on the front wall of the house in Baillie street, next to the Madras Bank. The inscription runs :—

| |
|--|
| DOOR GEWELT GEVELT DOOR'T REGT HERSTELT |
|--|

which translated means :

Destroyed by Might :

Restored by Right.

All that has been vaguely known of this stone hitherto has been that it was put up on the restoration of a building which Governor Vuyst had caused to be demolished. We now learn some of the circumstances concerning this event. It appears that the original house had been the dwelling-house of Lieutenant Andries Swarts, who, with the Burgher Lieutenant Benjamin Pegalotty, had incurred the Governor's resentment, and eventually became the victim of his inhumanity. They were tried by a Blood Council, called a "Council of War," most cruelly tortured, and ignominiously put to death ; but not satisfied with this, the Political Council was called to consider a plan by which the Governor proposed to hold up the memory of his victims to perpetual execration. I make an extract of the whole entry in the Resolution Book ; so that the names of the men who participated in this act of cruelty may also be known. Their share in all the acts of violence and oppression during this period was really of a passive kind, but when the day of reckoning came, and Vuyst had to pay the death penalty for his acts, the men who, either as cowards or as sycophants, acquiesced in his doings were also called upon by the Supreme Government of India to answer for their conduct, and were duly punished.

“ Thursday Afternoon,
23 June, 1729.

Present :—

*The Governor, Mr. Petrus Vuyst.**

Hoofd Administrateur, Dirk Bierens.

* *Dessave, Pieter Cornelis de Patot.*

Secretary, Rudolf Pyselaar.

Fiscal, Johan Bernard Weitnauw.

First Warehouse Keeper, Cornelis van Aerden.

“ By the sentence pronounced by the Court Martial here on the 11th March last against the two arch traitors Andries Swarts and Benjamin Pegalotty, it having been ordered among other penalties, not only that a house of each of the accused should be demolished and razed to the ground, viz., one belonging to the first named in the so-called Cournonte Straat† (Bailey street) within the Castle, and one belonging to the second accused in the city (Pettah); but also that on the site of these two buildings shall be put up an inscription such as to the Governor shall seem appropriate; wherefore, His Excellency has caused to be prepared a design for a four-sided stone pillar standing 7 feet between the upper and lower mouldings and surmounted by a death's head pierced through with an iron pin and on the pillar the following inscription :—

*In the Year 1729
is this Memorial raised
to the accursed memory of the
executed traitor
Andries Swarts
on the site of his demolished dwelling-house
to be
to the righteous a token of incessant
thankfulness to God for His Providence,
and to the wicked a perpetual warning
against evil.*

* The title of *Mr.* before a name, it may be explained, has a different meaning in Dutch from that it has in English, being intended to denote the possession of a University degree, generally that of Doctor of Laws (J.U.D.).

† Why “ so-called ” (*zoo-genaamd*) is not clear. In the same way “ Bier Straat,” which I have now ascertained beyond doubt to have been Chatham Street, is always referred to in Dutch title deeds as the “ so-called Bier Straat.”

“ This design the Governor placed before the members of the Council, with a view to afterwards have two such pillars erected according to directions on the two aforesaid sites with the necessary variation in the inscription for the name of the other arch traitor Benjamin Pegalotty, the inscription being in Dutch, Sinhalese, and Malabar, that all may be able to read and understand it.

“ All the foregoing having been submitted to the members, and they having declared their full agreement with the intention of His Excellency the Governor, it is therefore resolved to erect such a pillar with the afore-mentioned inscription in the said three languages on each of the premises in question with the necessary variation in names for that of the arch traitor Benjamin Pegalotty.

“ Thus done and resolved, &c.”

On the removal of Governor Vuyst, the authorities took steps to restore order in the Government, to punish, as I have said, as far as they merited, those who had been forced to aid the tyrant in his unlawful acts, and also to recompense the sufferers of their cruelty. Among other measures adopted was the restoration to the families of some of the deceased victims the property which had been wrested from them.

The two following extracts, taken from the Proceedings during a more tranquil period of the Government, will, I think, be sufficient with which to conclude this chapter :—

(1) 17 March, 1757.—“ The day for the embarkation of the departing Governor of this Island, the Honourable Mr. Joan Gideon Loten, Ordinary Councillor of India, in the ship *Sloterdijk* for Batavia, having been fixed, he and the Honourable Mr. Jan Schreuder, Governor and Extraordinary Councillor, with the Members of the Political Council, arrived about 3 P.M. in the Council Chamber, where, having taken their seats, the Secretary of the Council brought in, on a silver salver, the keys of the Castle, the Powder Magazines, and the Treasury chests, as well as the seals, which the Honourable Mr. Loten presented to the Honourable Mr. Schreuder with hearty good wishes for a happy and prosperous rule, for which the latter expressed his thanks, and the members having then unitedly wished Mr. Loten good health and a pleasant voyage to the Indian Headquarters, the meeting terminated.”

(2) 30 March, 1757.—“ On the summons of the Honourable the Governor (Jan Schreuder), the members having assembled together, His Excellency, after calling upon God's Holy Name, took the opportunity of his first presiding at the

Council Board to deliver a short address, of which the purport was as follows :—

Whereas it has pleased Their Excellencies to repose in me the confidence that I would, with the utmost cordiality and genuine zeal, watch the interests of the Honourable Company in this Island, and not only as far as possible increase their own profits and income here, but also redress and mitigate the burdens of the inhabitants, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without communicating to Your Honours the earnest intention that I have to fulfil, under the blessing of the Almighty, as far as in my power be, these goods expectations. With this end in view, I will not only endeavour in this present time of danger and uncertainty to secure, by every effort in my power, this valuable possession from all hostile attacks from outside, but also protect the dutiful inhabitants of the interior by all suitable measures and an exact observance of the so many wholesome orders passed with that intent. But in all this I have to confide also in Your Honours, who I hope, moved by a like zeal in the service of our lords and masters, would gladly facilitate my efforts in this good object, and not only support me with good counsel, but even contrive means yourselves to serve the same end.

“ The Members thereupon assured His Excellency of their determination, as it was also their duty, under God’s help, to serve him as desired.

“ Read an application from the Under Merchant and *Oppeerhoofd* (Chief Resident) of Madura, Johannes Ferdinandus Crytsman,* to be permitted to retire from office in consequence of weakness of memory and inability to carry on the duties of his office, and to be allowed to remain in Colombo without pay. The application reads thus : * *

(Here follows the whole text of the application.)

“ As His Honour, notwithstanding His Excellency’s request that he should continue in office some time longer, persisted in his request, it was resolved on further consideration, to accede to his prayer, because it was thought, that, for the reasons given, his remaining in office would be prejudicial to the Company’s interests. It was hoped that this retirement would be approved by Their Excellencies at Batavia.

* Johannes Ferdinandus Crytsman died as Dissave of Matara on 7th December, 1758. He was buried in the church there, where his tombstone may be seen. His wife Josina Jacoba van Wynbergen predeceased him on 19th December, 1736. Her tombstone is in Wolfendal Church.

“ By the foregoing retirement of Mr. Crytsman the Madura Coast being deprived of an *Opperhoofd*, and as the office was one of much importance in the service of the Honourable Company, it was considered that it should be filled by a person who had, in the first place, a good knowledge of cotton goods, as well as of other interests of the Company there. His Excellency's attention was thereupon directed towards the Administrator of Tutucorin Godfried Sweepe, in consideration of his fifteen years' residence in those regions in diverse services. He is therefore unanimously nominated to the said post of *Opperhoofd* of the Madura Coast.

“ It has also been decided to appoint as Administrator of Tutucorin Philippus Mattheus Trekels, Under Merchant and Dispenser here; in his place, the Cashier Gabriel William Potken; as Cashier here, the Fiscal of Tutucorin, Gerrit Engel Holst; as Fiscal of Tutucorin, the Under Merchant and Supervisor of the Iron Magazine Johannes Bartholomeus Tyken; and in his place the Under Merchant Gerrard Jacob Overbeek, who has been out of berth. At the same time, the Administrator of Trincomalee, Adriaan Moens, and the Second Auditor here have been permitted to make an exchange of duties.

“ It is also resolved to promote in place of Lieutenant Frans Albertus Prins,* promoted Captain, the Ensign Michiel Eventwyk Christoffel Baatke, and in his place and in that of the Ensign Joan Carel van Ossenberg, lately departed for Batavia, to promote, as Commanding Sergeants, the Sergeants Johan Hooman and Johan Menke, all these appointments subject to the approval of Their Excellencies.

“ It appearing from a report received from Lieutenant Nyberger and Sergeant Sipke that the Private Johan Jacob Hofman, lately, on the return of the Company from Sitavaque, had the insolence and audacity, in a most impertinent manner, to strike the said Sergeant Sipke on the head with his sword, so that he was thrown on the ground; all which will appear in the following insertion: * * * It is therefore resolved and decided that the said Private Hofman, after being marched to the Matroos Point and being there severely beaten with the rope end, shall be degraded to the position of a matroos.

* Lieutenant Prins rose eventually to be Major in the Dutch Army, and, as Major Prins, was chosen Ambassador to the Court of Kandy in 1770. He was the father of Cornelis Arnoldus Prins, who took service under the British after the capitulation of Colombo, and at one time acted in the office of Advocate Fiscal (Attorney-General).

CHAPTER IV.

THOMBUS OR LAND REGISTERS.

THE Thombus or Land Registers form a distinct section of the Archives. The word "thombu" (from Portuguese *tombo*, a register) and the system itself appear to have been borrowed by the Dutch from the Portuguese, who are said to have introduced it into Ceylon during their rule of the maritime provinces. How far the Portuguese system was followed by the Dutch cannot now be ascertained, on account of the destruction of the Portuguese records already referred to. It is manifest that great attention was paid by the Dutch to the careful compilation and preservation of these Registers. Numerous orders and resolutions of Council regulating the mode in which they were to be kept are still preserved. There appears to have been in the Colombo District, at least, two different periods at which Commissions were appointed to carry out this work. These Commissions set to work much in the same way, I believe, as the Heralds' Visitations were made in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Thombu Commissioners visited the inland villages, collecting all the information they could obtain on the spot, hearing claims, and taking evidence. The results of these official inquiries were subsequently recorded in large-size ruled forms of stout hand-made paper. Several years appear to have been taken in the compilation of each of these Thombus. Of the earliest, which was commenced within a short time of the conquest of Colombo, only fragments are now to be found. The second set of Thombus was commenced about the year 1740, that of Colombo was completed in the year 1772, that of Galle at a much later period.

The Colombo Thombus, now extant, are contained in 98 large royal folio volumes. They consist of a *Hoofd* or Head Thombu and a Land Thombu, in separate volumes, and are divided according to korales, pattuwas, and villages. The *Hoofd* or Head Thombu is a genealogical register of the proprietors of the lands described in the corresponding Land Thombu. It is called the Head Thombu, because in each case the names are tabulated under that of a head or representative of the family—apparently the individual who came before the compilers of the Register on behalf of the rest of the family claimants. The other names appear under his with their relative kinship to him stated. This is sometimes very remote, as, for instance, "father's brother's son's son" or "grandfather's sister's son," &c. The absence of the actual

dates on which each of these genealogies was compiled is a serious drawback, and detracts very much from the value of the record. In the case of the Sinhalese landowners, where the same paternal family or *ge* name is preserved for generations, the difficulty of tracing any particular entry is not so great; but this becomes almost a hopeless task where the Moors or other Mohammedan villagers are concerned. As each succeeding generation takes a different patronymic, it is impossible to find out any required entry unless the party applying for information is prepared to give the actual name of the individual who appeared as the head of the family before the compilers of the Thombu.

The Land Thombu is a register showing the lands belonging to each family under the name of its head or representative. The high and low lands are separately given. In the former case the extent is shown by the number of coconut, jak, or areca (betelnut) trees growing on the land. The only instances, and these are comparatively few, where measurements are stated are of those lands sold by the Company, and therefore previously surveyed by qualified officers of the Government; and it is in these cases only that the boundaries are mentioned. Two columns are provided to show the extent of waste land and the amount in rix-dollars and stivers of the Company's charge on the land. This latter, known as the *wattoebadde* (Dutch, *tuins gerechtigheid*), was chargeable on all the Company's high lands, cultivated with or without permission. In the former case the tax was usually levied on one-third of the produce, and in the latter case on one-half. The rate varied in the course of time. In the case of the low lands or *zaavelden* (sowing fields) the sowing extent is stated in *ammunams* and *kurunies*. The tenure of these fields varied to a great extent. The Thombu is provided with parallel column for *ninde*, *ottoe*, *mallepalloe*, *niele palloe*, *poerana*, and *ratmahara* lands—all terms borrowed from the Sinhalese, either to define the liability of the holder or to describe the special nature of the land. Columns are also set apart for *chenas*, *deniyas*, and *owittes*.

Under the names of the lands is a description which shows whether they are Company's lands (*'s Coms. gronden*) or private lands, though, strictly speaking, no lands were private in the present acceptation of the term; because the Company always retained some claim on them, whether they were *paraveni* lands or *accommodessans*. The largest class of these lands were the service *paraveni* lands (*dienstbare paraveni*), granted for various services, such as that of *mayoraal*, *lascoryn*, *coeli*, &c. They descended from parents to children under

the conditions attached to the original grant. At the inquiry held by the Thombu Commissioners the service paraveni holders were bound to produce proof of their title as such, and, in failure of doing so, the lands were forfeited to the Company, but suffered to remain in their occupation. They were then entered in the Thombu as "Service Paraveni Lands, which for want of proof of title had reverted to the Company," and were thenceforth to be possessed under the conditions applying to Company's lands. The villagers were usually allowed to compound for the annual payment on such lands by the delivery of a stated number of arecanuts. Other curious conditions were attached to the possession of property by some of the lower castes ; the smiths were in some instances required to present the Dutch Dissave every year with a knife or a hatchet, the potters with a pot, sometimes it was a straw mat, and sometimes a certain number of cakes of the native sugar or jaggery. In all cases, however, the intention appears to have been the same, viz., to mark the feudal character of the tenure.

Considering that nearly all village property was originally held under such servitudes as these, it is but an inferior title after all which the Thombu Extract, so much prized by the villager even now, enables him to establish. It was a common practice formerly for those in possession of so-called ancestral property, imagining that the Thombu was bound to support their title, to apply for extracts whenever they entered into litigation with the Crown or with their neighbours. The search for these supposed entries used to take up a great deal of time and, in most cases, proved unsuccessful. The imposition now of a small fee which Government has authorized for the preliminary search has considerably reduced the number of these applications. The average number of applications for each of the last three years was only 17.

The Thombus of the Galle District are distinct from those of Colombo, and are unbound. They were only recently received from the Galle Kachcheri, where they appear to have suffered great neglect in late years. I remember seeing these records many years ago in the old Kachcheri at Magalla, where they were neatly arranged in separate compartments, according to the pattuwas and villages, in a large almirah specially provided for the purpose. They were then carefully looked after by an officer known as the Thombu Clerk. I saw them afterwards in 1899 when I went to Galle to examine and report on the Dutch records in the Galle Kachcheri. They were then thrown pell-mell into an open almirah too small to contain them, and a great many of the records appeared to be in tatters. They must have remained in this state for some time, exposed to the

damp sea air and to the ravages of vermin, until, I understand, Mr. P. E. Pieris, when Office Assistant at the Galle Kachcheri shortly after this, took an interest in them and devoted some time to their rearrangement. It is, I believe, due to his exertions that the files have been tied up in separate bundles and labelled. But the attempt to arrange the loose pages which have become separated from the files is a difficult task, because, in most cases, in the absence of headings giving the names of villages, there is no clue by which to replace them. A search for any given entry in these Thombus is therefore very often a matter of the greatest possible difficulty. In other respects the remarks I have made in reference to the Colombo Thombus apply to these as well, except that where the *Hoofd* and Land Thombus in Colombo are given in separate corresponding volumes, the Galle Thombus show them on opposite pages of the same volume.

CHAPTER V.

GALLE RECORDS.

THE General Records of the Commandements or Province of Galle may be said, comparatively speaking, to be the best preserved and most complete of the various series of records forming the Archives. They were contained in 1,700 stitched files, which I have had separately bound and numbered. I have already dealt with the subject-matter of these records in a short introduction to the Catalogue I have compiled of them, which is now in the hands of the Government Printer. I may repeat here that these Records were lying in the Galle Kachcheri from the date of the British occupation of the Island, and were removed to Colombo in 1880. They comprise almost every description of public document, *e.g.*, Resolutions of the Political Council of Galle, Correspondence, Administration and other Reports, Protocols of Deeds, Statistical Returns, &c. These records therefore correspond, in respect of the Commandements or Province of Galle, to the first two sections of the Colombo Records already described. They furnish full details relating to the affairs of that part of the Island from the taking of Galle by the Dutch in 1640 to the end of the Dutch rule. The records of the first sixteen years (1640-1656), during which Galle was the seat of Government, contain information relating to the operations against the Portuguese

and to the various designs for the taking of Colombo. Volumes 1 and 2, containing the records of the years 1640-1644, were translated for the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and are to be found printed in No. 53, Vol. XVIII., of the Journal of that institution.

It is hardly necessary for me to supply here any extracts from the volumes of the Galle Records, because in form and contents they are very similar to those included in the General Records I have dealt with at length in chapter II. The following passages from my Introduction to the Catalogue may however be of some interest :—

“ These records date from the year 1640—sixteen years prior to the capitulation of Colombo by the Portuguese to the Dutch—up to the year 1796, when the Dutch were succeeded by the British, a few volumes bearing date subsequent to the Dutch capitulation being also among the number. The subjects embraced are varied ; they may be roughly distributed under the following heads :—

1. Proceedings of the Political Council of Galle.
2. Correspondence between the Political Council and
 - (1) Holland, Batavia, and the Cape of Good Hope ;
 - (2) Colombo ;
 - (3) Matara ;
 - (4) Other outstations in the Island ;
 - (5) Stations in India.
3. Protocols of various Deeds, including those affecting land.
4. Annual Administration and Statistical Reports.
5. Minutes of various Judicial Tribunals.
6. Translations of Sinhalese and Tamil Documents.
7. Reports and Petitions.
8. Miscellaneous Papers.

“ As some knowledge of the institutions under which the Government of the Province was carried on at the time may assist in giving a clearer idea of the nature and contents of these records, I will state here in brief outline, as far as I am able, how the Government was organized, and what the functions of the principal officers were.

“ At the head of the administration was the Commandeur, whose full title, ‘ *Commandeur der stad en landen van Gale, Mature enz,*’ denoted that he ruled over all the territory included within the Districts of Galle and Matara. At first this stretched along the sea board from the river of Bentota

on the north to the Walawe-ganga on the east ; but, after the conclusion of the peace with the Sinhalese King in 1766, it was extended up to the southern limits of the Eastern Province and included the Magam Pattuwa. The Commandeur, whose rank in the service of the Colony was next to that of the Governor, exercised under the higher authority of the Governor and Council at Colombo, both Civil and Military, authority within his jurisdiction. He was assisted by a Political Council (*Raad van Politie*) composed of the principal Heads of Departments. These usually consisted of the following :—

- (1) The Commandeur, President.
- (2) The Administrateur.
- (3) The Officer Commanding the Troops.
- (4) The Superintendent of the Galle Corle.
- (5) The Master Attendant (*Equipagiemeester*).
- (6) The Chief Warehouse-keeper.
- (7) The Fiscal.
- (8) The Chief Commissariat Officer.
- (9) The Chief Pay Officer (*Zoldy Boekhouder*).
- (10) The Political Secretary.

“ The Dessave of Matura, as second person in the Commandements, had also, when present, a seat in the Council and took precedence of all the other members.

“ The Administrateur, who was the Chief Executive Officer, was the controller of the revenue and directed the financial affairs of the Province.

“ The Superintendent of the Galle Corle was the rural lieutenant of the Commandeur. He resided for the most part in Ambalangoda and Bentota, where the sphere of his duties chiefly lay. He was also the Chief of the Mahabaddé or Cinnamon Department, and was sometimes styled Captain of the Mahabaddé.

“ The Fiscal was the public prosecutor.

“ The Political Secretary was the chief corresponding officer of the Commandements. All the routine work of the Government was carried on in his office, the Secretariat, where a large number of subordinate officials and clerks was employed. He also, as *Vendumeester*, with the aid of the *Bode* or crier, directed all public sales by auction. and he and his Senior Boekhouders, who were called sworn clerks, were the functionaries authorized to attest deeds.

“ Of the Judicial Institutions, the Raad van Justitie was the highest. It was a court composed of the Commandeur, as President, and two or three members of the Political Council. It exercised both an original and an appellate jurisdiction. Of the inferior courts, the Landraad was presided over by the Superintendent of the Galle Corle, and the Stads Raad, to which the members were elected triennially, by the Senior Officer on the Board.

“ In addition to these there were also the following institutions and offices, whose personnel, composed of Official and Unofficial Members, was periodically changed, the nomination of the Commandeur being always subject to confirmation by the Governor and Council at Colombo. The Orphans' Chamber, the Court of Commissioners of Marriage Causes, the Superintendent of the Fire Brigade, the Warden of the Town, the Educational Board, and the Officers of the *Burgery* or Train-band.

“ In Matara the Dessave administered affairs with a Council and judicial tribunals corresponding, but inferior, to those of Galle. The Dessave was subject to the authority of the Commandeur. The Officer there corresponding to the Political Secretary at Galle was styled the “ *Geauthorizeerde* ” or authorized officer, from the chief word in the title which described his functions—*tot het maken van alle publicque notarieele instrumenten ten dezen comptoir geauthorizeerd* (authorized to attest all public notarial instruments in this station).”

CHAPTER VI.

SCHOOL THOMBUS.

THE School Thombus are contained in 66 volumes of various sizes. I have called them “ School Thombus ” for want of a better term, because they are a series of registers kept under the direction of the *Scholarchen* or School Board. I have explained that they had been lying in the Registrar-General's Office for a considerable time, and were only received into my custody last year. They do not appear to have been consulted or referred to during the whole time they were in the Registrar-General's Office ; but, just before being transferred here they were neatly bound in canvas, and now form a nice series of volumes from which information of a very interesting character, and, to native families, perhaps of great value,

may be obtained. The design of these registers must be traced to the Christianizing policy of the Dutch. The strong inducement held out to the natives to embrace Christianity resulted in whole villages being "converted," and these volumes record the names of all those who were baptized, educated, and married under the instrumentality of the Company's Ecclesiastical and Educational agencies. The registers have been so kept, that, at the present day, they provide a vast amount of genealogical information relating to native families, information which, I believe, would never have been available but for the much condemned system of the Dutch in forcing their religion upon the native inhabitants, and in preserving for posterity the names of those whom they believed they had rescued from Heathenism.

Each family is grouped together in the register, the names of the husband and wife with the date of their marriage being first given. The man's patronymic is invariably mentioned, but the woman's not as a rule. This is at variance with the well established practice of the Dutch in recording the names of their own people. In all baptismal and other registers, and, in fact, wherever she is named or described, the married wife was always given her full maiden name. This practice was so universal that even in signing her name a lady never omitted her maiden surname. The usual practice was, when the husband was alive, she took his surname and added her own after it, thus : " born so and so "; when she became a widow, this was reversed, she then signed her full maiden name with the addition of " widow so and so " after it. The practice I believe is still observed in Holland, and, in the Wolfendal Church Registers, this is one of the few relics of the past that is still regarded. To return to the School Thombu I was describing : the names of the parents are followed by those of the children with their ages at the date of their baptism, the date of their admission to the school, the date of their discharge from the school, of their baptism, of their marriage, and last of all, of their death or departure from the village. In this last column very often reference is made to other pages or sections of the register when these pupils reappear as heads of families of their own. It is indeed surprising into what remote parts of the country and into what obscure villages these Church and School Agents penetrated ; not a village or hamlet within the dominions of the Company appears to have been without its school. The following entry taken from the School Thombu of the village Mapiṭigama in the Gangaboda Pattuwa would, I think, serve as an illustration of the foregoing description :—

| Parents. | Children. | Age. | | Admission to School. | Discharge. | Baptized. | Married. | Died or left Village. |
|---|-----------------------|--------|---------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| | | Years. | Months. | | | | | |
| Heenedoeregy Don Christovoe Donne Maria | | | | | 13 Sept., 1701 | | 21 June, 1720 | Dead |
| | Bastiaan | 1 | — | School | 5 Mar., 1731 | 28 Feb., 1719 | | p. 10 |
| | Anna | 1 | — | 1 Mar., 1727 | 1 May, 1732 | 21 Jan., 1720 | | p. 9 |
| | Adriaan. | — | 3 | 25 June, 1729 | 9 Dec., 1740 | 26 June, 1721 | | — |
| | Nathalia | — | 8 | School | 25 Sept., 1738 | 3 Aug., 1724 | | — |
| | Francina Cornelius | 1 — | — 2 | 9 Dec., 1740 15 Oct., 1744 | Without Cert. 1758 | 25 July, 1729 25 Sept., 1738 | | p. 10 Hereunder |

CHAPTER VII.

INDEXING AND TRANSLATION.

HAVING described, as far as I am able, the various classes of records contained in the Archives, I will now proceed to explain the nature of the work I am engaged with in regard to them. Written in a language which few in Ceylon now understand, these records had long lain almost lost sight of on dusty shelves in out-of-the-way corners of some Government offices. Although admitted to contain much information both of interest and value, they thus remained a sealed book to all concerned; and their value was much diminished by the want of an index of reference. At the time I was first put in charge of them, in 1899, the Government was, I believe, concerned with the question of allowing or refusing a private application to examine a certain specified Dutch register. The applicant was in litigation with the Crown, and he insisted that his title would be supported by a document which he named as being among the records. As a matter of fact he had acquired the knowledge of the existence of such a register by an accident, and his statement that it contained the particular information referred to was nothing more than a bold and speculative assumption. But he relied on the fact that the Government was not in a position to at once produce the register in question or to refute his statement, and the opportunity of examining the records was calculated to give him fresh bases for land litigation against the Crown. It was then that the need was felt, not only for a catalogue giving the titles of each of the Dutch records, amounting to about 7,000 volumes, but also for a systematic index from which information concerning any particular subject could be easily obtained. It was with the object of thus supplying the means of rendering these records accessible for reference or consultation that I was put in charge of them. I have already described the almost chaotic state in which I found the greatest part of these. It was necessary therefore to first compile a catalogue. I commenced with the Galle Records as being those concerning which a question first arose. This catalogue, which I completed some time since, is in the hands of the Government Printer. Each volume has been separately numbered, and, although at first, owing to circumstances explained by me in my short Introduction to the Catalogue, the chronological order was here and there disturbed, I was able to correct this when revising the proofs in such a manner that the proper place in the list of every volume is now shown by the displaced numbers being given in

parentheses. These records forming the Galle section, which were in stitched files, have in the meantime been strongly bound in half leather and arranged on shelves specially built for them, and they are now handy for reference. I next proceeded to the catalogue of the General Records received from the Record Office. This work occupied considerable time and gave a great deal of trouble. It was necessary in this case, as well as in those I have already referred to, to run my eyes through every single document which each volume contained in order to obtain a correct notion of the title of the volume. In the General Records the error of sometimes binding together an ill assortment of documents was a source of some difficulty. This catalogue also, I am glad to say, is now complete, although its usefulness as a work of reference is marred by the absence of any order in the numbering of the volumes. This, as I have already explained, was the fault of those who were responsible for the binding and arrangement of the records. I have only been able in the first instance therefore to catalogue them according to their present numerical arrangement. To obviate the inconvenience to some extent, I have prepared a separate list in which I have grouped together the volumes on some of the most important subjects. When the catalogues of the Council Proceedings and of the Colombo Thombus (both of which are now in hand) are completed, I shall be in a position, I hope, to enter upon the most important part of my work, viz., the preparation of the Index.

I ought, I think, to explain the plan on which I propose to carry out this work. The Index will consist of two parts; a separate Index to each volume of the Records and a General Alphabetical Index to the whole series. The Index to each volume will, of course, vary in plan according to the nature of its contents. For instance, the contents of a volume of deeds affecting land would be best shown by a tabular statement giving in parallel columns the particulars of each deed, as for instance, the name of the land, the names of the grantors and grantees, the nature of the transaction, &c. The same plan may be followed in regard to a volume of Secretarial Protocols. On the other hand, a volume of correspondence would require reference to the subjects treated of, and a volume of Acts of Appointment to the names of individuals. In these cases the alphabetical order may perhaps be most convenient. The same plan may be followed, I think, in the case of reports and similar records. It will, I am sure, be obvious that the preparation of such an Index must be a matter of time, and it may be many years before the whole series of 7,000 volumes is indexed in detail. To wait therefore till the separate

Indexes are completed before commencing the General Alphabetical Index would be to indefinitely postpone a most useful part of the work. I therefore propose to commence the two Indexes simultaneously, so that the General Index may be posted up at periodical intervals, say at the end of each month, from the Indexes to each volume. I would venture to add that my work on these Catalogues and Indexes has been much retarded by the fact that I have had to perform it without assistance from any one.

Another important work which could not be postponed until the completion of the Indexes was the translation of some of the more important of the Dutch records. The suggestion was put forward about five or six years ago by one of the newspapers that the opportunity of the Boer prisoners being then in the Island might be availed of to initiate a systematic translation of the Dutch records in the possession of Government. It was urged that the casual work to which local scholarship had hitherto been restricted, of occasionally throwing some light on a few of the many interesting points in the Dutch history of Ceylon, would not go far towards unravelling much of the written history of Ceylon in the Seventeenth Century. The matter having received the notice of Government, it was decided to take up the work, but the employment of any of the Boers in it was deprecated in more than one quarter. Yet it was difficult to secure locally the services of a person with a thorough knowledge of Dutch and at the same time a sufficient acquaintance with English to be able to perform the work with facility. It was finally decided to offer the post to Miss Pieters, who happened at the time to be staying in Madras, having come out from Holland a couple of years previously. The work first taken up was the translation of the Memoirs and Instructions of the Dutch Governors and Commandeurs. They are contained in 70 volumes of various dimensions and range from the seventeenth century manuscripts of the time of Ryckloff van Goens down to the most recent Memoirs of Raket and Burnand of Jaffna and Batticaloa respectively (1794). They present thus a wide diversity in form and style of composition as well as in their legibility. Having been compiled by men of experience and with special knowledge of the facts treated of for the guidance of those new to the Colony or to the work, they contain a good deal of instructive and explanatory matter which gives them a particular value at the present day. It would have been desirable to have these records translated in their chronological order, but I have allowed Miss Pieters to depart from this to a certain extent, because the effort of reading some of the manuscripts

proved a great tax on her eyes. By taking up the least decipherable manuscripts alternately with some of the modern and more legible ones it is likely that more satisfactory progress will be made.

Besides these Memoirs and Instructions, other important documents which may be translated are the series of Diaries. I have in a previous chapter referred to these, dividing them into two classes, viz., the Circuit Diaries of Governors, &c., and the Official Diaries kept in Colombo. The former contain minute particulars of the events connected with the periodical visits of inspection made by Governors, Commandeurs, and other officials. Of the Official Diaries kept at the Secretariat, Colombo, I have furnished a sample. It will however only serve to give an idea of the mode in which these Diaries were kept, but the information contained in them is of course varied. There is also a large assortment of reports and other papers relating to land tenure, agriculture, revenue, pearl fisheries, and educational and ecclesiastical matters. Selections may also be made from the vast amount of correspondence of those subjects which bear upon some of the most important transactions of the Government. Some of the despatches from and to Holland and Batavia are both voluminous and exhaustive in their treatment of various questions of importance. In fact, there seems to be no limit to the amount of matter which it would be desirable to have rendered into English.

APPENDIX.

A.

The Dutch East India Company.*(Translations of Extracts from Dutch Authorities.)*

1. Spain and Portugal used to have the sole trade with the East and West Indies, and the Netherlanders had no other passage open to them except by the north and as far as England, France, Spain, and the extremities of the Spanish Kingdom. It is certain that they would not have carried their expeditions any further if these channels had been left to them. But, being forbidden even these resources of trade by King Philip, they formed the idea of despatching, on their own account, ships to the East Indies and of themselves importing direct the produce of those lands. A few leading men and merchants, among whom the foremost were Jakob Valk, Christoffel Roeltsius, Balthazar Moucheron, Jan Janszoon Kaarle, Dirk van Os, and others, sent out ships to find out a passage by Tartary and to discover a new path to China and the East Indies, Japan, the Philippines, and the Molucques; but this expedition failed in its object. Some merchants of Amsterdam fared better. These were urged on by Cornelis Houtman, who had the honour of leading the first of these expeditions. He had, when in Portugal, very closely scrutinized everything, and carefully sought information regarding the East Indies and of the passage thereto. When this became known he was put into prison, and was required to raise a large sum of money in order to obtain his ransom. Not knowing how to manage this, he wrote to some merchants at Amsterdam, saying, that, if they would ransom him, he would disclose to them how the voyage to the East Indies was to be carried out, and what was required to be done towards this object. They obtained his release, and he was true to his promise. A Company of Directors was formed, of whom the first were Hendrik Hudde, Reinier Pauw, Peter Hasselaar, Jan Kaerle Janszoon d'Oude, Jan Poppen, Hendrik Buik, Dirk van Os, Swirt Sem, and Arend ten Grotenhuizen. They fitted out three well-equipped ships in the year 1595 under the said Cornelis Houtman, who set out on his voyage following the course usually taken by the Portuguese, viz., *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope, with a view of trading in the East Indies at those coasts where the Portuguese had no jurisdiction. This expedition returned at the end of two years and four months without realizing much profit, but it raised the hopes of the shipowners, who were now joined by other speculators. and, once more, a fleet was fitted out under the Admiralship of Jakob van Nek. He set sail from the Texel in the year 1598 with eight ships. Before these returned from their expedition

the Directors despatched yet other vessels. All these met with such great success that they returned to the Fatherland with large returns. But whereas, now, various other merchants also sent out ships to the East Indies, and these, encountering each other in the voyage, were likely to destroy the trade by their dissensions, the States-General considered it desirable to unite the Directors of the separate Companies into one body, giving it great privileges and charters. Thus was established in the year 1602 the Dutch Chartered East India Company, which brought together a capital of 6,600,000 guilders and a fleet of fourteen large vessels under the Admiral Wybrandt van Warwyk. He set out with his fleet in June, 1602, while other vessels continually followed. These, on their arrival in the East Indies, not only obtained an immense amount of costly merchandise by means of traffic with articles of little price or value, but also gallantly fought the Spaniards and the Portuguese when they met them, attacked their richly laden ships, which they captured, and brought large treasure and rich booty into the country. In this manner immense riches were poured into the United Netherlands, and so much profit indeed did the merchants make, that, in declaring dividends, they obtained on the capital laid out by them in the year 1605, 15 per cent. ; in 1606, 75 per cent. ; in 1607, 40 per cent. ; in 1608, 20 per cent. ; in 1609, 25 per cent. ; in 1610, 50 per cent. ; and in 1613, 37 per cent., deducting a large part of the profits which were reserved to meet any possible losses. Thus the country increased in power and the inhabitants in wealth ; because, by the importation of such a large amount of commodities, the profits spread all over the land. In the same proportion the King of Spain became poorer ; so that the prohibition of Spain against trade, with a view to injure us, tended only to her own hurt and to our glorious advancement.—*Halma's Tooneel der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, Vol. II., p. 125.

2. Mainly created for purposes of commerce, the Company remained true to her origin. Commercial profit was ever the object of her endeavours. For that purpose she entered into agreements with native princes and peoples, whereby she obtained the articles of trade mostly in demand, and, as far as possible, to the exclusion of all others. But without, and sometimes against, her will, she also thereby got possession of an ever-increasing extent of territory, and found herself, after that of merchant, playing the rôle of sovereign.

* * * * *

The management of the Company was in the hands of a College of Seventeen Directors, who received their commission from the assemblies called *chambers*, established in the same year 1602, viz., the Chamber of Amsterdam, of Zealand, of Delft, of Rotterdam, of Hoorn, and of Enkhuizen. These Commissioners, or Directors, met the first six years at Amsterdam, and the next two years in Zealand (at Middelburg), and after that at each place by turn. They represented the East India Company, and were called the "Lords Seventeen." and also the "Assembly of the

Seventeen." They were addressed at first by the title of Right Honourable Lords, and later by that of Honourable and Most Esteemed Lords. On behalf of the States-General they nominated the Governors-General and the Council of India, and confirmed in their posts the servants of the Company provisionally appointed in India. All the servants of the Company were obliged to take the oath of fidelity to the States-General.

In terms of a Decree of the Lords Seventeen of the 1st December, 1748, the Hereditary Prince Stadholder William IV. was invested on the 16th April, 1749, with the Chief Directorship and Governor-Generalship of the whole East Indies, and appointed to the office of Chief Director-General, after authority for this purpose had been granted to the Directors by a Resolution of the States-General of the 24th March, 1749. In this capacity he presided over the Assembly of the Seventeen.

This dignity entitled the Stadholder to the title of Chief Governor-General of Netherlands India, which was assumed by His Highness Prince William V. on the 2nd April, 1766, and which was revoked by the States-General on the 4th March, 1795.

On the 20th March, 1702, the Company celebrated its first centenary, on which occasion a commemorative medal was struck.—*M. A. van Rhede van der Kloot, De Gouverneurs-Generaal en Commissarissen van Nederlandich-Indie.* Introduction.

B.

Treaty between Adam Westerwold, on behalf of the Dutch East India Company, and Raja Sinha, King of Kandy, 1638.

(Translated from the Office Copy in Dutch preserved in the Government Archives.)

Treaty and Agreement made and decided upon, to be of force to eternity, between the Honourable Adam Westerwold, Extraordinary Councillor of India and Commander of the present Naval Fleet, consisting of ships, soldiers, and sailors, and provided with ammunition of war for the expedition to Ceylon, on behalf of Their Illustrious High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Netherlands and His Princely Excellency Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange, &c., in the service of the Honourable Directors of the United East India Company, with the approval and consent of His Excellency the Governor-General and the Council of India, on the one part; and the Illustrious Ragia Singa, Emperor and King of Ceylon and Candia, &c., and the subjects of his dominions, owing obedience to the Crown and to His said Imperial Majesty, on the other part.

1. Firstly, that His Imperial Majesty the King of Ceylon and Candia and his subjects acknowledge and accept us as their

friends and allies and the protectors of their country against their and our common enemy the Portuguese ; to help the King in defending his lands of Ceylon against the great and intolerable deceit, impertinence, and annoyance created by the Portuguese in the occupation of his lands, dominions, and seigniories.

2. That when any strongholds, forts, and fortresses, such as Batticaloa, or any other place, is taken and conquered by us with the help of His Majesty, either by treaty or by force, all the booty and goods found therein shall be equally divided between the two parties.

3. That in the event of any forts or fortresses being taken and occupied by us and His Imperial Majesty in manner stated above, the conquered strongholds shall be garrisoned by officers and soldiers and supplied with ordnance and ammunition of war against future attacks on the part of the Portuguese. And if we consider that the said strongholds are not sufficiently defensible to withstand the enemy, His Majesty shall be bound to strengthen and fortify them to our satisfaction.

4. His Majesty shall also be bound in case any forts or fortresses are garrisoned by our officers and soldiers to pay their monthly salaries and wages.

5. His Majesty shall be obliged likewise, when strongholds have been captured, to allow us suitable places for the storing of our goods and merchandise, and when time and circumstances permit, to have built for us a storehouse according to our approval ; so that our goods may be safeguarded against fire and other accidents and disasters ; and on the same terms to build for us a gunpowder store for the preservation of gunpowder, lunt, ammunition of war, and other appliances.

6. His Majesty shall be bound, whenever desirous of attacking the Portuguese or undertaking anything against them, to previously consult with some of our principal military officers, and to aid them both with counsel and by deed ; so that the result may enure to the welfare of His Majesty's country.

7. His Majesty shall also see that a few frigates *de remos** are built in his country as soon as possible, to be manned by rowers of his own people, and provided by us with soldiers and ammunition of war, for the protection of His Majesty's river outlets and harbours, assisted by our ships, yachts, and other vessels, and to prevent annoyance, invasion, and attacks on the part of the Portuguese.

8. His Royal Majesty of Ceylon and his subjects shall be bound, in terms of His Majesty's promise and undertaking to His Excellency the Governor-General and the Honourable the Council of India, to pay the yearly expenses as well as to bear the cost of the present equipment and fitting out of the ships, yachts, and other small vessels, and the crews, officers, and soldiers, the ammunition

* Described as " frigates with oars " in a subsequent version.

of war, and all else required which the Honourable the Directors of the United Chartered East India Company by direction of His Excellency the Governor-General and the Council of India shall send through the Dutch Government for the service of His Majesty's lands of Ceylon, all which shall be recouped by His Majesty in cinnamon, pepper, cardamom, indigo, wax, rice, and other valuable products of his country, except *caneel de matte** (wild cinnamon).

9. In return for the friendship and alliance which we have offered to His Majesty, he allows, licenses, and grants us full permission to acquire and carry on a free trade and commerce all through His Majesty's dominions in Ceylon, with his subjects, including the inhabitants of all towns, villages, and hamlets; to go to and fro with our ships, yachts, and other small vessels by all streams, rivers, and harbours without hindrance; to trade, buy, sell, exchange, receive, unload, load, and despatch; and to traffic and trade with His Majesty and his subjects as friends and allies usually do, without in any way being required to pay tolls, taxes, duty, or other charges to His Majesty or any of his subjects on account of the merchandise or other articles, under whatever name such goods may be designated; but that everything may be freely exported from His Majesty's country without any of His Majesty's subjects, high or low, of whatever station, quality, or condition, being allowed to sell to any one cinnamon, pepper, wax, and elephant tusks. The elephants belonging solely to His Majesty, he promises and binds himself whenever he shall have sold to any one 4 or 10 or 20 of these animals to deliver to us a like number of them.

10. His Royal Majesty the King of Ceylon and Candia, with the Nobles and Chiefs of his dominions, consent and concede to us that from henceforth His Royal Majesty and his Nobles and Chiefs will not permit or in any manner tolerate, but will on the contrary expressly forbid every one of their subjects to carry on any trade or commerce with, purchase from, sell to, or exchange with any other European nation, such as the English, French, and German, or any Oriental nation, any articles or merchandise produced in the King's country, still less to permit any of their ships or yachts to enter the harbours of Ceylon, but to order them to immediately depart thence. His Majesty shall be bound to sell and deliver all such articles as are produced in his country to the United East India Company alone, with the understanding however that the people of the neighbouring country of Tanjouwer may be permitted to come here with their vessels containing provisions and other paltry commodities, but nothing else, and may come and go unmolested.

11. His Majesty shall be bound to send to Batavia yearly at least one or two shiploads of cinnamon, pepper, cardamom, indigo, wax, and other valuable merchandise in return for and towards

* Portuguese, *canella de mato*.

payment of the expenditure incurred in the equipment and the upkeep of the vessels sent here for His Majesty's service. And should two of these shiploads amount in value to more than the yearly expenditure on the ships, the balance will be forwarded to His Majesty in such merchandise, articles, or cash as may be desired by His Majesty.

12. His Majesty shall permit our factors and merchants to travel freely and without molestation over His Majesty's country, for the purpose of carrying on trade and commerce with the inhabitants, and to leave the country undisturbed with the goods purchased. The inhabitants shall be bound at their own expense to provide beasts of burden for the transport of such goods and merchandise as are purchased in the interior by our merchants, to convey them either to our *logie** or on board the ships, it being understood that our Dutch people shall be under our own jurisdiction and allegiance in the same way as the natives of Ceylon shall be subject to His Majesty.

13. No person, without any exception, trading with us shall have power to deliver to others the articles reserved for us by the contract until we have been given satisfaction. Any one discovered doing so may be arrested in order that by this means we may obtain the goods contracted for by us. Any one indebted to us in any considerable amount may be dealt with in the same way, with the understanding however that if one of the King's subjects be thus arrested we shall be bound to advise His Majesty or his representative thereof.

14. No one of whatever class, caste, condition, or quality, except when appointed thereto by the King and by the Dutch, shall have power to coin, make, or circulate money, much less to make base coin. Any one discovered doing so, whether Dutch, or vassal of the King, native or foreigner, no one excepted, will be corporally punished without mercy, and all his property confiscated and delivered to the King.

15. In the event of any of our Dutch people, when prosecuted for any offence, ill-conduct, or other misdemeanour, taking refuge in His Majesty's territory, His Majesty and his subjects shall be bound to deliver them into our hands. Any of the King's subjects taking refuge with us for the same reason will likewise be delivered to His Majesty.

16. Neither His Royal Majesty nor any of his subjects, no matter who, shall, in terms of the contract made between us, be permitted to carry on a correspondence, whether secretly or openly with his and our common enemy the Portuguese; still less to make any plans or contracts with them, nor to have any other dealings with them, whether commercial or otherwise. They are, on the contrary, to be for ever declared our enemies. In the event of any of the King's subjects selling to the Portuguese merchandise or

* Local headquarters, *cf.*, French, *loge*.

other articles, whatever they may be, he will be corporally punished and corrected as an example to others.

17. His Majesty will not tolerate any papists, monks, or other ecclesiastics (who alone are the cause of all commotion, dissension, and disturbance, and are the destruction of kingdoms and countries wherever they happen to be), but will exterminate them as far as possible, because they are always the characters who set the inhabitants of a country against their King, with a view of their helping the Portuguese to conquer and master the country.

18. In the event of any of our ships making a prize on their way out, when sent here in the service of the King, or on their way home, whenever that should be, the full cargo and all contained in such prize-vessel shall be the booty of the Hollanders. On the understanding also that when any ships are lost in these expeditions the loss will be borne by the Dutch alone.

19. If we should allow any of the ordnance from our ships to be placed on the forts or fortresses, to be used in the King's service, we will be at liberty to remove them at any time and place them on board our vessels or wherever we should consider advisable.

Thus done, resolved and decided in the presence of His Royal Majesty of Ceylon by the Honourable Adam Westerwold, Extraordinary Councillor of India and Commander of the present Naval Fleet, and Willem Jacobsz Coster, Vice-Commander.

In the district of Batticaloa, in the present Palace of His said Majesty, this 23rd day of May, 1638.

It was further agreed that all vessels which depart hence with passports from His Majesty or his representative shall be given all aid and assistance by the Hollanders.

Actum as above on the day, month, and year aforewritten, two of the same tenor as these presents, translated from the Dutch into Portuguese, signed by His Majesty Ragia Singa, Emperor of Ceylon and of Candia, Adam Westerwold and Willem Jacobsz Coster, and sealed with the seals of His Majesty and Heer Westerwold.

After collation and comparison of the Dutch and the Portuguese versions, the foregoing has been found by me to contain the full sense of the Treaty.

(Signed) F. BRUYNINCK,
Secretary.

True copy from the authentic document preserved in the Castle of Batavia, 26th September, 1658.

(Signed) ANDRIES FRISIUS,
Secretary.

C.

A Regulation relating to Emigration to Ceylon, 1669.

Regulation passed by the Assembly of the Seventeen (representing the General Netherlands Chartered East India Company) empowering the Chambers to transport and convey to Ceylon in the Ships fitted out by them such Individuals and Families as shall apply to them for Passage.

Those who alone, or with their families, shall apply to go to Ceylon shall be granted passage for this purpose in the ships of the Company, and be conveyed thence free of cost or charge, upon their taking the oath of fidelity to the said Company.

They shall not be permitted to carry with them any other or further luggage than shall be necessary for the passage, and this at the discretion of the Directors of the Chamber under whose auspices they shall set out. Except that each person or family shall be at liberty to take with them cash up to the sum of three thousand guilders.

On arrival in Ceylon, they shall settle down in that Island or proceed to Cochin, with the view of obtaining their livelihood by means of whatever industry, skill, art, or handicraft shall be within their capacity, and also to carry on there any trade which may be permitted them and no other.

Those who shall be desirous of devoting themselves to agriculture shall be granted as much land as they shall be able to manage.

Those who shall proceed to Ceylon on the foregoing terms, whether alone or with their wives and children, shall be bound to remain in the country for a period of fifteen years; but, in the event of their dying during this period, their widows, if they should re-marry, shall not be obliged to remain for longer than a period of five years reckoned from the date of their marriage, provided that five or more years shall be left remaining out of the said fifteen years. In the same manner also the daughters marrying in Ceylon shall be bound to remain no longer than five years reckoned as before from the day of the marriage.

Those who at the expiration of the aforesaid fifteen years shall be desirous of returning to this country shall be required to pay the charges for transport at the rate which now applies to freemen* in India, viz., all males and females of twelve years of age and upwards, for transport, three hundred guilders each; those under twelve years, one hundred and fifty guilders each. In addition to which rates shall also be due boarding charges as follows: males

* Those not bound by any agreement of service, &c., to the Company.

accommodated in the first saloon, thirty stivers per day ; in the second saloon, eighteen stivers ; and the ordinary folk, nine stivers ; females above twelve years who shall mess in the first saloon, one guilder ; in the second saloon, twelve stivers ; and the ordinary folk, nine stivers. The aforesaid charges shall be prepaid for a period of six months from the date of the granting of the receipt thereof, with the promise and stipulation however that in the event of any one happening to die on the voyage, the Chamber to which the ship shall be consigned shall reimburse his heirs or lawful representatives a sum equal to the unexpended balance for the part of the six months remaining, after deducting the period between the departure of the vessel and the death of the individual in question. Provided, however, that no merchandise which he may have carried with him shall be given up or any other goods but those appertaining to his person ; all the rest being considered profits belonging to the Company and therefore retained in her hands. But such goods as a person shall have acquired in Ceylon he shall be obliged to convert into cash, and the same shall be transferred to the Company by Bill of Exchange to be credited to him here with the ordinary advance of 4 per cent.

Thus done and decreed in the said Assembly at Amsterdam, this 7th May, 1669.

D.

**Treaty of Peace between the Dutch and Sinhalese,
dated 14th February, 1766.**

(Extracted from the "Orientalist.")

Know all men that their High Mightinesses the Illustrious and Mighty Dutch East India Company, on the one part, and his Imperial Majesty, the Illustrious and Powerful Prince and Lord Kirti Sri Raja Sinha, Emperor and King of Kandy, together with the Nobles of the Realm and Lords of his Court, on the other part, have mutually agreed to put an end to the war existing betwixt both powers, and to conclude a treaty of peace and amity, on the following conditions, as the foundation of a new peace and eternal friendship, agreed upon for their mutual advantage, and hereby confirmed by the persons thereto named by both parties, viz., on the part of the Illustrious and Mighty Company in the name of their High Mightinesses the Illustrious States-General of the free United Netherlands, the Honourable Governor and Director, and the Members of the Government of Ceylon, and on the part of His Imperial Majesty the Illustrious and most powerful King of Kandy, by His Ambassadors Extraordinary, the Illustrious Nobles of the Realm, Dumbara Ralahami (Grand Disava of Matale), Pilima Talave Ralahami (Grand Disava of Saffragam and Three

Korales), Angamma Ralahami (Grand Disava of Udapalata), Muvattara Ralahami (Grand Secretary to the King), and Moragama Muhandiram Ralahami.

ART. 1.

Henceforward there shall be an everlasting friendship betwixt the King of Kandy, his Nobles of the Realm, and other subjects on the one part, and their High Mightinesses the States-General of the free United Netherlands and the Mighty Dutch Company and their inhabitants on the other part.

ART. 2.

His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Kandy and the Nobles of his Court acknowledge the Illustrious and Mighty States-General of the United Netherlands and the powerful Dutch Company as lawful and supreme Sovereigns of all the lands they possessed on this Island before the present war, viz., the kingdom of Jaffnapatam with its dependencies and the Wannu provinces, the Island of Mannar with its subordinate provinces from the province of Puttalam, Kalpitiya and its dependencies, the Disavaship of Colombo, the district of Galle, the Disavaship of Matara, Batticaloa, and Trincomalee, and the lands formerly dependent on those places; and His Imperial Majesty and the Nobles of his Court do hereby relinquish all right and title to the aforesaid lands which they may have formerly had or pretended to have.

ART. 3.

The King of Kandy and the Nobles of his Court cede over and above to the aforesaid Company the sovereignty over all the sea coasts round all the island, in so far the Company did not possess them before the present war, viz., on the west side from Kayimal to the district of Jaffnapatam, and on the east side from where the district of Jaffnapatam ends as far as the river Valave, and these coasts are ceded in the aforesaid manner, to the breadth of one Sinhalese mile in land, more or less as the situation of the hills and rivers will permit.

ART. 4.

To limit the boundaries of the ceded countries Commissaries shall be appointed by both parties, and the measuring shall commence from the high watermark on the continent, not comprehending thereunder the small islands Navikkarai, Konantivu, Puliyantivu, &c., and as it is not the Company's intention to enrich itself at the expense of His Majesty's revenues, the Company promise to pay him yearly the same amount as was formerly received from the countries now ceded to them; the Commissaries who limit the boundaries shall also make the necessary arrangements respecting the revenues.

ART. 5.

On the other hand, the Illustrious Company acknowledges the King as Sovereign Prince of all the other districts of this Island.

ART. 6.

The Illustrious Company from a regard to peace and amity will restore to the King all the districts conquered by them during the war, except the sea coast, lands and places in its vicinity within two hours' walk of the sea, agreeably to Article 3.

ART. 7.

Permission will be granted to all the King's servants and subjects to fetch without paying anything for it, either to the Company or any other person on their part, as much salt as they please from the levayas and other salt pans to the east, and from Silavam and Puttalam on the west.

ART. 8.

In the same manner the Company shall be permitted to peel cinnamon in the King's lower territory, viz., the Disavaship of Saffragam, the Three and Four Korales, and the Seven Korales as far as the hill named Balane.

ART. 9.

The King shall issue orders for the cinnamon which grows in the highlands eastward of the Balane mountain to be peeled by his subjects and delivered alone to the Company at Galle, Colombo, or Matara at the rate of five pagodas for each bale containing 88 lb. of good fine cinnamon.

ART. 10.

The Company shall, exclusive of all others, receive ivory, pepper, cardamoms, coffee, arecanut, and wax, on paying the following rates, viz., for 1 lb. of pepper with 5 per cent. overweight 4 stivers or 1-24th pagoda, 1 lb. of coffee with 5 per cent. overweight 2 stivers or 1-48th pagoda, for one amunam containing 26,000 good dried betel nuts which shall be delivered on the part of the King for 3 rixdollars or 1½ pagoda, for every 100 lb. good pure wax 25½ rixdollars or 12½ pagodas.

ART. 11.

As the Company never traded here in ivory the price of it is not known, and therefore this Article will in process of time be arranged.

ART. 12.

If in process of time the Company be in want of any other products from the King's country the prices will be fixed according to equity.

ART. 13.

Their mutual subjects shall be allowed to trade with each other for which purpose the inhabitants of Kandy will be permitted to come and go to and from Colombo, Galle, and all other places, and sell and purchase with the same liberties and privileges as the subjects of the Company ; in like manner the Company's inhabitants will be allowed to trade in the King's country, so that both nations in future shall be considered as one, and enjoy equal privileges.

ART. 14.

As it is now the interest of both contracting parties to encourage the cultivation of the country products and to prevent smuggling, the King as well as the Company engage and promise to aid each other, and therefore whatever seized in the King's territory, although it belongs to a Company's subject, shall be forfeited without any notice thereof being taken for behoof of the King's treasury, and in the same manner shall be forfeited to the Company all that is seized in their territory, although the property of a King's subject.

ART. 15.

If the King shall be in want of any foreign goods, the Company will provide His Majesty with them agreeably to the musters if they are to be had.

ART. 16.

On the other hand, the King and the Nobles of his Court engage to supply the Company at Batticaloa and Trincomalee with such timber as the Company shall want.

ART. 17.

All prisoners, whether Europeans, Malays, and Sepoys, all deserters either European or Native Infantry, and all rebels who have deserted the Company's territory shall be immediately delivered up, and the guns taken from the Company at Hanvalla and other places shall be returned again to them.

ART. 18.

In future the runaway slaves from each party shall be immediately seized and delivered up, and a reward of 10 rixdollars paid as a gratuity to the person who apprehends and returns them to their masters.

ART. 19.

In case any of the Company's subjects commits in the King's territory any depredations or crime meriting corporal punishment, such person shall be seized by the King's people and delivered with the proofs of his crime to the Company, who will give speedy

satisfaction to the party injured ; and the Company shall treat the subjects of His Majesty in the same manner when guilty of any outrage in their territories.

ART. 20.

In this manner an intimate friendship will be maintained betwixt both powers, and the Mighty Company engage to protect His Imperial Majesty and the whole Empire against any foreign force, and in such case the King and his Nobles promise to assist the Company to their utmost either with arms, troops, or coolies, and to continue with them until the enemy have been driven out of the Island.

ART. 21.

His Imperial Majesty and the Nobles of his Court shall therefore not carry on any correspondence, much less conclude any treaty, with any other European nation than the Dutch, and they engage to deliver to the Company all foreign Europeans that may come into their country. They shall not enter into any contract or carry on any correspondence with native princes to the prejudice of the Mighty Company.

ART. 22.

On the other hand, the Illustrious Company engage on their part not to conclude any treaty with foreign powers against or to the prejudice of the King of Kandy.

ART. 23.

For the cultivation of mutual friendship ambassadors shall be sent by both parties, who will make the necessary arrangements for fetching of salt and dried fish and the peeling of cinnamon ; they shall be received with such marks of honour and distinction as become intimate friends and allies ; the ceremonies shall be the same on both sides.

ART. 24.

These Articles shall be solemnly observed and fulfilled by both parties ; but should it happen contrary to expectation that anything is done by either party not agreeable to these conditions, or if anything is neglected, these Articles of peace and friendship shall not be considered as broken, but on the injured party's preferring a complaint and demanding satisfaction, it shall be given within six weeks.

ART. 25.

On the other hand, should satisfaction not be given within six weeks after it has been demanded, or be refused, the party that fails shall be considered as having transgressed the treaty, and the injured party shall have the right of seeking satisfaction by force of arms.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and affixed the great seal of the Mighty Company in the Castle of Colombo, this 14th day of February, 1766.



(Signed)

I. W. FALCK.
J. T. FEBER.
D. BURNAT.
G. L. DE COSTE.
A. DE LY.
J. L. VAN ANGELBEEK.
P. L. SCHMIDT.
A. MOENS.
J. H. BORWATER.



(Signed in Sinhalese) SRILANKA DEVESVARA
SRI KIRTI RAJA SINHA.

E.

**Letter from William V., Prince of Orange, to Governor
Van Angelbeek, 7th February, 1795.**

*(Translated from the Original preserved in the Government Archives,
Colombo.)*

Noble and Most Honoured Confidante,
Our Trusty and Well-beloved !

We have deemed it necessary to address you this communication and to require you to admit into Trincomalee and elsewhere in the Colony under your rule the troops of His Majesty the King of Great Britain which will proceed there, and also to admit into the harbours or such other places where ships might safely anchor the warships, frigates, and armed vessels which will be despatched there on behalf of His Majesty of Great Britain ; and you are also to consider these as troops and ships belonging to a Power that is in friendship and alliance with their High Mightinesses, and who come to prevent the Colony from being invaded by the French.

Wherefore, Noble and Most Honoured Confidante, Our Trusty and Well-beloved, We commit you to God's holy protection, and remain

Your well-wishing friend,

W. PR. v. ORANGE.

Kew, 7th February, 1795.